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J. B. Pugin

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1843.

- Art. 1. 1. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, set forth in Two Lectures delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott.* By A. Welby Pugin, Architect and Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in that College. 4to. pp. 68. 1841. London: Weale.
2. *Two Lectures on the Structure and Decorations of Churches.* By the Rev. George Ayliffe Poole, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's Church, Leeds. [*The Christian's Miscellany, No. I.*] London: Rivingtons; Burns; and Houlston and Stoneman. Leeds: Green.

VARIOUS causes have recently combined to extend the interest of architectural publications, and even to diffuse throughout the country a disposition to reproduce, in both public and private buildings, the forms in which our forefathers delighted. Among these causes, prominence may be given to two,—the church extension movement, and that mystic reverence for ancient forms and ordinances, which, never wholly extinguished in the established communion, has of late been so powerfully revived by the efforts of the Oxford tractarians. New churches are rising up in every part of the kingdom; and their erection has as naturally drawn public attention to the characteristics of ecclesiastical architecture, as the demand for them has, for a season, directed the study of architects themselves rather to the ecclesiastical than the general branch of their professional business, and to ecclesiastical rather than classical models. The clergy have, of course, been largely interested in this building movement; and possessing, as many of them do, from their station in society and elaborate education, a highly-cultivated taste, it was to be expected that this would induce, as it certainly would qualify, them to master both the principles to be applied, and the details to be exemplified, in structures dependent on their patronage.

As one of the fine arts, architecture possesses great interest, even as an abstract study, cultivated through the medium of books and drawings only; but this interest is much enhanced to those who have the opportunity of witnessing the gradual execution of ideas with which they were familiar, when as yet they had no expression but on paper, especially if these ideas were to any extent their own. We may be wrong, but cannot avoid ascribing to this interest of the clergy, the altered and certainly more appropriate characters of recent ecclesiastical structures in this country. The churches erected in the reign of Anne—all of them, if we mistake not, without exception, applications of Roman or civil architecture—will witness for the fashion prevalent in that age; and classical models of a somewhat better character continued to be followed even to our own, as the new church, Marylebone, that erected some years ago in Euston-square, and, to mention no others, those in Langham-place and Regent-street, sufficiently show. But a new era has at length arrived; the pointed, or Gothic architecture, as it is variously called, is now in vogue—a style admirable for the beauty and variety of its forms, its scientific adaptation of building materials, and above all, its exhaustless power over the imagination; although we must concede that it is in the church system of the middle ages—the system of the period when it was first fully developed, and which the Oxford tractarians would revive—that it finds its most elaborate expression, and, *as a style*, its most ample justification. Our readers will not suppose that we admire that system, because we are unable to withhold our admiration from edifices which, but for it, might never have existed. The most perfect examples of the style being produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and some of the most impressive features of them deriving their origin from ecclesiastical principles and usages which cease to satisfy the reason, wherever the pure light of Scripture has been appreciated, it must be allowed that, as the offspring of art, this style itself cannot be fairly criticised without considering the relation in which it stands to ancient errors and corruptions. Full æsthetic truth, therefore, requires that it should be so discussed; neither could justice be done in any other way to the literature of the subject. On the other hand, it may be said, that if the style in question be consistently applicable only to the principles and usages of the Roman and revived Anglican communions, it is to other religionists of no value—its art is meretricious—and the various associations it supplies to memory, taste, imagination, and feeling, only render it a more seductive snare. This is a subject which, though not unconsidered by us, it will not be necessary to discuss now. We shall, for the present, confine ourselves to some of the more limited topics which occur in the publications

whose titles we have given, reserving the other question for a future time, should some fair occasion for speaking of it coincide with the inclination to do so.

Though Mr. Pugin's is a beautiful work, and very well fulfils its author's object, we cannot say that it fulfils the promise of the title page. It should rather have been entitled 'Principles of Architectural Decoration,'—or, 'Principles of Architectural Construction, as ascertained from the Purest Models of Pointed or Christian Architecture.' The lectures are, in fact, almost exclusively upon *construction*, or the conditions to be observed in using architectural materials, stone, timber, and metal; with, every now and then, a severe or sarcastic exposure of some gross violation of taste and science, which the author ascribes to ignorant abandonment of early principles; and (at the close) some remarks on propriety in decoration. The subject, every one will admit, is a useful one, and Mr. Pugin, as we have hinted, illustrates it on the whole very much to the purpose; but certainly the 'true principles of pointed or Christian architecture' include a theory of its essential forms as beautiful in themselves, and subservient, in consistent combination with each other, to that effect upon the mind, without something of which, no structure whatever can claim to be regarded as a work of high art. This, though known of course to Mr. Pugin, is so lost sight of by him, that he actually (p. 2) characterizes the Grecian, or, as with singular and anachronistic prejudice he chooses to designate it, 'pagan' architecture as barbarous, because the Grecian architects constructed temples of stone in the same form as they had previously constructed them of wood. Now this appears to us an unpardonable violation of taste and science. We should have thought that the noble simplicity of the Grecian temple would, by its mere effect upon his perception of the beautiful, have preserved him from the unscientific error of either confounding beauty of design with skill in masonry, or treating it as a subordinate and merely accidental thing.

The superior masonry exhibited in pointed architecture is of course unquestionable; so far Mr. Pugin is clearly right; but in deciding on the pretensions of a particular style of architecture, we have to consider the adaptation of its essential forms to the ends which buildings erected in it were intended to serve, and the propriety of its ornamental details. With reference to the former consideration, Mr. Pugin has, in a subsequent page (p. 47), admitted that the temples of the Greeks were suited to the rites performed in them. They were, therefore, consistent in *character*. Their general form and proportions have excited the admiration of the world, as being in unity, simplicity, and breadth, unrivalled. Mr. Pugin himself

regards their external peristyles as a 'beautiful feature' (p. 47), and in the carved triglyphs, which he rightly calls 'a representation of the beam ends,' we confess we see a device which, artificially producing in the religious edifices of later periods those necessary features of their earlier temples, thus fixing upon solid stone the memorials of the antiquity of their religion, is an evidence not merely of an imitative, but much more of imaginative power. These observations, however, are not designed to claim for classic models an equality upon the whole with the finest of pointed architecture, which, with equal consistency of character, at least excel them in variety, richness, and sublimity, as well as in constructive science, but merely to vindicate them, as works of art, from the undue depreciation they meet with in various parts of Mr. Pugin's work. And it is at the same time highly proper that we should remember that while all, or nearly all, the characteristic excellencies of Grecian art, respect being had of course to the distinction of order, were, as existing remains sufficiently attest, most frequently exemplified in the same edifice, those of the pointed style must be carefully, and are then with difficulty gathered and deduced from detached portions of several distinct buildings. But if Mr. Pugin be indeed of the opinion that the character of a style of art is thus determinable principally by the profound application of science in the use of material, what will he say of the perpendicular style, with its depressed vaultings and massive pendants? The roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, has always commanded admiration for the science displayed in its construction, but no competent judge on that account puts the perpendicular style, of which the depressed arch is a prominent feature, on a level with the severer but more lofty style which preceded it. With this in view, Mr. Pugin himself feels, like every other judge, that *constructive art* does not entirely decide the comparative excellence of styles, and in estimating the relative merits of the earlier and later Gothic styles, he reasons much more correctly, and on a wider range of principles, than when he so unjustly depreciates the Grecian style.

The principal doctrines advanced in these lectures are, to quote the words of the accompanying prospectus,—

'1. That all the ornaments of pure pointed edifices were merely introduced as decorations to the essential constructions of those buildings.

'2. That the construction of pointed architecture was varied to accord with the *properties of the various materials employed*.

'3. That no features were introduced in the ancient pointed edifices, which were not essential either for convenience or propriety.

'4. That pointed architecture is most consistent, as it decorates the useful portions of buildings, instead of concealing or disguising them.

‘ 5. That true principles of architectural proportion are found only in pointed edifices.

‘ 6. That the defects of modern architecture are principally owing to the departure from ancient consistent principles.’

As it is with pointed architecture that we have chiefly to do in the present article, we shall dismiss Nos. 4 and 5 of the preceding enumeration, with a single remark on each.

Mr. Pugin’s objection to the proportion of Grecian buildings, appears chiefly to rest on the flatness of the Grecian, as compared with the Gothic roof, (see p. 11.) In this objection we cannot agree. The form of the Grecian pediments is not only consistent but necessary. It is indispensable, to give their temples that breadth and harmony for which they are so distinguished; and indeed presents almost the only contrast we discover in them, one without which their characteristic simplicity would be simple meagreness.

The superior consistency of pointed architecture in decorating instead of concealing the useful portions of buildings, is a doctrine which may be conceded, if the comparison be limited to modern civil architecture, and perhaps some earlier specimens of Roman art; to Grecian architecture the objection does not apply; at least we do not see its application, and Mr. Pugin has offered us no aid in that respect. To the various imitations of ancient art, and applications of ancient forms to totally different modern structures, it, however, applies with great force; and for what Mr. Pugin has brought forward on this subject in pages 5, 8, and 9, as exemplified in St. Paul’s Cathedral, he is entitled to the thanks of the profession. He has exposed errors which every youthful architect should carefully avoid; and laid open a principle which, if duly adhered to in practice, would not only put an immediate end to one-half the architectural absurdities which are daily perpetrated, but by materially reducing the cost of buildings by the substitution of really scientific designs, could scarcely fail of having a marked influence in the more general encouragement of architecture.

The chief merit of Mr. Pugin’s work lies, however, in the elucidation of the doctrines numbered 1, 2, 3, and 6. No. 1 is well illustrated in the account (pp. 3—6) of the object and character of buttresses, and (pp. 8—10) of pinnacles. His account of ceilings (pp. 6, 7), being short, shall be submitted to the reader. The part referring to the stone pendants of the Tudor period, exhibits the reasons of the objection which many architects of purest taste have taken to those massive miracles of masonry.

‘ Here again the great principle of decorating utility is to be observed. A stone ceiling is most essential in a large church, both

for durability, security from fire, and conveyance of sound. It is impossible to conceive stone ceilings better contrived than those of the ancient churches. They are at once light, substantial, beautiful, and lofty. 1st. They are light, because their principal strength lying in the ribs, the intermediate spaces or spandrels are filled in with small light stones. 2nd. They are substantial, for all the stones being cut to a centre and forming portions of a curve, when united they are capable of resisting immense pressure, the keys or bosses wedging all together. 3rd. They are beautiful, for no ceiling can be conceived more graceful and elegant than a long perspective of lines and arches radiating from exquisitely carved centres. 4th. They are lofty, not only on account of the elevation at which they are placed, but that their construction permits the clerestory windows to be carried up level with the crown of the arch in the intermediate space.

‘In the groining of the later styles we find a great departure from the severe and consistent principles I have been describing. Henry the Seventh’s chapel at Westminster is justly considered one of the most wonderful examples of ingenious construction and elaborate face groining in the world, but at the same time it exhibits the commencement of the bad taste, by *constructing its ornament instead of confining it to the enrichment of its construction*. I allude to the stone pendants of the ceiling, which are certainly extravagances. A key stone is necessary for the support of arched ribs; the olden architects contented themselves with enriching it with foliage or figures, but those of the later styles allowed four or five feet of unnecessary stone to hang down into the church, and from it to branch other ribs upwards. This is a most ingenious trick, and quite unworthy of the severity of pointed or Christian architecture.’—pp. 6, 7.

Our author’s second position, that ‘the construction of pointed architecture was varied to accord with the properties of the various materials employed,’ is supported by examples of work in timber and metal as well as stone. This is an interesting part of his volume, and adorned with etchings of several beautiful and elaborate specimens. From this part of the work the reader is to learn to eschew all such devices as ‘diminutive fronts of castellated or ecclesiastical buildings, with turrets, loopholes, windows, and doorways, all in a space of forty inches,’ fenders cast in the form of embattled parapets, with a lodge gate at each end—pokers terminating in a sharp pointed pencil—clocks inscribed on chariot wheels—clock-cases exhibiting ‘the whole front of a cathedral church reduced to a few inches in height, with the clock face occupying the position of a magnificent rose window—inkstands in the form of staircase turrets—monumental crosses for night-shades,’ &c. &c. Against such enormities in taste, Mr. Pugin is so much in earnest, that his zeal has tempted him far over the boundary of his *proper* subject. His remarks on furniture of various kinds, however, if not exactly where we

should have looked for them, express in general the same pure taste which it is the object of his lecture to promote. The subjects of which it treats, timber roofs, (pp. 34—37,) timber work in exterior walls, (p. 38,) gables, (p. 39,) and wood-work in the decoration of rooms, (p. 40,) are all ably handled, and illustrated with etchings of admirable specimens. But indeed this latter circumstance lessens our regret that we can afford no extract from it, for the illustrations are quite necessary for the full communication of the author's ideas.

The last subject Mr. Pugin illustrates, is 'decoration with reference to propriety;' meaning, as he explains himself by propriety, '*that the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined.*' Under this head he speaks very forcibly against deception in architecture; making buildings appear better than they really are: a practice in every instance contrary to taste; but in buildings erected to God, offensive to truth. What follows respects another offence against propriety:—

'It is likewise essential to ecclesiastical propriety that the ornaments introduced about churches should be appropriate and significant, and not consist of *Pagan* emblems and attributes, for buildings professedly erected for Christian worship. If the admirers of classic decoration were consistent, on the very principles which induced the ancients to set up their divinities, they should now employ other and more appropriate ornaments; as all those found in the temples and other buildings of the Pagans were in strict accordance with their mythology and customs, they never introduce any emblem without a mystical *signification being attached to it*. Now great as may be their enormities, I think it would be unjust to charge the advocates of revived Pagan decoration with an actual belief in the mythology of which they are such jealous admirers; hence they are guilty of the greater inconsistency, as the original heathens proceeded from conviction. They would not have placed urns on the tombs had they not practised burning instead of burying the dead; of which former custom the urn was a fitting emblem, as being the depository for the ashes. Neither would they have decorated the friezes with the heads of sheep and oxen, had they not sacrificed those animals to their supposed gods; or placed inverted torches on the mausoleums, had they believed in the glories of the resurrection. But what have we, as *Christians*, to do with all those things, illustrative *only of former error*? Is our wisdom set forth by the owl of Minerva, or our strength by the club of Hercules? What have we (who have been redeemed by the sacrifice of our Lord himself) to do with the carcasses of bulls and goats? And how can we (who surround the biers of our departed brethren with blazing tapers, denoting our hope and faith in the glorious light of the Resurrection) *carve the inverted torch of Pagan despair* on the very tomb to which we conduct their remains with such sparkling light? But not only

are the details of modern churches borrowed from Pagan instead of Christian antiquity, but the very plan and arrangement of the buildings themselves are now fashioned after a heathen temple; for which unsightly and inappropriate form modern churchmen and architects have abandoned those which are not only illustrative of the great mysteries of the Christian faith, but whose use has been sanctioned by the custom of more than twelve centuries.'—*Pugin*, p. 46.

This passage fairly brings before us the whole question of the mystic form and decoration of churches; a subject, at present, of most engrossing interest in some quarters; and one on which Mr. Pugin, though a Romanist, is far more moderate than many of the Anglican writers. As the following extract is selected with reference to this particular subject, we have put in italics the prominent sentences relating to it.

'An old English parish church, as originally used for the ancient worship, was one of the most beautiful and appropriate buildings that the mind of man could conceive; every portion of it answered both a useful and *mystical* purpose. There stood the tower, not formed of detached and misapplied portions of architectural detail stuck over one another to make up a height, but solid buttresses and walls rising from a massive base and gradually diminishing and enriching as they rise, till they were terminated in a *heaven-pointing spire surrounded by clusters of pinnacles, and forming a beautiful and instructive emblem of a Christian's brightest hopes.** These towers served a double purpose, for in them hung the solemn sounding bells to summon the people to the offices of the church, and by their lofty elevation they served as beacons to direct their footsteps to the sacred spot. Then the southern porch, destined for the performance of many rites—the spacious nave and aisles for the faithful—the oaken canopy *carved with images of the heavenly host,†* and painted with quaint and appro-

* '*Height, or the vertical principle, emblematic of the resurrection, is the very essence of Christian architecture,*' p. 7. I have no doubt that pinnacles are considered by the majority of persons as mere ornamental excrescences, introduced solely for picturesque effect. The very reverse of this is the case; and I shall be able to show you that their introduction is warranted by the soundest principles of construction and design. They should be regarded as answering a double intention, both *mystical* and natural. *Their mystical intention is like other vertical lines and terminations of Christian architecture, to represent an emblem of the resurrection; their natural intention is that of an upper weathering to throw off rain, &c.—p. 9.*

† 'Of wooden roofs over churches we have beautiful specimens in various parts of England, but especially in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The beams of these roofs are beautifully moulded and enriched with carvings. Nor are these carvings without a *mystical and appropriate meaning*. They usually represented angels, archangels, and various orders of the heavenly hierarchy, hovering over the congregated faithful, while the spaces between the rafters were painted azure, and powdered with stars and other celestial

priate devices—the impressive *doom or judgment pictured over the great chancel arch—the fretted screen and rood loft—the mystical separation between the sacrifice and the people, with the emblem of redemption carved on high and surrounded with glory—the great altar rich in hangings, placed far from irreverent gaze, and with the brilliant eastern window terminating this long perspective; while the chantry and guild chapels, pious foundations of families and confraternities, contributed greatly to increase the solemnity of the glorious pile.*—*Pugin*, pp. 49—51.

Such is Mr. Pugin's representation of the mystic import of the form and the details, which we have supplemented and endeavoured to render more distinct, by attaching to it, in the form of notes, such other scattered hints as his volume has afforded us.

Mr. Poole, the author of the second work named at the head of this article, if he does not carry his mystical ideas further than Mr. Pugin, certainly runs to a far greater length, and into far more numerous ramifications in stating them. His starting point is, that ecclesiastical architecture was, from the first, a language—

‘characteristic in its intellectual expressions: that its character was theological, doctrinal, catholic, exclusive; *aiming not only at accommodating a congregation, but at elevating their devotions, and informing their minds*; attaching them to the spiritual church, of which the earthly building is the symbol, and leading them onwards to that heavenly Jerusalem, of which the material fabric is, as it were, the vestibule. Hence a Christian church always embodied some of the mysteries of the Christian religion, as the mystery of the Trinity; always shadowed forth some part of the ecclesiastical polity, as the division of the church into clergy and laity; always conveyed some instruction on religion and morals, as for instance in the texts of Holy Scripture, or certain moral lessons written on the walls; and always pre-supposed a *catholic* worship, that is, a worship separate from error, and from the perversions of all sectaries.’—*Poole*, p. 3.

Mr. Poole proceeds to make good his position, by describing ‘the general plan of a church, as it was erected as soon as the Christians were at liberty to follow their own inclinations in the arrangement of their ecclesiastical edifices.’ He does not, indeed, tell his readers when that was; but this is not a solitary instance of loose and indefinite statement. He is far too careless in alleging his authorities; and, though we would make every reasonable allowance for the omission of them in lectures orally delivered, we think that, when these were committed to the press, he owed it both to himself and to his cause, if he considered it a good one, to supply the necessary proofs. We must

emblems, a beautiful figure of the firmament. Some of these angels held shields, charged with the instruments of the passion, the holy names, and other emblems; others, labels with devout Scriptures.’—p. 34.

give the matter which immediately follows our last citation, in the form of abstract, in order to reserve sufficient room for the most relevant portion of his representation.

'First of all, there was the church-yard, *answering to the court of the Gentiles in the Jewish temple, enclosed by a wall, to intimate the separation of the church from the world.* Within this, but still without the sanctuary, was the baptistery, or building enclosing the font,' . . . an 'enclosure, separate, indeed, from the world, but not yet a part of the church. Then, the sacred edifice itself, extending from the west to the east, of a length far greater than the breadth, and terminating at the east end in a semicircle; representing as nearly as possible in its shape the body of a ship, *in allusion to the ship into which our blessed Lord entered, which was always looked upon as a type of the church.* The entrance was at the west,' and the edifice 'was divided into three portions, answering to three several divisions into which ecclesiastical polity requires* that the members of the church shall be distinguished. First, the *narthex*, or porch for penitents and catechumens; . . . then the nave or body of the church for the communicants or perfect Christians; . . . still farther eastward, the sanctuary, the chancel, as we now speak, appropriated to the clergy. . . Each of these . . . was separated from the other two by a screen, or a veil, to *intimate the reality and importance of the*

* As the object of this abstract, and the extracts which follow, is to exhibit Mr. Poole's ideas respecting the symbolical significance of the structure and decorations of churches, we shall confine such observations as we may afterwards make in the text to that particular subject. Various statements, however, occur in the extracts, which, though relating to other subjects, ought not to be passed over in entire silence, and we shall observe upon these in brief foot notes, which may be omitted by those who prefer confining their attention to the principal subject. Our object in marking the passage to which the reference at the head of this note is attached in the text, was to take an opportunity of observing on the common practice of the clergy in drawing away attention from the authority of Christ in his church, and habitually substituting something inferior in its room. We constantly hear of the authority of the church, the authority of the bishop, and the authority of the clergy, and here we have a 'requirement of ecclesiastical polity,' but why do we hear so little of the law of Christ? Ecclesiastical polity is but the result of authority, either Christ's, or that of those who have usurped his right. If writers on natural science have at times been justly suspected of infidelity, because, when speaking of the 'operations of nature,' the 'arrangements of nature,' the 'laws of nature,' &c., they have seemed determined to forget that 'nature is but the name of an effect, whose cause is God,' are not the clergy, as a body, but too chargeable with a contempt of Christ in perpetually limiting their references to secondary authority? We are aware, that between them and us there is a great controversy respecting the extent and nature of episcopal authority, we regarding as purely administrative what they contend is legislative also; but supposing for the moment, and for argument's sake merely, their view to be the correct one, is it not strange, that while we hear so much of lord-bishops, we should hear so little of the Lord Christ?

distinction which they signified between the different classes of Christians.'

'The most glorious distinction between the chancel and the nave was the altar at the east of the former, around which the clergy ministered. But among these, too, was a distinction to be observed; the throne of the bishop was placed at the extreme east, so that he sat facing both the altar and the people. The lower thrones of the presbyters were extended on either hand of the bishop, so as to form a semicircle encompassing the altar; the deacons stood in the presence of the priests.

'But the most important rule, and one which was never broken in the primitive church was, that there should be but one altar in each church, *a symbol always understood, and often referred to, of the unity of the church of Christ.* One altar, one bishop, one church, were correlative terms, and were associated as such in the mind of every Christian man.* The bishop addressed the people from the steps of the altar; the priest, when he preached to them, preached from an *ambo*, or pulpit in the nave; other places were appointed for the readers and singers.'—*Poole*, pp. 3, 4.

Some remarks then follow respecting the uniformity of these arrangements, for which Mr. Poole contends, which are succeeded by an account, not uninteresting, certainly, of the few round churches which have remained as memorials of the knights templars and knights hospitallers of Jerusalem. In a note attached to this account, Mr. Poole offers some suggestions, which we can hardly call grave, respecting the propriety of building modern churches of a round form. Their superior convenience he acknowledges to be a recommendation; but then 'the first notion suggested by a circular building in the present day, is that of a circus or amphitheatre.' How may this objection be got rid of? Fortunately, the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, the church which encloses the most sacred spot on earth is a ROUND CHURCH. 'If, then,' says he,

* We must offer a remark or two on this statement. The one altar, acknowledged by every Christian mind in the *really primitive* church (the church had lost much of its primitive character by the end of the second century), is that mentioned Heb. xiii. 10; the one bishop, $\pi\tau$ who is referred to 1 Pet. ii. 25; the one church that indicated Eph. v. 25—27. But it would be a very unscientific mistake to represent the altar and the bishop as *correlative scriptural* ideas, though we admit that they have become correlatives in the corrupt usage of later times. The careful reader of the New Testament will remember, that where a Christian 'altar' is the subject of discourse, Christ is represented not as bishop, but as high priest, the whole representation deriving its character from the figures of the Jewish law. That one church and one bishop were *not* correlative ideas in the primitive church when any other church than the church universal, and any other bishop than the Lord Jesus was intended, is however clear from the salutations of Paul's epistles of 1 Cor. i. 2, 2 Cor. i. 1, with Philip. i. 1.

'the Gothic style were observed, . . . and if the association were helped by the name assigned to the new church—if it were called, for instance, *The church of the holy sepulchre*, all the conveniences of a round church would be gained, and the principle, the ecclesiastical tone and meaning would be preserved.'—*Poole*, p. 5.

This point being so satisfactorily settled, Mr. Poole (after a notice, in which we entirely agree with him, and which indeed resembles that already quoted from Mr. Pugin, of the impropriety of Pagan devices in professed Christian churches) informs us—

'There arose in the west, in the middle ages, or the dark ages, as we complacently term them, a style of architecture growing, in all its parts and characters, out of the wants of the church, and adapting itself to the expression of the very things which the church desires to express, in all her methods of embodying herself to the eyes of the world, and to the hearts of her sons. And so entirely did this style arise out of the strivings of the church to give a bodily form to her teaching, that it seems to have clothed her spirit, almost as if her invisible things had put forth their energies unseen, but powerful and plastic, and gathered round them on all sides the very forms and figures which might best serve to embody them to the eye of sense. A Gothic church in its perfection, is an exposition of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, clothed upon with a material form, and is, as Coleridge has more forcibly expressed it, 'the petrification of our religion.' The greater mysteries concerning the divine object of our worship are symbolized in the fundamental design of the structure; other Christian verities are set forth in the minor arrangements, and in the ornamental details. For instance, the mystery of the holy and undivided Trinity, and the great doctrine of the atonement, are expressed in the greater elements of the structure, in the ground plan, and in the more important lines of the elevation. Other articles, as the Doctrine of Regeneration in Holy Baptism, and the Communion of Saints, find their expression in the subordinate arrangements: and the precepts of the moral law, with the promises and threatenings of the gospel, and some of the more important parts of ecclesiastical history, afford endless varieties of decorative details.'—*Ib.*, p. 5.

The more particular development of these ideas is furnished, partly by means of an 'exposition of the symbolical structure and arrangement of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire,' extracted from Lewis's 'Illustration and Description'; partly in a similar exposition by the author, of which Wells cathedral is the subject. The next extract is from Lewis, as quoted by Mr. Poole in illustration.

'According to human reason, the cross form should be the foundation for a house of prayer, because the religion of Christ crucified is to be preached within its walls; and in conformity with this principle, a vast number of our churches have been so constructed, and wisely so

too, for the essence of a subject should be its foundation, and Christ crucified is the essence of our religion. The cross is made up of three parts,—the head, the heart, and the body. These divisions answer to the nave or body of the church, for the faithful and catechumens; the holy place, chancel, or choir for the priest to preach from to the faithful in the nave, and to receive the faithful when communicants; and the most holy place, or holy of holies, for the priests alone. We see in this arrangement a thorough knowledge of the subject; for by the three divisions, our church is made to be in trinity as it ought to be. The trinity in the cross, and the cross in trinity.

‘In the ground plan of Kilpeck Church, the three divisions are represented; but the cross form in the body or nave is lost, probably in consequence of the original pavement being destroyed. I have seen the shaft of the cross in the nave of other churches, produced by the pavement being of two colours. . . . This cross form is divided into three parts. In the first we have the nave, the second is the chancel, and the third is the holy of holies. The nave being the commencement of the church, would, in the language of the designer, be read the Father, and being the first part, is of none.* The chancel or cross (and which is, as it were, made to arise out of the nave) is of the nave alone: and the holy of holies is of the nave and of the chancel proceeding from them. Thus it is that the ecclesiastical designer translated the creed into his own language, and informed the community, through his varied forms, divisions, and arrangements, upon the doctrine of the holy Trinity.’—*Lewis, as quoted by Poole, p. 7.*

‘Of the windows,’ says Mr. Poole, ‘he proceeds to say: ‘In these three divisions there are three arches or glories; the first, and which belongs to the nave, is the largest, and is designed to form a cross, and convey other scriptural information; the second arch, which is in the chancel, is plain; and the third, which is in the holy of holies, is designed to appear as the light of heaven. In the nave there are three windows or lights; the west one is the largest. There is also one door. All are round-headed, and the door is designed to form a cross. In the chancel, I suppose, there were none. In the holy of holies there are three lights, so that the beginning and the end is illuminated through the Trinity, and the whole taken together make the six lights [days] of creation; and the one door makes the seventh day.’—*Ib.*

These interpretations, however, though quoted by Mr. Poole, are not ‘wholly adopted’ by him, as he does not ‘see sufficient reason to believe that the relation between the divine persons in the ever blessed Trinity is indicated by the position of the three compartments of the church; nor does the allusion to the six

* This is evidently borrowed from the Athanasian creed: ‘The Father is made of none. . . . The Son is of the Father alone.’ . . . The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son. . . . ‘[neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but] proceeding.’—*REV.*

days of creation appear' to him 'very clear in the six windows.' The mystic signs which he discovers in the structure and arrangements of the cathedral church at Wells are thus unfolded:—

'In this case you will find the same great Christian verities, THE TRINITY and THE ATONEMENT, expressed in a different, but perfectly consistent manner. THE ATONEMENT is shadowed forth in the grand form of the church, the cross, which is the foundation of the whole; and in this instance, as in some other large churches, as in Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, and York Minster, we have the smaller transept above the great arms of the cross, representing the inscription placed by Pilate over the head of our crucified Redeemer. To signify THE HOLY TRINITY, we have, first of all, the threefold division lengthwise into nave, transepts, and choir; and then the threefold division breadthwise, of the nave or choir, and two aisles. In the exterior elevation, the two western towers, with the central tower with which they are necessarily associated in the view of the whole building as we approach it, follow the same ternary arrangement; and in the interior elevation, we have the like in the three stories of the nave and choir,—viz., the first tier of arches separating the nave and choir respectively from the aisles on either hand—the triforium and the clerestory.'—*Poole, ib.*

Such, then, is the mystic significance of Roman and Anglican churches when erected in the style required by the 'wants of the church,' 'desiring to express' these things 'in all her methods of embodying herself to the eyes of the world and the hearts of her sons.' It is always contrary to our inclination to treat what is written by respectable authors with anything like ridicule, especially when they intend to be serious: but such fine-spun theories as these are certainly ridiculous enough. Not that we question for a moment that symbolism is an element of art, and that when the useful had been adequately realized in buildings dedicated to sacred uses, it became the object of a higher art to give ornament and interest to them, not merely by the adoption of forms adapted to arrest the eye, or affect the mind through beauty of form and outline, but also by creations of fancy capable of acting upon the will, the affections, and the memory, by the force of some association or other which they were felt to have with the doctrinal truths of the religion in whose service these buildings were reared. All this we admit and feel. It is symbolism which confers the highest character on the heaven-directed spire; and Milton, who was no papist, could not but

——— love the *high embowed roof*,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.

To symbolism in itself, then, we have no objection, but it must be intelligent, consistent, elevated, and not overdone; to express it in one term, it must be scriptural—New Testament—symbolism, not childish, inconsistent, Jewish, heathen, and only in part Christian, like that of Mr. Lewis, Mr. Poole, and we must with regret add, though the charge falls on him much more lightly, Mr. Pugin.

The puerility of the system now under review is a point we shall not discuss. If our readers did not appreciate it when Mr. Lewis was illustrating the mystery enveloped in the number and arrangement of church windows, or deriving the relation of the larger portions of the church to that which the Athanasian creed foolishly endeavours to describe as subsisting in the Trinity, or when Mr. Poole was bringing in his recipe for giving a sacred character to round churches, or making out first a trinity in the church's length, then another in the breadth, then two others in the interior and exterior elevation, nothing which we could say would make it plainer. But certainly, nothing ever perpetrated in verbal criticism can well exceed the arbitrariness even of Mr. Poole's elucidations, though by no means so far gone as Mr. Lewis, for he has only to wish for a 'ternary arrangement,' as he terms it, and it comes to hand without either nicety or scruple. Thus, in the first extract which we gave from him, his three divisions of the church were porch, nave, and chancel. These served to distinguish them. Afterwards, however, when he comes to illustrate the Trinity, they are nave, transepts, and choir, so that there are, in fact, four divisions; but as he wanted only three, and wanted two sets for two different calculations, he hit upon the happy expedient of beginning his two calculations at different ends, and so obtained two different sets.

One question, however, occurs to us before we proceed. If churches with three towers set forth one Trinity, what do churches with two or one set forth? We passed the other day a church with two towers, the one lofty, the other low. This said we must be an Arian church. But no: it was a *catholic* church (so called) erected by Mr. Pugin, and the lower tower was unfinished for want of funds. We suppose the proper explanation of this matter is, that complete and perfect churches have a positive mystical character, but that in others, the symbolism is latent. It is time, however, that the world was enlightened on the subject, for we have seen both churches and unitarian meeting-houses with two turrets.

A graver charge than that of puerility and arbitrariness may however be advanced against these symbols. They teach, if anything, error as well as truth, the inventions of men as well as the 'true sayings of God.' The spirit embodied in them, as

Mr. Poole pretends, is, if Scripture be the standard, 'a lying spirit.' That we may not advance this charge without satisfactory evidence of its truth, we shall apply to Mr. Poole's ideas of architectural structure the same test (in part, at least) which in the next extract he has applied to some decorations of churches adapted to the Roman service. The head and front of Romanist offence is indeed oddly described in the words which we have put in italics, but the general complaint is just.

'The decorations of churches refer, perhaps, more to the communion of saints than to any other article of the faith, which is remarked by the frequent occurrence of the statues of martyrs and confessors, of the founders, and benefactors, and patron saints of churches, of Christian kings and princes, of bishops and other ecclesiastics, but more especially of the Blessed Virgin and of the twelve apostles, with persons eminent in ecclesiastical history, in the niches and other receptacles of sculpture and painting with which our older churches abound. Now I am obliged to confess that the doctrine which is thus embodied is sometimes decidedly corrupt. The position of the Blessed Virgin, at the right hand of God the Father, as she is sometimes represented in Gothic sculpture, does not agree with Scripture, or with catholic theology; but it is *worse than this* that the false doctrine of the saints is made to *disturb that distinction* to which I have just alluded, between *structure and ornament*; and that, not content with giving the saints, the Blessed Virgin especially, a false place in the niches or pediments, or painted windows of churches, *the ecclesiastics of the middle ages have given them a portion of the very structure of the church* which seemed to be devoted to the embodying of those great mysteries which respect the divine objects of our worship. The chapels of the saints occupy a prominent place in the very foundation, and form a remarkable portion of the great lines of the elevation, and this is obtruded upon the notice in almost all our larger churches, where the chapel of our lady is placed, eastward of the very altar itself,—that is, above every symbolical representation of which the church admits. In Canterbury cathedral, *even the Lady's chapel is thrust into a cold north corner*, to make way for the crown and martyrdom of Thomas a Becket.'—*Poole*, pp. 7, 8.

Now, although we cannot recognise in that 'highly favoured' woman, of whom our Lord was born according to the flesh, any title to the epithet, 'Our Lady,' and do not feel the horrors which Mr. Poole (perhaps in the same spirit of chivalric admiration and platonic affection for her which had previously animated the breasts of Augustine and the judicious Hooker*)

* 'We dare not except, no, not the Blessed Virgin herself, of whom, although we say with St. Augustine, for the honour sake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Christ, we are not willing in this cause to move any question of his mother; yet,' &c.—*Hooker Disc. on Justification*, sect. 2.

expresses at the thrusting of her chapel into a cold north corner, seeing that she herself is in a better place and does not feel it, we must admit the charge advanced against the architecture of the Romanist to be, in the main, well founded. Our readers will remember, that in a previous extract, Mr. Poole had stated that the one altar in a church expressed the unity of the church of Christ. Yet the Romish communion has many altars in one building, though preferring an exclusive claim to that most necessary 'note' of the true church. To the Romanist, therefore, these symbols speak a different language altogether, each separate altar representing the claims of some distinct object of worship. If structure have a meaning, this is the meaning of the numerous altars to be found in the larger churches of the Roman communion—the objects of our worship are many; and this, whatever glosses and distinctions on the subject may be framed by Romanist divines, is the conviction of the people. In the cathedral at Prague, a chapel at the eastern extremity of the south aisle, a little in the rear of the high altar, is fitted up for the worship of St. John Nepomucenus; and such is the *empressement* with which the saint is worshipped, that we have seen upon a Sabbath morning, and while a single service sufficed for the high altar, three successive services performed in the presence of as many congregations, each filling almost the whole aisle from the altar to the western door of the cathedral, and kneeling to the colossal silver image which is reared above his altar. Many of our readers must have seen similar exhibitions. The well known facts, therefore, which Mr. Poole has mentioned in his lectures, and which we have transferred to a note below,* breathed a spirit which is by no means extinct in the Roman communion; and while they serve to illustrate the symbolical import of the many altars which some of their churches contain, will show that Mr. Poole has so far rightly charged their structures with the expression of error instead of truth.

But does not every parish church or chapel of ease in our protestant country teach the same error? In a lugubrious passage, which we cannot quote at length in this connexion, Mr. Pugin complains that 'Our good old Saint Martin's, Saint John's, Saint Peter's, and Saint Mary's Streets, are becoming Bellevue-places, Adelaide-rows, Apollo-terraces, Regent-squares, and Royal Circuses.' Why does Mr. Pugin lament this alteration of old customs? Because he believes that when their

* 'In one year there was offered at Christ's altar [in the cathedral church of Canterbury] 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; at the virgin's altar 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; but at St. Thomas's altar, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next year the odds grew greater; for there was not a penny offered at Christ's altar; at the virgin's only, 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; but at St. Thomas's, 954*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—*Poole*, p. 8

names become obsolete, the saints are forgotten; and when their names are retained, their memory is honoured. The splendid church of St. Genevieve in Paris, bears upon its pediment the inscription, D O.M. SUB INVOCATIONE SANCTÆ GENOVEFÆ SACRUM, and the designations, St. Martin's, St. Thomas's, St. Magdalen, and 'Christ Church,' to specify no more, were respectively given to our parish churches to denote that in them the divine favour might be *advantageously* propitiated, if the aid of Bishop Martin of Tours, Thomas the Apostle, Mary the possessed woman of Magdala, and the divine incarnate Redeemer, as the patrons of the respective districts, were invoked at the same time. Now what is this nomenclature, persevered in, however, to the present day, but a system for perpetuating error, an error of which the presbyterian establishment of the north—oh that such inconsistencies should be—complacently retains its share.

We might also show that the alleged division of the church into clergy and laity, expressed by the distinction of the nave and choir, is a doctrine decidedly corrupt, and does not agree 'with Scripture,' all believers being God's clergy, if the New Testament is to be followed (see 1 Pet. v. 3, in the original), and *λαοι* being employed (except when used with a commendatory epithet to denote the church generally, as in 1 Pet. ii. 9) to distinguish not the general body of the faithful from the official ministry, but the general populace from the body of the faithful, e. g. Acts ii. 47; xii. 30, 36. But this hint must suffice on that matter. The field of argument is too encumbered with unnecessary questions and interested perversions to be entered on as a branch of our present subject.

Both Mr. Pugin and Mr. Poole feel indignant that the middle ages should in modern times be so frequently designated as 'the dark ages,' and both the Romanist and Anglican clergy have come forth, we must admit, with a fair degree of success, in defence of their cultivation. This is an interesting subject, as the papers entitled 'the dark ages' in the 'British Magazine' abundantly testify. But what opinion can we form either of the teachers or the taught, when religious truth, during the almost total neglect of preaching, except on saints' days, and at a time when letters were confined almost to the regular clergy, and but a few of them, was communicated and impressed upon the people by means of the dark and doubtful symbols we have been discussing. One faithful preacher of the word of God,—nay, one bible-reader, outweighs the whole apparatus in efficiency, even supposing that these symbols had taught nothing but the truth. But when we consider how the case really stood, we do not wonder that an indignant people, when the clear light of the protestant reformation burst forth, rose up against even the

structures wherein so much error and mischief were enshrined; and if Knox were really guilty of all that it has been the fashion to charge to his account in this respect, and were every one of the *veracious* statements made by cathedral showmen against that personification (to them) of all evil—Cromwell, satisfactorily established, we could excuse them both.

We shall now dismiss the subject for the present, with an expression of regret that Mr. Pugin has thought proper to introduce into a work on a professional subject, so many insinuations and contemptuous allusions as it contains. If he really believes that catholic England was merry England for the humbler classes, as he says, and that happiness was more widely diffused then than now, we can only pity him. There are, we are sorry to say, too many passages in these lectures which show that a man may be a zealous Romanist, without being, in his judgments and demeanour at least, a catholic Christian. We hope, however, that his book will be extensively read, notwithstanding the author's flings at the modern machinery for the instruction of the people, and similar manifestations of bigoted and sectarian exclusiveness, for as a professional book, it abounds in sound instruction and admirable exemplifications. And should a protestant reader be offended, as no doubt he may at the contemptuous expressions he will too frequently find in it, let him turn to the plate opposite page 32, and he will have his revenge. He will there see that the man whose taste is so pure that he cannot brook a castellated grate, or a clock-case in the form of a cathedral tower, has no objection to a reliquary, cast, or hammered out of silver plate, into the effigies of some venerated bishop!

Art. II. *The Works of Benjamin Franklin, containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former edition, and many Letters, Official and Private, not hitherto published, with Notes and a Life of the Author.* By Jared Sparks. 10 vols. 8vo. Boston. 1836—1840.

EMIGRATION by the advance of public funds is a subject of the utmost importance, involving several great difficulties; but upon this theme we do not at present intend to enter. The subject of colonial government, which we shall discuss, is quite independent of emigration, and affects established interests far too extensive to be fairly or prudently treated with the neglect which it has hitherto encountered. A survey, therefore, of some of the stores furnished by colonial experience for the improvement of colonial government, may be well timed.

Of those stores, none are more useful than the writings of Franklin; and to the numerous valuable publications, for which the United States of North America and the world at large are indebted to Mr. Sparks, the volumes now before us make an addition more important to the British public than any others of the same class with which we are acquainted. To the reader who is interested in colonial affairs, a large portion of this fine work has also the merit of being at this moment singularly *opportune*, for the following reasons, which will be appreciated in every corner of our colonies.

Franklin's writings treat in great detail of the way in which British colonies are founded and flourish, as well as of the errors of the government, which, in aiming at an unjust domination over the thirteen old American colonies, impeded their prosperity and provoked the sanguinary struggle so fatal to the supremacy of Great Britain. They further exhibit a full display of the means by which the outraged colonists succeeded in establishing their independence, after they had most reluctantly resorted to arms in vindication of their ancient rights. The lesson, however, to be learned from the utter failure of the Machiavelian policy attempted to be enforced over those colonies, has been absolutely thrown away upon our government, as it has been long disregarded by the public, at whose expense it was taught.

Through various pretences since 1782 (the date of the independence of the thirteen old colonies), the same policy has been established over many new ones,* in which despotism prevails to a degree unparalleled in British history. The evil consequences of this have been enormous, and it is the duty of every lover of his country to call for a reform of the system which has led to so gross an abuse of power. The experience of half a century may thus become a beacon to the future; and the new empires fast forming under British auspices be consolidated by the avoidance of past errors.

The necessity of a deep searching inquiry into this matter will be admitted by all who reflect on those evil consequences, coupled with the fact, that however the acquisitions of the crown abroad since the American revolution differ in other points, they all agree in being thus despotically governed. In the purely British settlements of the Australias, equally with our conquests in the West Indies, in Africa, and in the Indian Ocean; also in various other quarters of the globe the supreme rule has everywhere been—the *despotism of the Colonial Office*. Indeed, so

* New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, Swan River, South Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malta, Guiana, Trinidad, Sierra Leone, and New Zealand, not to add Indian and Chinese settlements.

complete is the success of this office, that even the New Zealand Colony, founded in a great degree by a powerful body of ardent reformers of Colonial policy, has accepted an arbitrary constitution to begin their young British empire upon in the Southern Ocean. It does not however require the gift of second sight to perceive that this *crown* colony is destined to be one of the first scenes of the early coming struggle for a return to our ancient principle of free colonial government.

We cannot stop to trace the arts by which the Colonial Office has succeeded by playing parties against each other so as to derive aid from all—from Tories, Whigs, and Radicals,—nay, even from religious and philanthropic bodies, although their leaders have long been thoroughly convinced of the iniquity of the system. It is enough to justify a call for reform, that the results in modern colonies are—general discontent among the whites, and ruin to the aborigines, abroad; and at home, prodigality in the place of the economy, which for the most part prevailed in managing the affairs of the old free colonies.

These evils must in existing circumstances be remedied by very different measures from those which saved the old colonies. Forming one block of territory, and inhabited chiefly by one nation, they were able to combine in order to resist by fighting; whilst, on the contrary, the misgoverned colonists of modern times are separated from each other by oceans, and by various manners and languages, so that, happily, military combination for such a purpose is impossible. But resistance of another character is in our power; and vigorous, judicious discussion in every possible form, with bills and other proceedings in parliament, and private enterprises of various kinds, cannot fail of beneficial effects.

The writings of Franklin are invaluable in aid of such efforts. They furnish ample materials for perfectly appreciating the state of colonial affairs before the American war; and as the principles which then influenced the government in its erroneous course are now struggling hard for the mastery, a review of the affairs traced in these writings, and of the mischievous principles which the author resisted, will serve both to recommend what was good in times past, and to justify the call for changes of what is at present notoriously evil. The attentive study of them will serve to promote the success of British colonial enterprise, which is opening a career more brilliant than ever, and it is a worthy task to give to that enterprise its just issue, by correcting the errors of the government, which has too much impeded, and even attempted to stop, what it should have merely guided and duly controlled.

It is no new thing to look upon Franklin's genius and cha-

racter as of weight in the greatest civil questions. Two and twenty years ago the American minister in London, Mr. Rush, was told by one who turned out to be in the secret, that in the next 'Quarterly Review,' an article *on Franklin* was to be 'the medium of an attack upon the United States. It would disparage the people, and underrate their resources, in order to lower their reputation in Europe. To this end it would be translated into French, republished in Paris, and thence be widely circulated. Finally, the article was already known to persons who stood high in England, and countenanced by them.'*

We proceed to make a different use of the works of this 'great philosopher, economist, and statesman,' first describing the contents of this edition without repeating the common and well known incidents of his life, and only glancing at his scientific and moral productions with which the world is sufficiently familiar.

To the autobiography, which was first published many years ago, Mr. Sparks has added an original memoir, with 'the design to touch briefly upon all the principal events in the life of Franklin from the time his own narrative breaks off, according to the method adopted by him in his memoir of himself, and not to write an 'essay on his genius and character, nor an historical account of his discoveries as a philosopher, and his achievements as a statesman and moralist.'—Vol. i., p. 538. This original memoir, and a few miscellaneous pieces besides the autobiography, fill the first volume of the collection. The whole of the remaining nine volumes contain well authenticated writings of Dr. Franklin; except the third, the greater part of which is devoted to the History of Pennsylvania, and that production after being thought for eighty years to be from his pen, now appears from his own positive testimony, in a lately discovered and interesting letter to David Hume, to have been mainly written by another person. The second and fourth volumes contain political and historical papers; the fifth, important political tracts; the sixth, papers and letters on numerous philosophical subjects; and the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth volumes contain correspondence, concluding with conveniently arranged indexes of the whole collection.

The new writings of Franklin in this edition are—some of the essays, and many letters. Of the former, it will be a sufficient notice to quote their titles in the order of their dates. They are curious illustrations of the variety of his pursuits, and the activity of his mind. 1732. New Translation of the Lord's

* A Residence at the Court of London, by Richard Rush, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, from 1817 to 1825. London. 1833. p. 276.

Prayer. 1745. On Perspiration and Absorption; and the Motion of the Blood in the Heart. On the Circulation of the Blood. Conjecture as to the Cause why Ships in crossing the Atlantic have longer passages in sailing westward than in sailing eastward. 1747. North-east Storms. Origin of Springs in Mountains; Petrified Shell in the Apalachian Mountains. Observations on a Tariff. Experiments on the Culture of Grass. A Conjecture as to the cause of Heat of the Blood in Health, and of the Cold and Hot Fits of some Fevers. 1750. Reasons why North-east Storms begin at the South. Inquiries respecting the mode of Planting Hedges. 1751. Remarks on Husbandry. 1752. Remarks on Mr. Colden's Theory of Light. 1753. On the Mode of Coating Electrical Jars. Transit of Mercury in 1753. Properties of Water on Smeaton's Air Pump. 1763. Congelations of Quicksilver. 1768. Petition of the Letter Z. 1772. On the Security of the Powder Magazines at Purfleet. Description of Cauton's Apparatus. Some Directions for Drawing Tones from the Glasses of the Armonica. 1773. The Wholesomeness of Manufacturing Establishments. Moist Air not unhealthy. Torpedo Magnetic Needle. Electrical Machine. 1774. Answers to Questions on Philosophical Subjects. Experiment to show that Electricity does not pass through a perfect vacuum. 1786. Description of an Instrument for taking down Books from high shelves.

The familiar letters, amounting to many hundreds, written by and to Franklin, constitute a very valuable part of this edition. Of these letters, Mr. Sparks published a small volume seven years ago; but 509 now appear for the first time in print. The most important of them, and the most valuable of the other original materials, are described by the editor in the following terms, which are quoted partly for the sake of the anecdotes, but chiefly in order to suggest that further inquiry in *England* may produce similar materials still wanted to complete Franklin's political and personal history.

'The autobiography of Dr. Franklin, as he wrote it,' says Mr. Sparks, 'first appeared in his grandson's edition. Many other valuable papers, particularly his official correspondence during his residence in France, and numerous private letters, were printed from the original manuscripts. Of the philosophical and political papers, the work comprised only a selection from those that had already been printed. It was first published in three quarto volumes, and afterwards in six volumes octavo. Some time before this edition was put to press in London, another was begun by William Duane, in Philadelphia. Three or four volumes were already printed when William Temple Franklin's proposals were issued. Subsequently he and Mr. Duane entered into an arrangement by which both were to have the use of

all the materials, and the two works were to be published simultaneously in England and the United States. The Philadelphia edition, in six octavo volumes, includes many philosophical and political papers, and some letters which are not found in the London edition; and it has recently been reprinted with some additions in two volumes of the royal octavo size.

There has also been published at Paris, in two small volumes, a selection from Franklin's writings in Spanish, translated from the French by Mangnio.

'In the volumes now presented to the public, it has been the editor's design to make a *complete collection* of the writings of Franklin as far as they are known to exist, and to add such occasional notes and explanations as he supposed would be in some degree useful to the reader. The previous collections have been examined, and every piece contained in them has been inserted, except a few which the editor was convinced by competent evidence were not written by Franklin. Moreover, a careful search has been made in all the printed books, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers, in which it was deemed probable that any of the author's writings would be found in the form of essays, political tracts, or letters. By this research, the mass of materials from printed sources has been considerably enlarged. Seven years ago the editor published a small volume of 'Franklin's Familiar Letters,' which were then nearly all printed for the first time, and to which were added several original papers. The entire contents of that volume are embraced in the present work. In short, no printed paper has been omitted which is known to have been written by Franklin.

'The editor has been fortunate, also, in obtaining manuscript materials. His researches, as well in the public offices of London and Paris as those of the United States, and in many private collections, while he was preparing the 'Life and Writings of Washington' for publication, brought into his hands numerous original and unpublished letters of Franklin, of which he has availed himself in this work. But he has been mainly indebted to individuals who, with a liberality demanding the warmest acknowledgment, have readily contributed such original papers as they possessed.

'In the library of George the Third, presented to the British nation by George the Fourth, is a manuscript volume consisting of a correspondence between the Rev. Dr. Cooper, of Boston, Dr. Franklin, and Governor Pownall, for several years immediately preceding the Revolution. The history of this volume is curious. Immediately after the affair at Lexington, the town of Boston was surrounded by American troops, and all intercourse with the country was cut off, except by permission of the British commander; and no person was allowed to pass the lines without being searched. Among the principal men in the town who were friendly to the cause of the people, was Dr. Cooper, a man distinguished for his abilities and for the influence he had exercised by his pen and the weight of his character in opposition to the British claims. With others, he obtained a passport to leave the

town. At this time he had in his possession a number of original letters from Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall, and the drafts of his answers, all of which had an immediate bearing on the controversy between the two countries. Being unwilling to destroy or lose these papers, and apprehensive that they would be taken from him if he attempted to convey them through the lines, he determined to leave them behind in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them together in a parcel, and send them to Mr. Jeffries, who was then confined to his bed by sickness, and unable to leave the town. These papers Mr. Jeffries deposited in a trunk, which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries recovered, he likewise went into the country. In the meantime, his son, Dr. John Jeffries, adhering to the side of the loyalists, did not choose to accompany his father, but remained in Boston; and his father left many things in his charge, and among others, the above-mentioned trunk, either not knowing, or forgetting that it contained the treasure belonging to his friend. This trunk was nearly a year in the possession of Dr. Jeffries before he examined its contents, when, upon the evacuation of Boston, collecting his effects in order to embark with the British troops for Halifax, he accidentally discovered the packet of letters, and took it with him. From Halifax he carried it to London, and presented it to a Mr. Thompson, who sent it to the king, with an explanation of the particulars, the substance of which is here given. The original papers are bound in one volume, and a copy of the whole was procured in the king's library by Mr. Richard Biddle, the able and ingenious author of the 'Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot,' who has obligingly entrusted it to the judgment of the editor. The letters of both Dr. Franklin and Dr. Cooper thus furnished, are among the best original materials in the present edition.'

Another source supplied large portions of the new matter of these volumes; but it appears from Mr. Sparks' preface, that much is still wanting to make the collection complete.

'Although,' he says, 'he has spared neither labour nor expense in his endeavours to make this edition a complete collection of the writings of Franklin, yet he is constrained to say, in justice to the memory of the author, that he has been less successful than he could have wished. Many papers known to have once existed, he has not been able to find. Of this description are numerous letters to his son, written before the Revolution, and also his letters during a long course of years, to his daughter and his son-in-law, a very few of which have been preserved. Again, his entire correspondence with the Assemblies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Georgia, while he was agent for those colonies in England, has hitherto eluded the most vigilant search. It is possible that other writings may yet be brought to light which may afford some future editor the means of more entire success.'

—Vol. i., *Preface*.

A considerable number of the letters, now first published, are of great interest. These are the familiar and frequent epistles

of Dr. Franklin to his wife; and along with many others contained in these volumes, they abundantly refute the imputation long ago cast upon him, of having been negligent of domestic ties, and cold to his nearest kindred.

Besides this transient notice of some of Dr. Franklin's personal relations, we may here state, that in Mr. Sparks' edition will be found two valuable portraits, not before engraved. One is of Franklin at about the age of thirty; and the other of his wife. Both are by American artists; and it gives a favourable impression of the degree of refinement, which prevailed among the old colonists, when persons in only moderately easy circumstances could indulge a refined taste with so much facility and success.

Another striking circumstance in Franklin's life, is illustrated in a very lively manner by this collection of his own writings, and of writings addressed by others to him. That circumstance is, the high estimation in which he was held, from very early life, by numerous eminent persons of all countries. It is well known that his celebrity as a natural philosopher, preceded his missions to England, in the character of an envoy from several colonies; and his correspondence, as now presented to us, with numerous eminent men in every country in Europe for above fifty years, sets his reputation for scientific attainments in a brilliant point of view. These letters contain stores of much interest in this respect, at which we regret extremely to be able only to give this general glance. We must pass with equal haste over various miscellaneous points illustrative of his career, on which Mr. Sparks' work supplies materials for a far more extensive investigation.

Of the very valuable notes to the several volumes, Mr. Sparks says—

'The Editor's notes throughout the work, and the historical remarks at the beginning of many of the essays and political treatises, are intended strictly as illustrations of the author's text, and not as commentaries or critical disquisitions. The substance of these notes and remarks has been drawn, in a great measure, from manuscripts. Mr. Fox's papers and the public offices in Paris, have furnished copious materials for this part of the work. Some curious particulars respecting the proceedings of the British ministry and Parliament for a few years after a repeal of the Stamp Act, are selected from the letters of Mr. William Samuel Johnson, who was the agent from Connecticut in London during that period. His original letter-book is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the use of it has been freely granted for this occasion. Many interesting and important extracts from Mr. Oswald's correspondence with the British ministry, while he was engaged in negotiating the treaty of peace in Paris, are likewise subjoined as notes to Dr. Franklin's letters on that subject.

These extracts were taken from a manuscript volume containing a copy of Mr. Oswald's entire correspondence, with which the editor was favoured by the Marquis of Lansdowne, in addition to other evidences of that nobleman's liberal spirit and enlargement of mind, in aiding his researches for materials illustrative of *American History*.—Vol. i., p. 21.

One of the essays on political economy collected by Mr. Sparks, appears under circumstances which singularly illustrate the extent of the author's reputation. Its authenticity is unquestionable; but the editor, unable to find a copy in the original English, was compelled to use a translation from a *Spanish* edition of Franklin's writings. The Spanish editor knew that a *French* translation existed, but not having met with it, took his copy from a *German* version. This work furnishes an amusing case to be added to those which have been thought, like Dr. Arnold's case of Nelson's coat at Trafalgar, to depreciate all historical testimony. In page 488 of the first volume, an eye witness, Mr. Whitefoord, is produced to prove against Lord Brougham, that Dr. Franklin signed the treaty of independence in black, and not in the famous Manchester velvet in which he had been insulted by Wedderburn, at the Privy Council, years before. On the other hand, in page 454 of the fourth volume, another eye-witness, Dr. Bancroft, says as positively that he saw him actually wear the identical velvet, *he* had seen him in at the Cockpit, and that he talked about it, but *never put the same suit on again*.

Of the general character of Franklin it is unnecessary to say much in this place. Our grandsires appreciated him highly, but not one jot beyond his true worth; and it did not require this fine collection of his admirable works to place him in the very first rank among men, for integrity, patriotism, and genius. But we are bound to observe, that Mr. Sparks' additions to the writings of Franklin already before the world, justify its good opinion of this great man, and are even adapted to extend his high reputation. In the new biography, Mr. Sparks triumphantly refutes the old imputation of Franklin's having misused a large sum of public money which passed through his hands in Paris during the revolutionary war, and also shews satisfactorily, that in a protracted dispute with one of his colleagues, Mr. Lee, the great patience and prudence of Franklin were a match for the petulance of a disappointed expectant of the vigorous old man's well-filled office. This part of the biography, with the letters upon it, ought to be published in a separate form, to be distributed among public functionaries of all ranks, for their comfort and guidance. The ill-judged accusations of Mr. Lee against Franklin are shewn to have been met at home in a

manner that does great credit to the good sense and fair dealing of the government whom both were serving.

Franklin's sympathies were not confined to men of his own colour. In 1754, he drew up some general rules for the intercourse of the colonists with the Indians, which are good as far as they go. In 1764, he laboured most zealously, and at the hazard of his life, to defend the Indians of Pennsylvania from the foulest oppression; and his writings abound in appeals in their favour. In 1771, he proposed a plan, and offered to subscribe to execute it, in order to civilize the '*brave and generous*' New Zealanders, then lately visited by Captain Cook. The scheme, which was proposed in London, met with no countenance. On the contrary, Sir Joseph Banks, who should have supported it, suggested instead, that *convicts* should be turned loose in New Zealand, and in a few years Great Britain planted a convict settlement in its neighbourhood, which has done enormous evil to its people.

In regard to the negroes and to the slaves in America, Dr. Franklin was ever among the foremost to improve their condition. His last public act, at the age of eighty-four, was as President of an American Anti-Slavery Society. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that he was not altogether superior to the prejudice of colour. He would be just to the Negro in *his own country*, and would have made great sacrifices to abolish slavery throughout the world, as well as the slave trade, and even to improve the free coloured man; but he would join in measures also tending to inflict enormous injury on these free coloured men, in order to preserve the white race *pure*. This was the vice of his age—to have been superior to which would have made him a greater man; but it is so far from being yet eradicated from the minds of good men, that very few of us are entitled to sneer at the deficiency in him.

As we have intimated, the great value of this edition of Franklin's works lies in the full display it affords of British *Colonial* history during the few years immediately preceding the American revolution, and in the clear exposition of the real causes of that revolution. Both taken in connexion with the result of the struggle, so far as we can yet appreciate that result, are calculated, we repeat, to teach British statesmen, and the British people, the most useful of lessons, which they are far too reluctant to learn.

Prior to 1776, no such thing was, we think, known to the English colonial constitutions as a *crown colony*, in the modern sense of the word,—that is to say, a colony governed by the mere will of the sovereign exercised through a minister—legislation and taxation, *ad libitum* of the Colonial Office, without

a local elective assembly, and by crown judges, more or less, without juries. Even the military fortress of Gibraltar, according to the old lawyers, was entitled to the latter degree of popular administration whenever fifty or sixty people could be got together to form the grand and petit inquests; and so early as in D'Avenant's days, a *constitution* was insisted upon for the fishing stations of Newfoundland. Besides this unquestionable practice, another great point of a popular character, was clearly settled. Whilst by the law of *Spain*, a royal commission was indispensable to authorize the initiation of a new colony; by *English* law, on the contrary, a private subject might take the first steps to that end; and if those first steps were suitably taken, the crown usually adopted the countries so acquired by its subjects, allotting to them large tracts of the land, with various privileges, and under various conditions. One of the most remarkable examples of this practice was that of Barbadoes, ultimately settled under judgments of the King in Council, after solemn hearing of all the parties who pretended to titles of any kind in that island; but all sprang from a *private* subject's acquisition of it, which the crown respected and adopted in sovereignty. In this way also a great country in the western parts of North America, now forming the state of Ohio, was, in Franklin's time, thronged with settlers, of whom many indeed were mere squatters, but whose assumptions of right by possession were respected. Others, setting to work more regularly, and selecting vacant territories for themselves, applied to the crown for grants of the soil. This proceeded long before their applications were agreed to; and Franklin took an active part in the enterprise, prior to 1770. The details of the case fill the greatest part of a large volume of his works. At this period, however, new counsels began to influence our colonial policy. The Earl of Hillsborough was one of the chief patrons of this new policy, which ultimately engaged the country in the unhappy American war. The essential characteristic of this policy was to substitute official despotism for popular government in the colonies. He was at the head of the Board of Trade, which, at that time, extensively administered all colonial subjects; and in that department he actively and perseveringly opposed the projected colony on the Ohio, of which Franklin was the representative in London. The opposition to this Ohio colony, bore a striking resemblance to that which was so unfortunately persevered in, in our own time, in regard to New Zealand and Natal, in South Africa. In a petition to his Majesty in council, a price, in money and in certain quit-rents, was offered for the land which the crown had bought of the Indians, and all just and legal rights to any parts thereof were prayed

to be reserved to the persons entitled to them. The country thus sought to be formed into a new colony, amounted to about sixty millions of acres, or two-thirds of New Zealand in extent. Lord Hillsborough had, with much duplicity, urged the parties to ask for this large tract, in the hope that its *extent* would defeat their object. The Lords of the Treasury, before whom the case came, having required the opinion of the Board of Trade, the report, understood to have been written by his lordship, contained the following objections to the scheme.

The interest of the Indians was first set up against it, on the allegation that the crown had solemnly promised not to make settlements in the country in question; whereas, the colony asked for would ruin them. *It was then said that the only way to save the natives was to stop settlements altogether.* It was added, that the policy of the government was to confine the American colonies to a line not far westward; which would bring them easily within the reach of British trade, and under British authority, which inland colonies would not permit.

It was admitted that the back country abounded in new settlements; but it was argued warmly that they ought to be checked, not encouraged; and they might be governed, it was said, by an old adjoining colony.

Accordingly, the Board of Trade, under his lordship's influence, advised that the application should be rejected; and to make sure work, that a proclamation should be issued against any new settlement in that quarter for *the present*.

A memorial, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, replied, that the parties asked for a colony on the condition that the Indians should *consent* to alienate their rights; and it shewed, that boundaries between them and the settlers had been solemnly fixed, and that *in 1764 ministers had determined to obtain an Act of Parliament for the regulation of Indian affairs on a proper system*, founded on the purchase of lands and a good boundary line on the borders to prevent complaints, on account of encroachments. *The Act of Parliament was not passed*; and from 1765 to 1768 great numbers of people settled over the mountains, which irritated the Indians and led to several murders. Troops were sent to dispossess the settlers, but the expedition failed. Emigration increased, and the Indians continued to demand payments for their lands, which was ultimately arranged, so that the country was legitimately open to settlement; and the memorial insisted that *the establishment of law and good government over the thousands of people scattered beyond the mountains would satisfy all parties.* 'Great numbers of your people,' said the Indian chiefs on the Ohio to General Gage, 'have settled throughout the country, and we are sorry to tell you, that several quarrels have happened between'

them and our people, in which lives have been lost on both sides. We now see the nations round us and you, people ready to embroil us in a quarrel, which gives us great concern, as we, on our parts, want to live in friendship with you. *You have always told us you have laws to govern your people by, but we do not see that you have*; therefore, unless you can fall upon some method of governing your people, it will be out of the Indians' power to govern their young men. We assure you the black clouds begin to gather fast in this country, and if something is not soon done these clouds will deprive us of the sun. We desire you to give the greatest attention to what we now tell you; as it comes from our hearts, and from a desire we have to live in peace and friendship with our brethren the English.'

This memorial of Dr. Franklin denied that public policy opposed such colonies as that asked for, and cited reports of the Board of Trade as early as 1748, directly recommending this very settlement. It also proved, by figures, that British trade must be advanced by it.

In conclusion, after shewing that neither proclamations, nor the dread of savages, would stop the thousands of colonists, who were in the interior, the memorial asks, with great force, '*Is it fit to leave such a body of people lawless and ungoverned?*' Will sound policy recommend this manner of colonizing and increasing the wealth, strength, and commerce of the empire: or will it point out that it is the indispensable duty of government to render *her subjects useful subjects*; and for that purpose immediately to establish law and subordination among them, and thereby early confirm their attachment to the law, traffic, and customs of this kingdom?"

The result of the struggle was favourable to the adventurers; and Lord Hillsborough, mortified at the failure of his opposition, resigned his office. It was, however, too late; and what our colonial administration of that day delayed so long, was eagerly completed by the revolutionary government at Washington.

The Ohio case was the last that occurred of this character before we lost the old American colonies. It strikingly exemplifies the ancient British way of founding new colonies by private enterprise under the control of the crown—a combination which, if *properly reduced to a system*, and which has been lost sight of, is alone calculated to ensure great and early colonial success. The weakness of the Ohio Company's case was, the want of any suitable provisions to protect and elevate the aborigines; but that want has never been supplied by the crown, during the long period of its having usurped the exclusive command of colonial affairs, by the establishment of the crown colonies since 1782. On the contrary, when the crown has been most absolute

in the form of constitutions, and most powerful in fact, as in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, the aborigines have suffered most; and it is one of the great merits of the revival of the ancient practice in the New Zealand case, that the private parties have done much to redeem the past in this respect, although much still remains undone.

It is unnecessary to examine those parts of this edition of Franklin's works which present the details of the immediate causes of the revolutionary war, and of the conduct of that war, or rather the *negotiations* in which Franklin, of all the Americans, was the most actively engaged; although to a diplomatist, this portion of the work, and Mr. Sparks' similar publication, the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, furnish materials of surpassing value. Pending the war, however, there occurred an incident which we have the means of describing even more in detail than is done by the able editor of these volumes. Two great changes of opinion took place in England in the few years before and during the contest. Prior to 1776, the British public sympathised with the colonists. Afterwards, for about two years, appeals to our forefathers' pride, and to their cupidity, succeeded in exciting their worst passions *against* their American fellow-countrymen. This bad feeling, however, soon gave way; and, in 1778, they began to perceive that the best British interests were violated by the continuance of hostilities. It was accordingly in this year that the incident alluded to occurred. Plans of reconciliation were proposed by the wisest members of the legislature, and by other good men, and much favoured by the public. Of such plans, one of a very singular character was offered to Dr. Franklin, at that time minister from the United Colonies to the court of France. The whole contest, which was distinguished by as much good logic as good fighting, did not produce a more remarkable document than this letter, which is as follows, with the omission of some passages immaterial to its general tenor.

'I shall waive apologies,' says the writer. 'If your intentions are as upright as mine they will not be expected. It is an Englishman who addresses you; but an Englishman who is not a partizan of mere obstructive faction, which tends to confound all order and government; nor yet one who is an idolatrous worshipper of passive obedience to the *divine rights* of kings; nor who holds that everything, which can obtain the requisite formality of law in the English constitution must therefore be infallible, and *essential* to law and liberty. Nay, to go further in my creed, *I look upon many acts and declarations of Parliament for some years past*, but as *phantoms* of British liberty conjured up by the spells of *SCOTTISH* witchcraft, to calumniate, and attempt to draw down destruction on that unsuspecting *angel* of which they are the

lying representation. You are a philosopher, whom nature, industry, and a long experience, have united to form and to mature. It is, therefore, to you I apply. I apply as to a man of calm judgment, a clear understanding, and an extensive reflection; entreating you by the name of that omnipotent, omniscient, and just God, before whom you must appear, and by your hopes of future fame, consider well, if some expedient cannot be invented to put a stop to the desolation of America, *and to prevent the baneful effects of that storm which threatens to deluge the whole world with blood.* It must be granted that every provocation capable of piquing national or private resentment, has been exercised on America. Insolence, contempt, wanton injustice, tyrannic violence, and all those mischiefs which stupid narrow-minded despotism can command, without any feeling for the sufferers, or a solicitude about what is to be the consequence; whole towns destroyed, private murders, shocking to mention or to think of, committed; agriculture and its peaceful professions ruined, religion and science violated; in a word, all the horrors of war, all the rancour, the madness, of civil war. The passions of human nature cannot behold these things with indifference, nor readily turn aside from the inviting prospect of revenge; but it is the part of wisdom, it is the duty of virtue, to confer their wandering regards, to direct their attention towards the plainer and more distinct objects of reason.

‘The permanent establishment of any form of government (whether as now a confederate republic) *or a limited monarchy subordinate, or blended into that of Great Britain,* which shall unite the continent of North America and give it activity for offence and defence, will equally meet with every obstruction, which a nation the most expert in the wiles of negotiation, and the subtleties of politics, can give it.

‘To all dispassionate observers, the *AMERICAN notion of a present competence and ability to bear the weight of an independent empire,* and the *SCOTTISH plan of catching two millions of people in a boundless desert with fifty thousand men,* are equally absurd. They surpass every original exertion of the human mind to plan, of known science to prepare, and of enthusiasm to carry into execution.

‘Let us candidly consider the state of affairs in this cursed war. It is not that America is so powerful, or that England is so weak and exhausted, that hath so long suspended the event. It is the vast extent of the country, its wild, impenetrable surface, and the scattered and scanty subsistence found in it; circumstances which should have stopped a ministry.

‘The prudence of your deliberations, the perfection in their execution, the steadiness of your defence, the spirit with which your people have been inspired, and the laws which you have instituted, indicate a wisdom too calm, too profound, to impute your conduct to those motives the promoters of war attribute them to,—an *original* scheme of yours to renounce all allegiance to the mother country, conceived even while she was bleeding with glorious wounds in your defence, and a determination to sacrifice the many actual benefits ye were possessed of, to the wildest of all utopian projects. I am one who do not believe

that your declaration of independency, and your alliance with France, are the results of such a premeditated scheme, but have arisen from the necessity of providing every security, and employing every means of resistance ye could devise, when driven to these last stakes by the perfidy, the narrowness of mind, the overbearing injustice, and the peevish violence of temper of those who have, for some years past, mismanaged the affairs of the empire.

‘ If these things are as I have conceived, now seems the time to rid both us and you of this malign influence, and to provide securities that none shall be able to practise, (however they may hold forth in speech and in writing,) such diabolical systems of government.

‘ I do not at all guess what are America’s views, nor what will please her ; but this much seems certain, that if, in the present state of affairs, any reasonable proposals for an accommodation come from thence, the crown must attend to them, and the ministers *act bona-fide* thereupon, be they who they will, as they will be strictly and severely watched by every order of the state. It is sincerely to be hoped that the happy event of peace and re-union may not be the work of any mere party, or joints; but arise from that aggregated support which the sense of so great a general benefit should produce. *Indeed the leaders on all sides have, in the course of this complicated dispute, and in the heat of argument, so often pledged themselves to insist on some conditions, and oppose others, which, on a cool revision and farther investigation, their reason must condemn, that they would probably be glad to save the imputation of inconsistency in avoiding to be the first movers, THOUGH THEY WOULD READILY BE THE SUPPORTERS of a different system.* Since then, as ye think ye cannot safely trust administration and its emissaries; since opposition cannot procure compliance with your terms, not having the confidence of the people to aid its efforts, *why not offer some conditions directly to the king himself?* It is totally impossible, and ever was, to arrange a controversy of such a nature by meeting of commissioners, who peremptorily demand on one side, and assume the tone of command on the other, without the trace of any outline of the negotiation.

‘ When the substance is known, the formality is soon finished; but to begin with the latter is only foolishly to complicate the dispute still more, and excite fresh aggravations.

‘ I will take it for granted that America is willing to treat, provided she can have the most ample security for the due performance of the compact which shall be agreed on, and on that consideration I will undertake, through a most eligible mediator, to transmit into the king’s own hands, any proposals on your part which are not couched in offensive terms, and to return the answer, if there shall be any; and if they are slighted, to lay them before parliament early in the ensuing session. As to the treatment of them there, and of those who reject or employ any tricking artifices about them, that must depend on the reasons and equity which pervade your proposals. They will have a fair trial by English good sense, English honour, and English justice, which have not quite abandoned the island, though a little out of the

fashion in the neighbourhood of St. James's, as some of your friends say.

'You, sir, are the best judge of the extent of your present powers, of your influence in America, with whom to consult, and in what form to couch your conditions. Nobody whatever is privy to this. I would not pretend to direct; yet in the sincerity of my heart I propose the enclosed. Whether you adopt them, or not, will not alter a jot in my conduct. There is one thing, however, too material not to insist strongly upon; and that is, not to permit your offers to transpire, until preliminaries are actually concluded on, or the negotiation absolutely broken off. A different conduct empowered your enemies to turn your last petition to the king against you, and in *their way* prove its insincerity, and insidious intention only to inflame faction and to excite sedition.

'If America is finally and irrevocably determined to stake everything on its *independence*, there is nothing left but to play out this deep game. All good men, on both sides, will pathetically lament that the freedom of both countries depends on so precarious a speculation; we, trembling with apprehension, at the irresistible influence and power of corruption which must accede to the crown, if we conquer; and for you, that you should lose all the ties of personal friendship, of family connexion, and the heartfelt prejudices of education, similarity of manners and of speech, to unite with strangers who heartily despise you already, and ever will despise those who have neither nobility nor a profusion of wealth; and should be obliged to submit to the supercilious haughtiness of those whose language is different, whose principles, and laws, and government, are fundamentally and diametrically opposite to yours, and whose religion has ever been invariably, directly, and essentially, in practice as in doctrine, the persecutor, the compulsive tyrant over that which prevails with you.

'In case you send any terms, do not be impatient to know what has been done with them. There are many circumstances of time and opportunity, which must be managed, and which cannot be previously foreseen; sufficeth it, that you can but stand in the same place you do now, whatever part ministry or parliament take.

Your humble servant,

And a well wisher to all men of science and liberal minds, and

A friend of liberty,

CHARLES DE WEISSENSTEIN.'

The chief points of the new plan of government which accompanied this letter, were, that the consent of the colonies should be indispensable to all future constitutional changes—that each colony should choose its own form of government, and appoint its own executive officers—that colonists should be eligible to fill public offices in Great Britain, only by special acts of parliament, but in all other respects should enjoy the rights of British subjects—that a central court of American peers for appeals from all other courts, and to be named by the king, should be

created, with a final appeal to the House of Lords—that a congress of delegates from all the colonies should be assembled once in seven years to make general laws and vote money, subject to the approval of parliament—that the army and militia be under the crown, and be governed by the British Mutiny Act—that parliament shall vote men and taxes for the public services of America, as well as of Great Britain, but the amounts to be proportionate to the population of both countries—that the votes of taxes by the colonial legislature should be subject to the direct veto and regulation of parliament—that the customs' tariff be settled by the colonial legislature, but subject to parliamentary revision—that British manufactures should have the preference in American ports—that *American trade should otherwise be free with all the world*. Besides all this, Washington, Adams, Hancock, Franklin, and some others, were to have certain offices and great personal rewards. Franklin attached the more importance to the proposals, because he believed them to have been approved by the British ministry. But he rejected the advance without a moment's hesitation.

The scheme of an American House of Peers long attracted attention in high quarters in England; and if that absurd idea of setting up an institution for which materials, analogous to those which support it in England, *cannot* be created, could by some ingenious contrivance be converted into another proposition made twenty years before the American war, and revived more than once in the last ten years,—namely, into a proposition *for electing representatives of the colonies and India in a House of Commons*, many existing grievances would gradually disappear. Franklin was favourably inclined to this plan; which was also advocated by Dr. Adam Smith; but it has never been seriously taken up by any party, either at home or in the colonies.*

The reflection which arises strongly from the opposition of Lord Hillsborough to the Ohio colony, and from the formal scheme of colonial misgovernment, which the foregoing letter admits to have existed, is confirmed by an anecdote preserved by Mr. Sparks on the occasion of Lord Chatham's famous plan of conciliation, 'which was treated,' says Franklin, 'with as much contempt by the Lords as they could have shown to a ballad offered by a drunken porter;' and at this time, Lord Shelburne furnished the key to all the mis-government of the old colonies, which ended so disgracefully to England. 'In these matters,' said his lordship, 'parliament only obeys the dictates of a

* What Romans dreamed about upon this subject may possibly remain to be realized by Englishmen.

ministry, who in nine cases out of ten are governed by their under secretaries.'—*Sparks*, vol. x., p. 437.

This imputation has not, unfortunately, been proved by modern experience to be a mere ebullition of spleen, or 'obstructive opposition;' nor has such undue influence had one whit better effect on our colonial affairs since, than before the American war. But its entire discomfiture in the late New Zealand case, permits a hope that a reform of the wretched system is at hand.

The independence of the United States being established in spite of the anticipations of M. de Weissenstein, Dr. Franklin passed many years as American minister in France, and died at a very advanced age in his own country, full of honours. In that great country his example and his opinions have gained a powerful hold upon the minds and conduct of millions of practical men; and this influence is far from being limited to the United States. In Great Britain, and throughout Europe, not to speak of the widely spreading European society scattered over all other quarters of the globe, the name and the works of Franklin are familiar to vast numbers of civilized people in many various departments of science, morals, and politics. It remains, perhaps, for us one day to put a great political principle which he advocated, to the test. Recently, one of the most remarkable productions of the American press, '*The Prize Essays upon a Congress of Nations for the adjustment of international disputes, and for the promotion of universal peace without resort to arms*,' properly ranked his authority among the highest in favour of this object. 'We daily make great improvements,' says Franklin, 'in natural—there is one I wish to see in moral—philosophy; the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes, without first cutting throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this?' The man who succeeded in introducing an article against *privateering* into a treaty of amity, even with one European state, is an excellent authority in such a matter; and although it may be too sanguine to expect, yet the ultimate attainment of the proposed object cannot be doubted now that the good seed is well sown. Already has that seed of good-will been cherished with admirable results; and the men who have in the United States taken a prominent lead in this sublime cause, may justly join with those who in England share their principles, in rejoicing at the fruits of their labour.

Whilst we are writing, the most immediate occasions for hostility are passing off; and it is impossible not to recognise in the conduct of large bodies of the Americans, and among their leading men, the good disposition towards peace, which Franklin,

above all men, fostered so anxiously. Happily, a corresponding good spirit in this country is opposed to violent councils; and among the better signs are to be reckoned the proposal of measures among us, like the two favourite projects of Franklin. A motion has lately been prepared for the House of Commons for abolishing *privateering*; and our Peace Society has taken much pains to spread abroad the proposal for a congress of civilized nations to remove by negotiations the causes of war.

To promote such measures, few things would more conduce than familiarity with the writings and life of Dr. Franklin; and we are glad to have had means of devoting a portion of our pages to the recommendation of this edition of his works.

Art. III. *A Manual of the British Algæ: containing Generic and Specific Descriptions of all the known British species of sea-weeds, and of Confervæ, both marine and fresh-water.* By the Hon. William Henry Harvey. 8vo. pp. lvii., 229. London: Van Voorst. 1841.

THIS is one of a series of publications claiming fair credit for the judicious and liberal way in which a real want has been supplied. There was no deficiency in the two extremes: we have had enough, perhaps more than enough, of the merely popular and the exclusively scientific, but there was still a somewhat craving opportunity for a course of illustration in the various departments of natural science, that should, within reasonable limits, combine them both; and this object has, we think, been on the whole satisfactorily attained in the attractive works which have been successively sent out by the publisher of the present volume. We should only feel inclined to qualify our general approbation, by referring to a want of uniformly good execution in the woodcuts; some of them are excellent in all respects, but others are defective in *drawing*—in that spirited and artist-like handling, without which, though lines and features may be diagrammatically correct, there can be no adequate expression of life and character.

This criticism is, however, it must be confessed, somewhat excursive, since the work before us is altogether unillustrated; a deficiency that will, we apprehend, be found to interfere both with its popularity and real usefulness. For general forms and effects upon a large scale, description may be sufficient, though even in such instances we question whether it will convey to different individuals impressions precisely similar; but in matters

of minute and specific observation, outline always, relief frequently, and sometimes colour, are indispensable even to the well-informed reader. With the professor or the advanced student, the case is somewhat different: he knows already so much, and in what he does know there is so much coherence and consecutiveness, that he finds little difficulty in adjusting new discoveries to the intervals of his arrangement; though even to him a few touches of the pencil, in aid of the pen, will often save a world of trouble and uncertainty. But with the great proportion of inquirers, such aids are essential; and in their absence much valuable time will be expended with but small and imperfect advances towards accurate definition.

Now it is precisely to this latter class that we are disposed especially to recommend the study of this important branch of cryptogamic botany. An active taste for its investigation might advantageously occupy the wearisome leisure of the sea-side loungers, who watch, hour after hour, the advancing and receding tide, heedless or ignorant that some of the most curious and attractive works of the Almighty are lying at their feet, either adhering to the rock, or marking by a dark irregular line the extreme verge of the tidal wave. Such idlers as these are evidently incompetent of themselves to form the slightest notion of the beauty and variety that characterize the marine algæ. Even those more lively persons who pick up 'sea-weeds,' and regard them with gratified, though uncritical observation, usually take no pains to obtain accurate and connected knowledge on a subject which would richly repay them for a little labour and research employed in the right direction. It must, however, be admitted that there are real difficulties in the way of gaining sound and comprehensive information; and of these, the absence of an intelligible and fairly illustrated 'manual' is not the least. The first of these conditions is adequately supplied by Mr. Harvey's volume, but in the second it fails. For this failure a reason is assigned in the author's 'limited stay in Europe,' and a substitute is recommended in the following extract from the 'Introduction.' Having expressed his regret that he should have been disappointed in his intention to illustrate the work 'with figures, at least, of the genera,' he goes on to observe that

'However they might have added to the beauty of the work, the student will experience little loss by their omission who takes this MANUAL for what I wish it to be, a companion to the ALGÆ DAN-MONIENSES, (sold by Mary Wyatt, Torquay,) a most important work, now extending to four volumes, with a supplement, composed of specimens of two hundred and thirty-four species, beautifully dried and correctly named. These volumes furnish the student with a help, such

as no figures, however correctly executed, can at all equal,—nature's own pencil illustrating herself. The richness of the marine flora of Devonshire is well known, as well as the zeal with which it has been for many years explored by Mrs. GRIFFITHS, who, I am happy to add, takes a warm and benevolent interest in the success of Mrs. Wyatt's publication; and what is more important, at least to botanists, exercises a careful oversight over the scientific portion of it. . . . The work already contains by far the greatest portion of the rarest British species, and generally in the most perfect state of *fructification*, to which great attention is paid, and where it is dioecious two specimens are given. I have invariably quoted the '*Alg. Danmon*,' in the following pages, as an *acknowledged standard*, and I refer to these quotations in proof of the extent of its value.'

Mr. Harvey has by no means overrated the value and interest of Mrs. Wyatt's attractive volumes. We speak from familiar use, when we give them the highest praise for liberal selection and skilful manipulation. Algologists, of all grades, are well aware of the dexterity which is frequently required, not only for the higher kinds of discrimination, but in the management of sometimes very unmanageable materials. In all these respects everything is done by Mrs. Wyatt that can be effected by practised fingers and a critical eye; she has not merely brought together a number of expressive examples, but has taken much and successful pains in their characteristic exhibition. She is, evidently, an adept, both in that which relates to the scientific part of collecting, and in the scarcely less important art of displaying the plant *in its habit as it lived*; preserving, without affectation or distortion, as much of graceful and picturesque disposition as may be consistent with its natural character. The names, with references, are attached in printed labels, and an index supplies the regular arrangement as given by Hooker. Unfortunately all this time, trouble, and skill, cannot be afforded gratuitously, and we fear that the price of the work, though, under all the circumstances, exceedingly reasonable, may prevent its extensive circulation.

The absence of all graphic illustration in Mr. Harvey's volume, is the more to be regretted, since there is nothing in the regular market that can supply the deficiency. The really trustworthy publications on the subject, are either incomplete, or expensive beyond all average power to purchase. Dawson Turner's excellent work on the Fuci, with its beautiful figures from the drawings of Sir W. J. Hooker, independently of its costliness, relates only to one division of the Marine Flora. The examples in Smith and Sowerby's English Botany are distributed through the many volumes of that accurate and most useful, but, from its extent, necessarily expensive series.

Dr. Greville's volume on the *Algæ Britannicæ* has obtained, from all subsequent writers on the subject, unqualified praise; unfortunately it has not been carried farther than the '*Inarticulated*,' or jointless tribes. It is in truth an admirable work, singularly clear and complete in its descriptions and definitions; supplying, moreover, in its prolegomenary matter, a summary of general intelligence, which has been made good use of by his contemporaries. As scientific illustrations, his plates are of the highest worth; as general representations, they are, perhaps, somewhat too technical; but the dissections are most instructive, and nothing could be more useful to pupils, or convenient to professors, than the completion of the work. Mr. Loudon, in his '*Encyclopædia of Plants*,' has included a very useful compendium of British Algology, with an extensive series of woodcuts. If something of this kind were carefully got up in the same form—a judicious combination of tabular arrangement with explanatory annotation, and published separately, it would, we should think, become popular. We remember to have seen, not long since, a small but not uninteresting collection of real specimens, got up with printed descriptions and a few supplementary coralines; it made no pretension to scientific character, and was meant for little beyond a watering-place toy. The idea was, however, good; and if it had been systematically carried out, nothing could have better answered the purpose of an introductory guide.

From this excursion we return to Mr. Harvey, whose publication, notwithstanding some deficiencies, is an able and valuable contribution in aid of scientific pursuit. His '*Introduction*,' though somewhat desultory in manner, is rich in matter; and, in the body of the work, his definitions are clear, and his diagnosis, of which the difficulties are sometimes only to be overcome by a skilful use of the microscope, is satisfactory throughout. Unpromising as the first aspect of his pages may be, bristling with strange words and uncouth abbreviations, they will be found on examination, fraught with interest, even to a cursory reader. Many a picturesque touch, and occasionally a slight, but pleasant incident, lurk in the small print of the running commentary; and a comparatively insignificant degree of practical knowledge will give a deep interest to what would otherwise leave but a transient impression. In truth, this study is every way attractive, not only in the singular beauty and marvellous variety of the oceanic Flora, as exhibited in the form and aspect of its different groups and individuals, but in the modes of their existence, and the laws which regulate and restrict their growth and dwelling-place. Some are nomadic, others fixed; while many hold firmly to the rock, or find a partial stay on shells,

pebbles, and other disengaged substances, not a few are parasitic, attaching themselves to other algæ, without apparent injury to their growth or expansion. Of some, the delicate fibres almost elude the sight, while others, the giants of their race, 'lie floating many a rood.' Here, however, we shall refer to Mr. Harvey, who has hardly been allowed as yet a fair hearing, for farther illustration of these points.

'The name Algæ is assigned by botanists to a large group or *natural class* of cryptogamic or flowerless plants, which form the principal and characteristic vegetation of the *waters*. The sea, in no climate, from the poles to the equator, is altogether free from them, though they abound on some shores much more than on others. Species abound likewise in fresh water, whether running or stagnant, and in mineral springs. The strongly impregnated sulphureous streams of Italy—the eternal snows of the Alps and arctic regions—and the boiling springs of Iceland—have each their peculiar species; and even chemical solutions, if long kept, produce algæ. Very few, comparatively, inhabit stations which are not submerged or exposed to the constant dripping of water; and in all situations where they are found, great dampness, at least, is necessary to their production.

Thus extensively scattered through all climates, and existing under so many varieties of situation, the species are, as one would naturally suppose, exceedingly numerous, and present a greater variety in form and size than is observable in any other tribe of plants whose structure is so similar. Some are so exceedingly minute as to be wholly invisible, except in masses, to the naked eye; and require the highest powers of our microscopes to ascertain their form and structure. Others, growing in the depths of the great Pacific Ocean, have stems which exceed in length (though not in diameter) the trunks of the tallest forest trees; and others have leaves that rival in expansion those of the palm. Some are simple globules or spheres, consisting of a single *cellule*, or little bag of tissue filled with a colouring matter; some are mere strings of such cellules cohering by the ends; others, a little more perfect, exhibit the appearance of branched threads; in others, again, the branches and stems are compound, consisting of several such threads joined together; and in others, the tissue expands into broad flat fronds. Only the higher tribes shew any distinction into stems and leaves, and even in these, what appears a stem in the old plant, has already served at an earlier period of growth, either as a leaf, as in *Sargassum* and *Cytoseira*, or as a midrib of a leaf, as in *Delesseria*. A few exhibit leaves or flat fronds formed of a delicate perforated network, resembling fine lace, or the skeleton of leaves.'

Before we dismiss the present subject, we must indulge ourselves in a single remark on a practice which we have not, however, the slightest expectation of restraining. In our reference to different authorities during our examination of this 'Manual,' we have been, as often before, inexpressibly annoyed by the

absurd system which authorizes a discoverer to attach the name of some honoured individual to a newly ascertained genus or species. Every epithet in systematic arrangement should have a meaning, but we are still to learn what instruction is conveyed, or what distinctions may lie hidden in such terms as *Grateloupia*, *Dealongchampii*, *Cruickshankii*, *Lingbyei*. What does it signify to Mrs. Griffiths—known and to be known as one of the most accomplished, discriminating, and liberal-minded of algologists—that a family of algæ has been distinguished by the term *Griffithsia*. Genuine celebrity rests on a surer foundation than a barbarous nomenclature.

Art. IV. 1. *A Sermon Preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, at the Consecration of the Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, on Sunday, November 7, 1841.* By the Rev. A. McCaul, D.D., &c. &c. Published at the request of His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. London. 1841.

2. *The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, in Jerusalem. To which are appended Remarks on Dr. McCaul's Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Alexander, by the Rev. W. Hoffman, Inspector of the Missionary Seminary at Basle.* Translated from the German. London. 1842.

On the seventh day of November, in the year of grace One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-one, the Rev. — Alexander, Doctor in Divinity, a descendant of Israel, but a clergyman of the church of England, was consecrated at Lambeth Palace to the distinguished office of 'Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.' This transaction is sufficiently remarkable, if regarded exclusively as a proceeding of the Anglican hierarchy. It is not merely a part of the system which has recently sprung up, and which is in itself, not only altogether novel, but not a little singular, of appointing high ecclesiastical functionaries upon what may almost be called the voluntary principle—certainly without the interference of the usual prerogative of the crown, and without dependence on the public purse for support—after the fashion of the bishops sent out, within the last few years, to the British colonies. It is more than this. It is the appointment of an English bishop to a region where there is no British territory; and it is the first instance, we believe, of the violation of the territorial principle which has hitherto invariably characterized the Anglican episcopacy. Until now we have had bishops of London, of Salisbury, of Barbadoes, of Calcutta; but we have now a bishop, not of, but only 'in Jerusalem.'

The reverend divine who was selected to preach the consecration sermon on this extraordinary occasion, tells us that 'there

are in Syria and Asia Minor, Egypt and Abyssinia, congregations or missionary establishments of the church of England,' that 'societies have arisen on the continent of Europe for the colonization of the Holy Land,' and that 'tribes and churches of the East turn to England for help;' and that, on these grounds, 'the presence of an Anglican bishop' in that region 'is imperatively necessary.'—*Sermon*, p. 5. But why so? If 'the guidance and blessing of a bishop' be so necessary—a point upon which we (profane as we are!) do not pretend to give an opinion—there are bishops on the spot. 'The orthodox Greek bishops,' as Dr. McCaul terms them, why may not they 'guide and bless' the children of the East; more especially since the Anglican bishop goes out on a professed mission of peace, and with an avowed desire of promoting 'catholic union'? Will our readers believe, that, with those professions on his lips, Bishop Alexander is not even to put himself into communion with the Greek church! 'Grave causes,' Dr. McCaul assures us, 'prevent communion with them at present.' In this church 'there exist errors of doctrine and practice'—we have at last the real Simon Pure—'of which she cannot dare to make herself a partaker. * * No appearance of external unity,' he adds, 'can warrant us to make light of the difference of [between] right and wrong, to do evil that good may come, or to sacrifice truth.'—p. 8. To our minds, this is throwing away the olive-branch altogether. The church of England thus takes her stand in the East, as among churches which with her first breath she denounces as 'heretical;' and, consequently, as a belligerent power, whose direct operation must be, not to promote 'catholic union,' but 'to increase the feuds by which Jew and Ishmaelite are already scandalized, and the name of Christ blasphemed.'—*Sermon*, p. 7.

In order to show that, in the appointment of the new bishop, 'there is no intention of intruding on the office or jurisdiction of the present patriarch of Jerusalem,' Dr. McCaul pleads the attention which the Anglican ecclesiastic is to pay to the Jews. 'That prelate,' says he, meaning the patriarch, 'does not pretend to be an apostle of the circumcision, and therefore cannot be the representative of St. James of Jerusalem. The patriarchate (the preacher goes on to say) is not of primitive institution, but an erection of the fifth century, and the patriarchs nothing more than successors of the Gentile bishops of Ælia Capitolina; which, so far from laying claim to the rights of the mother church, as the church of St. James certainly was, was itself for centuries subordinate to the metropolitan church of Cesarea.'—p. 14. To pass over the consideration, that, to give this apology any force, the new bishop should *confine* his ministrations to the Jews, we may truly affirm that it presents a rare specimen of ecclesiastical jugglery. According to Dr. McCaul,

that 'the rights of the mother church' at once utterly lost sight of for nearly two centuries suddenly re-discovered, like jewels in a hoary been publicly announced, no doubt their existence would have been on the eager to become the possessor of so forward windfall. Enacting the customary part over, the church of England, being the hoary has been privately made, has im- the treasure, and 'laid claim to the rights St. James!' Will none of the other parties able event exclaim, Show your title? This is the new 'apostle of the circumcision,' Saint James, the primitive bishop of *tatus ab illo!*

Bishop Alexander attracts the more an affair of the English church alone.

His Majesty, the King of Prussia, is This pious prince has taken a liberal the carnal necessities of the new episco- following document, which has been it, and which we copy into our pages we have placed at the head of this

In the name of God, King of Prussia, &c., hereby we are willing to contribute one-half of the endowment of a protestant bishopric in thereto the sum of 15,000*l.* sterling, namely, that 600*l.*, the interest of it, should be paid to the Bishops of Canterbury and York, and the balance of the said bishopric, in yearly payment to the said Bishop of Jerusalem. That the payment of this sum should hereafter be made, however, by virtue of the moiety sent is necessary, the said capital of 15,000*l.* to the trustees, an acknowledgment of the deed of endowment, together with the sum of 600*l.*, which may arise from the interest, to go to the increase of the bishop's endowment of the bishopric. In witness whereof the present grant of endowment. 1 September, 1841.

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.'

like this are certainly not the same. They imply somewhat, and pro- portion between crowned heads, and

negotiation between secular and spiritual authorities. And so it was in this instance. Not long after Frederic William the Fourth had ascended the throne,

‘A confidant of the king, in the person of Chevalier Bunsen, went on a special mission to London, which, under colour of family interests, did not, and indeed was not intended, to remain long concealed. The well-known character of the ambassador was alone sufficient proof that something different was intended by this mission from the objects of common diplomacy; that, in the negotiations entered on, ecclesiastical interests would be represented, and this by a man who had already won some reputation as a theological dilettante. The frequent conferences of the chevalier with the highest dignitaries of the English church, served to add weight to the general surmises. When, behold, after some months, a statement, not much noticed at the time, ran through the newspapers, of the passing of a bill in parliament, by which the English episcopacy was empowered to consecrate bishops abroad.’—*Anglo-Prussian Bishopric*, pp. 10, 11.

So the machinery works, wheel within wheel. And, no doubt, the subsequent visit of his Prussian Majesty to the court of Great Britain was connected with additional schemes, hereafter to come to light.

From the pamphlet which we have thus quoted, and of which we have to speak in the highest terms, we gather that this movement of the Prussian monarch has not been altogether, as an expression of concern directed to the religious condition of the Holy Land, without some general sympathy in Germany. It appears that, for the professed Christians in Egypt and Syria, the rule of Mehemet Ali had ‘brought about a kind of golden age,’ as compared with the oppressions practised under the Turks.

‘Most serious concern, therefore, was felt by many pious men, who feel a hearty interest in the propagation of the kingdom of Christ in the land of its birth, when, by virtue of stipulations entered into by the Four Powers after the battle Nisib, and enforced in 1840 by their arms, the Syrian provinces were separated from Egypt, and again subjected to the immediate sway of the Padisha. It was naturally feared that all the horrors of the old Turkish tyranny would return. No man could believe in the promises of the firman of Gülhane, especially as the reform party of the divan was put down soon after the overthrow of Halil Pacha, and the well-known decapitators regained the chief place in the council of Abdul Medschid; a general outcry arose in Europe for *guarantees* for the safety of the Christian population of the east, which was more strongly echoed on account of the horrors of the massacre at Damascus, which occurred a short time before, though the veil of mystery spread over it still remains.’ Various plans were proposed, which, according to general belief, could be easily brought about by the allied powers, who had just laid the Sultan under so great obligations—the chief of which was, to colonize Palestine

by European and Oriental Christians, and to form a republic at Jerusalem under the protection of the great Christian powers.'—*Ib.*, p. 10.

The religious philanthropy of Germany, however, seems to have been very far from taking the specific direction of that cherished by the King of Prussia. It was one thing to care for the advancement of religion in the East, and quite another to be enamoured of the English ecclesiastical regime. Accordingly, the step taken by Frederic William has caused a profound sensation throughout the Lutheran churches, and the pamphlet occasioned by it (which was published at Freiburg, in Switzerland), has excited great attention in Germany. Men seem to see in it the commencement of changes, and an evidence of schemes of change, from which they revolt with strong resentment.

The attempt which was made by some government journals to get up an enthusiastic reception for the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem, has signally failed, and the greatest objections are taken to it, as a violent and most unwelcome interference with the Lutheran ecclesiastical platform. What has plausibly been said about the charms of unity and the preservation of the rights of the German protestant church, is clearly seen through, and indignantly repelled, as will appear by the following passages :—

'There are two special points in the constitution of the bishopric of St. James, whose essentially unprotestant nature can be concealed by no explanatory circumlocutions and assurances. The first relates to confirmation, which is to be performed on all the members of the protestant German churches by the bishop, according to the rites of the English church. It is clear that by this means her [the Prussian] churches would by degrees become neither more nor less than Anglo-German churches, notwithstanding all that is said about retaining the national form of the church. It is also clear that by means of such a reservation, the existence of the protestant pastorate would be destroyed in its very foundation. What a sorry figure in a protestant point of view would be cut by a pastor who, when his lambs had hitherto been fed by himself, must obediently bring them trained before a master! They are of course not his sheep; he is merely the labourer; the real shepherd stamps them with his own ruddle-mark.

'The second point relates to the ordination of candidates who are to be appointed over the future churches as pastors by the bishop, upon the subscription of the thirty-nine articles, after having previously subscribed the Augsburg Confession at home. What a monstrosity of ecclesiastical law!

'That certificate, then, of a subscription elsewhere given to the Augsburg Confession, will say nothing for the spiritual functions of the

bearer in the bishopric of St. James's, than a certificate of one's collegiate studies or place of abode. The act upon which ordination and authority to exercise the spiritual office are imparted, is that which binds the party to adhere to the thirty-nine articles, over which the bishop alone has to watch. Accordingly we see here, as in the case of confirmation, that all which is peculiar to the nation and the faith of a German, except the language, is given up to Anglicanism.'—*Ib.*, pp. 14—16.

Nor is the new episcopate viewed merely as creating an anomalous and intolerable state of things abroad, but as leading ultimately to equally offensive changes at home.

'Those who had not forgotten what had already been done for twenty years by persons who took part in this drama to gain over Frederic William III. to the idea of an apostolical episcopate, who remembered, too, the statements which appeared in English church periodicals, and were transferred to German papers during the residence of a certain Prussian statesman in England in 1839—viz., that the necessity of having episcopacy founded on legitimate consecration was more and more urgently felt on the continent, and that measures for obtaining this from England might be expected soon, a report which numerous *clerici regionarii* in the English settlements along the Rhine confidently repeated; those, moreover, who were acquainted with the inquiries the same statesman had made in Paris and Belgium, whether and how the Protestant church might be placed there under episcopal government, could scarcely have any doubt as to how the case would be with the Bishopric of Jerusalem. There, it was said, in Mahommedan territory, where ecclesiastical and civil functions were blended, and where no ecclesiastical corporation could possibly be recognised by the state without its being represented by the bishop, a commencement might be made, with the greatest apparent naïveté, towards realizing the darling idea of setting up the golden calf, in which Protestantism might behold its image as a church. It might be reckoned that the rage for Palestine would be contented with what was left for it, and would silence any saucy critics who might arise, especially if such a fact in the world's history were seconded by a well-sustained *feu de joie* of newspaper volleys. A double advantage would be gained if Protestant churches could be formed on these principles: first, an important precedent, which could be well employed against any future opposition at home to such an organization of churches; secondly, the seeds would be sown for a clergy legitimately ordained, which might, without creating disturbance, be transplanted, together with the bishop, to our own country.'—pp. 13, 14.

These evident tendencies of the united bishopric, plain enough in themselves, acquire still further significancy from an expression officially employed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate avows that the measure has been 'taken with the hope that it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as

well as doctrine, between our own church and the *less perfectly constituted* of the protestant churches of Europe.' This is letting out the whole secret, and compacts the whole case into a demonstration that a scheme is artfully laid, and perseveringly pursued, to undermine the constitution of the continental churches, and to reduce them under episcopal regimen.

Under the influence of this conviction, the writer of the pamphlet says, 'The mantle of Christian charity has long enough been thrown over Anglicanism, and it is now high time and our bounden duty to unveil it, when it approaches in so rude and arrogant a manner as it does in the archbishop's announcement,' p. 22. He proceeds, accordingly, to give a spirited sketch of the history of the church of England, and with a fidelity and vividness which make us regret that our limits forbid quotation. We must make room, however, for part of its winding up. After acknowledging the merits of the 'evangelical party,' the writer proceeds—

'But to *you*, anointed *lords* and consecrated *gentlemen* of the high church, who boast of a *character indelibilis*, who cherish the apostolical succession—to you who, by the mouth of William Howley and Charles James Blomfield, have dared to address us in language so impertinent, to you we would fain direct the earnest question: Have *you* ever been the men to contend with the sword of the word of God and the shield of faith? to put on the armour of Christ, and come boldly forward against the hydra of infidelity and immorality! No! *You* were forsooth consecrated, and you consecrated all those who received from your hand the *ruddle mark*; but have *you* preached the gospel to the poor in the streets and ships, in the markets and in the dens of sorrow? No! . . . Have *you*, in the Lord's name, fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, comforted the wretched? Have you prayed and wept with them? No! *You* are chaplains only at the sumptuous tables of the great; *you* have disdained all intercourse with unsightly wretchedness, except to tythe its potatoes! Have *you* sought that which was lost, raised up the broken reed, and brought back the wanderer to repentance? No! *You* have exacted your tithes to the very anise and cummin of the poor; and, Jehu like, have brandished your bloody scourge over the famished bodies of the Irish people. Have *you* kindled a light in schools and colleges for the people? No! *You* have allowed the colleges to decline, and have grudged even the most limited instruction to the child of the artisan. Have *you* emancipated the swarthy slaves, the sons of Ham? No! Your apostolical successors—behold! they rise up in resistance to the measure as one man! Nor could you forget the sentence, 'Cursed be Canaan, and let him be a servant of servants among his brethren.' Have *you* gone out to preach the gospel to every creature, and to carry the glad tidings to the heathen? The great instruments in the Lord's hand, Eliot, Brainerd, Schwartz, Marshman, Carey, Vanderkemp, Rhenius,

Gutzlaff, Gobat, did they belong to you?—No! The men who were enabled in the strength of the Lord to do such things were presbyterians and baptists, were the sons of Penn and Wesley, whom your pride and worldly-mindedness drove from the midst of you—they were the sons of Germany and Switzerland, whose pious zeal you assisted with your mammon only, in order to encroach, with rude and clumsy hand, upon the fruits of their toil when the opportunity arrived. But say! where shall we find the fruit of your labours, the flock which your care has gathered? Its voice is heard in that cry of neglected wretchedness with which Europe resounds,—More bread and fewer bishops, more pigs and fewer parsons! And are *you* for setting up to be our masters, and are we to obtain from *you* the rules for our '*less regulated churches*?' Are *you* to be the pattern and the type for *us*? *You*, I ask? what *you*? Oh, I entreat you, let that confused vision of your infatuated pride vanish—go and repent of your sins, and the sins of your forefathers; turn your thoughts within and learn humility!—pp. 31, 32.

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V. *The Atlas General Newspaper*, March 25, 1843. London : Third Edition. The Aerial Steam Carriage.

THAT person must have made few, and but superficial observations, upon the history of mankind, who fails to discern how intimately facilities for transport and transit are connected with it at almost every turn. Mind, in its connexion with matter, seems to rejoice in movement. When toryism took up arms against railroads, for instance, as it did in the cases of the Bristol and Birmingham companies, the genius actuating it was analogous to that of the oyster; and had this system of politics, before it changed its cognomen, been placed in the temple of truth, to give an account of its creed and principles, these last would have been found anything but friendly to wheels, unless they were sure to move slowly, or unless the tread-wheel might be deemed an exception. Liberalism, on the other hand, of necessity and by its very nature, bound up as to its interests with mental development, appears to live only in progress; it rejoices in locomotion, because it knows how forcibly that enters into the genuine advances of civilization; so that whatever may tend to expedite the conveyance of men or chattels from place to place, will be certain to find favour in its eyes. Stagnation, slowness, comforts of travelling in the felicitous vehicles of our forefathers at the rate of seven miles an hour, are now among the ideas which democracy and mechanics' institutes have taught a rising generation to laugh at; nor does any one complain, in the long run, of all this, except those old giants of prejudice, which feel they are left behind in the race: whilst there may be even some prospect, in a few more years, of young people traversing air, as well as earth, perhaps faster than a pigeon flies! The extraordinary print lying before us on the table, of the 'Ariel in its Flight'—like the monstrous bird of the Arabian Entertainments—wending its lofty way, we presume across the Straits of Dover, has suggested to us the propriety of endeavouring to attract the attention of our readers to a subject somewhat foreign, and yet by no means uncongenial to the general scope of our labours.

It may be remarked, that capabilities of locomotion, under certain restrictions, seem to illustrate the position of organized life in the scale of creation. Stones, vegetables, and the intermediate links between the kingdoms of plants and animals, may be sufficiently interesting, valuable, useful, and even wonderful, but they have no motive powers. The tortoise at least gets along—the hare runs for its life—and the birds soar into the fields of ether, the envy and admiration of the poet, not to say of the philosopher. This notion, however, will much mislead us, unless we bear in mind, that mere locomotiveness is by itself worth

pebbles, and other disengaged substances, not a few are parasitic, attaching themselves to other algæ, without apparent injury to their growth or expansion. Of some, the delicate fibres almost elude the sight, while others, the giants of their race, 'lie floating many a rood.' Here, however, we shall refer to Mr. Harvey, who has hardly been allowed as yet a fair hearing, for farther illustration of these points.

'The name Algæ is assigned by botanists to a large group or *natural class* of cryptogamic or flowerless plants, which form the principal and characteristic vegetation of the *waters*. The sea, in no climate, from the poles to the equator, is altogether free from them, though they abound on some shores much more than on others. Species abound likewise in fresh water, whether running or stagnant, and in mineral springs. The strongly impregnated sulphureous streams of Italy—the eternal snows of the Alps and arctic regions—and the boiling springs of Iceland—have each their peculiar species; and even chemical solutions, if long kept, produce algæ. Very few, comparatively, inhabit stations which are not submerged or exposed to the constant dripping of water; and in all situations where they are found, great dampness, at least, is necessary to their production.

Thus extensively scattered through all climates, and existing under so many varieties of situation, the species are, as one would naturally suppose, exceedingly numerous, and present a greater variety in form and size than is observable in any other tribe of plants whose structure is so similar. Some are so exceedingly minute as to be wholly invisible, except in masses, to the naked eye; and require the highest powers of our microscopes to ascertain their form and structure. Others, growing in the depths of the great Pacific Ocean, have stems which exceed in length (though not in diameter) the trunks of the tallest forest trees; and others have leaves that rival in expansion those of the palm. Some are simple globules or spheres, consisting of a single *cellule*, or little bag of tissue filled with a colouring matter; some are mere strings of such cellules cohering by the ends; others, a little more perfect, exhibit the appearance of branched threads; in others, again, the branches and stems are compound, consisting of several such threads joined together; and in others, the tissue expands into broad flat fronds. Only the higher tribes shew any distinction into stems and leaves, and even in these, what appears a stem in the old plant, has already served at an earlier period of growth, either as a leaf, as in *Sargassum* and *Cystoseira*, or as a midrib of a leaf, as in *Delesseria*. A few exhibit leaves or flat fronds formed of a delicate perforated network, resembling fine lace, or the skeleton of leaves.'

Before we dismiss the present subject, we must indulge ourselves in a single remark on a practice which we have not, however, the slightest expectation of restraining. In our reference to different authorities during our examination of this 'Manual,' we have been, as often before, inexpressibly annoyed by the

absurd system which authorizes a discoverer to attach the name of some honoured individual to a newly ascertained genus or species. Every epithet in systematic arrangement should have a meaning, but we are still to learn what instruction is conveyed, or what distinctions may lie hidden in such terms as Grateloupia, Dealongchampii, Cruickshankii, Lingbyei. What does it signify to Mrs. Griffiths—known and to be known as one of the most accomplished, discriminating, and liberal-minded of algologists—that a family of algæ has been distinguished by the term Griffithsia. Genuine celebrity rests on a surer foundation than a barbarous nomenclature.

Art. IV. 1. *A Sermon Preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, at the Consecration of the Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, on Sunday, November 7, 1841.* By the Rev. A. McCaul, D.D., &c. &c. Published at the request of His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. London. 1841.

2. *The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, in Jerusalem. To which are appended Remarks on Dr. McCaul's Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Alexander, by the Rev. W. Hoffman, Inspector of the Missionary Seminary at Basle.* Translated from the German. London. 1842.

On the seventh day of November, in the year of grace One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-one, the Rev. — Alexander, Doctor in Divinity, a descendant of Israel, but a clergyman of the church of England, was consecrated at Lambeth Palace to the distinguished office of 'Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.' This transaction is sufficiently remarkable, if regarded exclusively as a proceeding of the Anglican hierarchy. It is not merely a part of the system which has recently sprung up, and which is in itself, not only altogether novel, but not a little singular, of appointing high ecclesiastical functionaries upon what may almost be called the voluntary principle—certainly without the interference of the usual prerogative of the crown, and without dependence on the public purse for support—after the fashion of the bishops sent out, within the last few years, to the British colonies. It is more than this. It is the appointment of an English bishop to a region where there is no British territory; and it is the first instance, we believe, of the violation of the territorial principle which has hitherto invariably characterized the Anglican episcopacy. Until now we have had bishops of London, of Salisbury, of Barbadoes, of Calcutta; but we have now a bishop, not of, but only 'in Jerusalem.'

The reverend divine who was selected to preach the consecration sermon on this extraordinary occasion, tells us that 'there

are in Syria and Asia Minor, Egypt and Abyssinia, congregations or missionary establishments of the church of England, that 'societies have arisen on the continent of Europe for the colonization of the Holy Land,' and that 'tribes and churches of the East turn to England for help;' and that, on these grounds, 'the presence of an Anglican bishop' in that region 'is imperatively necessary.'—*Sermon*, p. 5. But why so? If 'the guidance and blessing of a bishop' be so necessary—a point upon which we (profane as we are!) do not pretend to give an opinion—there are bishops on the spot. 'The orthodox Greek bishops,' as Dr. McCaul terms them, why may not they 'guide and bless' the children of the East; more especially since the Anglican bishop goes out on a professed mission of peace, and with an avowed desire of promoting 'catholic union'? Will our readers believe, that, with those professions on his lips, Bishop Alexander is not even to put himself into communion with the Greek church! 'Grave causes,' Dr. McCaul assures us, 'prevent communion with them at present.' In this church 'there exist errors of doctrine and practice'—we have at last the real Simon Pure—'of which she cannot dare to make herself a partaker. * * No appearance of external unity,' he adds, 'can warrant us to make light of the difference of [between] right and wrong, to do evil that good may come, or to sacrifice truth.'—p. 8. To our minds, this is throwing away the olive-branch altogether. The church of England thus takes her stand in the East, as among churches which with her first breath she denounces as 'heretical;' and, consequently, as a belligerent power, whose direct operation must be, not to promote 'catholic union,' but 'to increase the feuds by which Jew and Ishmaelite are already scandalized, and the name of Christ blasphemed.'—*Sermon*, p. 7.

In order to show that, in the appointment of the new bishop, 'there is no intention of intruding on the office or jurisdiction of the present patriarch of Jerusalem,' Dr. McCaul pleads the attention which the Anglican ecclesiastic is to pay to the Jews. 'That prelate,' says he, meaning the patriarch, 'does not pretend to be an apostle of the circumcision, and therefore cannot be the representative of St. James of Jerusalem. The patriarchate (the preacher goes on to say) is not of primitive institution, but an erection of the fifth century, and the patriarchs nothing more than successors of the Gentile bishops of Ælia Capitolina; which, so far from laying claim to the rights of the mother church, as the church of St. James certainly was, was itself for centuries subordinate to the metropolitan church of Cesarea.'—p. 14. To pass over the consideration, that, to give this apology any force, the new bishop should *confine* his ministrations to the Jews, we may truly affirm that it presents a rare specimen of ecclesiastical jugglery. According to Dr. McCaul,

we are to understand that 'the rights of the mother church' at Jerusalem, having been utterly lost sight of for nearly two thousand years, are suddenly re-discovered, like jewels in a sewer. Had this discovery been publicly announced, no doubt all the episcopal churches in existence would have been on the *qui vive*, each intensely eager to become the possessor of so fortunate an ecclesiastical windfall. Enacting the customary part of 'the profession,' however, the church of England, being the party by which the discovery has been privately made, has immediately appropriated the treasure, and 'laid claim to the rights of the mother church of St. James!' Will none of the other parties interested in this remarkable event exclaim, Show your title?

And so Dr. Alexander is the new 'apostle of the circumcision,' and next successor to Saint James, the primitive bishop of Jerusalem! *Quanto mutatus ab illo!*

The consecration of Bishop Alexander attracts the more regard, because it is not an affair of the English church alone. No less a personage than his Majesty, the King of Prussia, is part and parcel of it. This pious prince has taken a liberal share in providing for the carnal necessities of the new episcopate, as appears from the following document, which has been published on the continent, and which we copy into our pages from the second pamphlet we have placed at the head of this article:—

'We, Frederick, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c., hereby declare and make known, that we are willing to contribute one-half of the sum necessary for the endowment of a protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, and have destined thereto the sum of 15,000*l.* sterling, which sum we have so disposed, that 600*l.*, the interest of it, should be handed over to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, as trustees of the said bishopric, in yearly payment of the moiety of the annual income of the Bishop of Jerusalem. That in case a safe and profitable investment of this sum should hereafter be resolved upon, in order to which, however, by virtue of the moiety granted by us, our previous consent is necessary, the said capital of 15,000*l.* shall be paid over in cash to the trustees, an acknowledgment of which shall be contained in the deed of endowment, together with a covenant, that any overplus beyond 600*l.*, which may arise from the investment of this capital, shall not go to the increase of the bishop's income, but shall be added to the endowment of the bishopric. In witness whereof, we have executed the present grant of endowment. Given at Holnitz, near Jaur, 6th September, 1841.

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.'

Deeds of royal munificence like this are certainly not the result of momentary impulses. They imply somewhat, and probably much, of intercommunication between crowned heads, and

negotiation between secular and spiritual authorities. And so it was in this instance. Not long after Frederic William the Fourth had ascended the throne,

‘A confidant of the king, in the person of Chevalier Bunsen, went on a special mission to London, which, under colour of family interests, did not, and indeed was not intended, to remain long concealed. The well-known character of the ambassador was alone sufficient proof that something different was intended by this mission from the objects of common diplomacy; that, in the negotiations entered on, ecclesiastical interests would be represented, and this by a man who had already won some reputation as a theological dilettante. The frequent conferences of the chevalier with the highest dignitaries of the English church, served to add weight to the general surmises. When, behold, after some months, a statement, not much noticed at the time, ran through the newspapers, of the passing of a bill in parliament, by which the English episcopacy was empowered to consecrate bishops abroad.’—*Anglo-Prussian Bishopric*, pp. 10, 11.

So the machinery works, wheel within wheel. And, no doubt, the subsequent visit of his Prussian Majesty to the court of Great Britain was connected with additional schemes, hereafter to come to light.

From the pamphlet which we have thus quoted, and of which we have to speak in the highest terms, we gather that this movement of the Prussian monarch has not been altogether, as an expression of concern directed to the religious condition of the Holy Land, without some general sympathy in Germany. It appears that, for the professed Christians in Egypt and Syria, the rule of Mehemet Ali had ‘brought about a kind of golden age,’ as compared with the oppressions practised under the Turks.

‘Most serious concern, therefore, was felt by many pious men, who feel a hearty interest in the propagation of the kingdom of Christ in the land of its birth, when, by virtue of stipulations entered into by the Four Powers after the battle Nisib, and enforced in 1840 by their arms, the Syrian provinces were separated from Egypt, and again subjected to the immediate sway of the Padisha. It was naturally feared that all the horrors of the old Turkish tyranny would return. No man could believe in the promises of the firman of Gülhane, especially as the reform party of the divan was put down soon after the overthrow of Halil Pacha, and the well-known decapitators regained the chief place in the council of Abdul Medschid; a general outcry arose in Europe for *guarantees* for the safety of the Christian population of the east, which was more strongly echoed on account of the horrors of the massacre at Damascus, which occurred a short time before, though the veil of mystery spread over it still remains.’ Various plans were proposed, which, according to general belief, could be easily brought about by the allied powers, who had just laid the Sultan under so great obligations—the chief of which was, to colonize Palestine

by European and Oriental Christians, and to form a republic at Jerusalem under the protection of the great Christian powers.'—*Ib.*, p. 10.

The religious philanthropy of Germany, however, seems to have been very far from taking the specific direction of that cherished by the King of Prussia. It was one thing to care for the advancement of religion in the East, and quite another to be enamoured of the English ecclesiastical regime. Accordingly, the step taken by Frederic William has caused a profound sensation throughout the Lutheran churches, and the pamphlet occasioned by it (which was published at Freiburg, in Switzerland), has excited great attention in Germany. Men seem to see in it the commencement of changes, and an evidence of schemes of change, from which they revolt with strong resentment.

The attempt which was made by some government journals to get up an enthusiastic reception for the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem, has signally failed, and the greatest objections are taken to it, as a violent and most unwelcome interference with the Lutheran ecclesiastical platform. What has plausibly been said about the charms of unity and the preservation of the rights of the German protestant church, is clearly seen through, and indignantly repelled, as will appear by the following passages :—

'There are two special points in the constitution of the bishopric of St. James, whose essentially unprotestant nature can be concealed by no explanatory circumlocutions and assurances. The first relates to confirmation, which is to be performed on all the members of the protestant German churches by the bishop, according to the rites of the English church. It is clear that by this means her [the Prussian] churches would by degrees become neither more nor less than Anglo-German churches, notwithstanding all that is said about retaining the national form of the church. It is also clear that by means of such a reservation, the existence of the protestant pastorate would be destroyed in its very foundation. What a sorry figure in a protestant point of view would be cut by a pastor who, when his lambs had hitherto been fed by himself, must obediently bring them trained before a master! They are of course not his sheep; he is merely the labourer; the real shepherd stamps them with his own ruddle-mark.

'The second point relates to the ordination of candidates who are to be appointed over the future churches as pastors by the bishop, upon the subscription of the thirty-nine articles, after having previously subscribed the Augsburg Confession at home. What a monstrosity of ecclesiastical law!

'That certificate, then, of a subscription elsewhere given to the Augsburg Confession, will say nothing more for the spiritual functions of the

bearer in the bishopric of St. James's, than a certificate of one's collegestudies or place of abode. The act upon which ordination and authority to exercise the spiritual office are imparted, is that which binds the party to adhere to the thirty-nine articles, over which the bishop alone has to watch. Accordingly we see here, as in the case of confirmation, that all which is peculiar to the nation and the faith of a German, except the language, is given up to Anglicanism.'—*Ib.*, pp. 14—16.

Nor is the new episcopate viewed merely as creating an anomalous and intolerable state of things abroad, but as leading ultimately to equally offensive changes at home.

'Those who had not forgotten what had already been done for twenty years by persons who took part in this drama to gain over Frederic William III. to the idea of an apostolical episcopate, who remembered, too, the statements which appeared in English church periodicals, and were transferred to German papers during the residence of a certain Prussian statesman in England in 1839—viz., that the necessity of having episcopacy founded on legitimate consecration was more and more urgently felt on the continent, and that measures for obtaining this from England might be expected soon, a report which numerous *clerici regionarii* in the English settlements along the Rhine confidently repeated; those, moreover, who were acquainted with the inquiries the same statesman had made in Paris and Belgium, whether and how the Protestant church might be placed there under episcopal government, could scarcely have any doubt as to how the case would be with the Bishopric of Jerusalem. There, it was said, in Mahommedan territory, where ecclesiastical and civil functions were blended, and where no ecclesiastical corporation could possibly be recognised by the state without its being represented by the bishop, a commencement might be made, with the greatest apparent naïveté, towards realizing the darling idea of setting up the golden calf, in which Protestantism might behold its image as a church. It might be reckoned that the rage for Palestine would be contented with what was left for it, and would silence any saucy critics who might arise, especially if such a fact in the world's history were seconded by a well-sustained *feu de joie* of newspaper volleys. A double advantage would be gained if Protestant churches could be formed on these principles: first, an important precedent, which could be well employed against any future opposition at home to such an organization of churches; secondly, the seeds would be sown for a clergy legitimately ordained, which might, without creating disturbance, be transplanted, together with the bishop, to our own country.'—pp. 13, 14.

These evident tendencies of the united bishopric, plain enough in themselves, acquire still further significance from an expression officially employed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate avows that the measure has been 'taken with the hope that it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as

well as doctrine, between our own church and the *less perfectly constituted* of the protestant churches of Europe.' This is letting out the whole secret, and compacts the whole case into a demonstration that a scheme is artfully laid, and perseveringly pursued, to undermine the constitution of the continental churches, and to reduce them under episcopal regimen.

Under the influence of this conviction, the writer of the pamphlet says, 'The mantle of Christian charity has long enough been thrown over Anglicanism, and it is now high time and our bounden duty to unveil it, when it approaches in so rude and arrogant a manner as it does in the archbishop's announcement,' p. 22. He proceeds, accordingly, to give a spirited sketch of the history of the church of England, and with a fidelity and vividness which make us regret that our limits forbid quotation. We must make room, however, for part of its winding up. After acknowledging the merits of the 'evangelical party,' the writer proceeds—

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We must withdraw ourselves, however, from this region of temptation, and conclude by saying, that we earnestly hope the sensation produced throughout Germany will not be evanescent or fruitless. The Lutheran churches have been taken at unawares, and a crisis seems to have come upon them in a moment. But, once aroused, they should be thoroughly awake. We trust they will be so, and that their successful endeavours to resist the yoke of Anglican ecclesiastical tyranny will be accompanied with a revival and extension of the love and power of vital godliness.

V. *The Atlas General Newspaper*, March 25, 1843. London : Third Edition. The Aerial Steam Carriage.

THAT person must have made few, and but superficial observations, upon the history of mankind, who fails to discern how intimately facilities for transport and transit are connected with it at almost every turn. Mind, in its connexion with matter, seems to rejoice in movement. When toryism took up arms against railroads, for instance, as it did in the cases of the Bristol and Birmingham companies, the genius actuating it was analogous to that of the oyster; and had this system of politics, before it changed its cognomen, been placed in the temple of truth, to give an account of its creed and principles, these last would have been found anything but friendly to wheels, unless they were sure to move slowly, or unless the tread-wheel might be deemed an exception. Liberalism, on the other hand, of necessity and by its very nature, bound up as to its interests with mental development, appears to live only in progress; it rejoices in locomotion, because it knows how forcibly that enters into the genuine advances of civilization; so that whatever may tend to expedite the conveyance of men or chattels from place to place, will be certain to find favour in its eyes. Stagnation, slowness, comforts of travelling in the felicitous vehicles of our forefathers at the rate of seven miles an hour, are now among the ideas which democracy and mechanics' institutes have taught a rising generation to laugh at; nor does any one complain, in the long run, of all this, except those old giants of prejudice, which feel they are left behind in the race: whilst there may be even some prospect, in a few more years, of young people traversing air, as well as earth, perhaps faster than a pigeon flies! The extraordinary print lying before us on the table, of the 'Ariel in its Flight'—like the monstrous bird of the Arabian Entertainments—wending its lofty way, we presume across the Straits of Dover, has suggested to us the propriety of endeavouring to attract the attention of our readers to a subject somewhat foreign, and yet by no means uncongenial to the general scope of our labours.

It may be remarked, that capabilities of locomotion, under certain restrictions, seem to illustrate the position of organized life in the scale of creation. Stones, vegetables, and the intermediate links between the kingdoms of plants and animals, may be sufficiently interesting, valuable, useful, and even wonderful, but they have no motive powers. The tortoise at least gets along—the hare runs for its life—and the birds soar into the fields of ether, the envy and admiration of the poet, not to say of the philosopher. This notion, however, will much mislead us, unless we bear in mind, that mere locomotiveness is by itself worth

little in its practical results. There is a species of falcon, which will fly three hundred miles between sunrise and sundown in the higher latitudes—taking one meal in Scotland, and its next in Iceland—but which lives alone in its mountain glory. This power must become blended into system before it presents us with its most interesting analogies. The stork knoweth her place in the heavens! To watch myriads of winged creatures congregating for their far-distant emigration; to see them forming a wedge-like column, that through the upper regions of the atmosphere they may exchange Europe for Africa—to follow that dark and dense cloud of feathered existence in their perfect order, with pinions above and behind, pinions oaring an aerial voyage without an approach to confusion—this constitutes the miracle. And so with regard to mankind a similar observation applies. The Indian, who with stealthy but rapid pace, will convey himself from his own home to the frontiers of some hostile tribe, at the rate of twenty leagues per diem, is little else than the jer-falcon of his species. Locomotive power must assume a social character before it enters fully into civilization. The army on its march, the caravan tracking its perilous path over the desert, the vessel ploughing its way of wonder through the waters—these are amongst the elements which tell in their development upon the temporal weal or woe of our race. They may be classified, as is obvious, under two divisions—the transport of goods and the transit of persons; to the latter of which the present paper is intended mainly to relate. In fact, however, both play into the hands of each other; since mutual intercourse must naturally lead to more or less of mercantile transaction, so soon as mutual necessities, and reciprocal means of satisfying them, come to be thoroughly understood. Commerce no doubt sprung up in its small beginnings in the earliest ages. The ark of Noah may have instructed the diluvian patriarchs that a wooden framework, on certain principles, would waft or float a cargo from one spot to another. The river, or lake, or unruffled bay, by slow degrees favoured the first rafts or canoes, which might be more audaciously launched upon their bosoms. An *audax Japeti genus* gradually attempted to work out the original charter first given by their beneficent Creator to his energetic children. The Roman lyric, eighteen hundred years ago, alluded to this in his well-known exclamation:—

Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem !

And it is curious, that in the very same ode of Horace, there occur these two lines, which we venture to commend to Messrs.

Henson and Roebuck, before they embark for Bath in their new flying machine :

Expertus vacuum Dædalus aëra
Pennis non homini datis.

Not, indeed, that this should discourage them, but, on the contrary, just the reverse. We merely wish to show what difficulties science has already overcome. Steam has, in fact, reached its present proud position, through the apathy and scorn of centuries. For forty generations, the pages of Agathias recorded in vain the stupendous effects produced from cauldrons of boiling water, by an ingenious but vindictive mechanism, under Justinian, at Constantinople. The steam organ of Pope Sylvester, never charmed the proper attention of either its contemporaries, or of the mediæval, or our own modern age. Shouts of derision rewarded an early exhibition of steam boats before the Emperor Charles the Fifth; nor did the inventions of the Marquess of Worcester share a much better fate. Let not, then, the enterprising projectors of the Ariel despair. Their winged chariot may at least hand them down to posterity, as the Argonauts of the air, quite as worthy of a place among the stars as Jason and his mythological companions.

Probably, whilst water-carriage formed upon the banks of rivers, and the coasts of the Mediterranean, a chief means for immigration, some mode of inter-communication came, in course of time, to be more or less systematized upon land. We hear in Job of 'the swift ships,' as also of 'the post that hasteth by.' The camel or dromedary, together with the horse or wild ass, must have materially contributed to the rapidity, and, perhaps, the regularity of transit, prior to the commencement of historical records, those of the oldest books of Scripture excepted. Man is essentially gregarious. Human interests, and the sweet play of family affections, would not fail to contrive a vast variety of plans, through which the disadvantages of separation and distance might be in some degree overcome. The trails of ferocious animals, roaming for their prey, may possibly have marked out the first rude paths intersecting forests or districts, which labour and skill at length perfected into open roads for the traveller, the courier, and the caravan. Amongst the Chinese and Persians, and no doubt throughout many portions of those extraordinary Iranian and Egyptian empires, whose vestiges lie like wrecks along the shores of a shadowy antiquity, there would seem to have existed, from a very remote period, something analogous to regular systems of intercourse between widely separated regions. The necessity of the case must have originated some such result. In an age, also, when there were *tot reges*

quot urbes, we know from inspired authority, that there were both 'highways and byways,'—Judges, v. 6. Intercourse between villages increased of course, as those villages expanded into large towns and cities. Civilization thus experienced an augmented development; and improved in its turn those facilities for transit which had already fostered its own growth. Roman domination at length waved its sceptre over the world; and absolute monarchy took this task in hand with immense zeal and effect. Monster as it was, it was coerced to produce good out of its naturally evil nature. How could despotism reign and revel, unless its eyes and hands were in every place? Hence Suetonius tells us, that under Augustus, '*Et quo celerius, ac sub manum annuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque queretur, juvenes primo modicis intervallis per militares vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit*,' cap. 49. Aurelius Victor, Capitolinus, and Spartian, all inform us how carefully the system was enlarged under Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Severus. The imperial regulations *De Cursu Publico* occupy near sixty pages in double folio columns, in the *Codex Theodosianus*, including the learned commentaries of Godefroy. Gibbon has remarked how completely all the provinces were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways: an enormous chain of communication extended from the north-west to the south-eastern frontier,—from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem,—for upwards of four thousand miles. It passed through York, London, and Sandwich, in Britain; from Boulogne through Rheims, Lyons, across the Alps to Milan, Rome, and Brundisium, in Gaul and Italy; from Dyrrachium to Byzantium, in nearly a straight line for seven hundred and fifty miles; and in Asia, through Ancyra, Tarsus, Antioch, and Tyre, to the metropolis of Judæa. In the time of Theodosius, a magistrate of high rank posted from Antioch to Constantinople considerably within six days; and the same freedom of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused also the improvements of social life. The following account from *The Decline and Fall* is not less accurate than interesting:—'The public roads were properly divided by milestones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace, which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places near the capital, with granite. Such was their solid construction, that their firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen

centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant regions by an easy and familiar intercourse, though their primary object had been to facilitate military operations; nor was any country considered as completely subdued till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institutions of posts. Houses were everywhere erected at the distance of only five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses; and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel at the rate of one hundred miles per diem. The use of the posts was allowed to those who claimed it by an imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public service, it was frequently indulged to the business or convenience of private citizens. Nor was the communication of the Roman empire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature, and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a useful monument of Roman greatness. From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt.' He then demonstrates how the arts and luxuries of the east were thus rapidly communicated to the west; almost all the herbs, flowers, and fruits which grow in our European gardens, including the apricot, the peach, the orange, the olive, and the pomegranate, to say nothing of the improvement of the vine, or the introduction of flax, and various artificial grasses. Agriculture became improved and refined through these facilities for transit, and the consequent diffusion of intelligence. Famines were of rarer occurrence, the accidental scarcity of any single spot being immediately supplied by the plenty of more fortunate districts; and commerce, with manufactures, grew almost insensibly in proportion to the quickened and awakened energies of the inhabitants of the earth.

Nor even, during what are called the dark ages, was the taste for rapid and regular transit altogether lost, although barbarism had shaken the colossal empire which it assaulted into a multiplicity of fragments. We are always prepared to maintain that aristocracies possess all the evils of despotisms, without any of their redeeming qualities. Mankind, in dealing with them, or

rather suffering from them, has to cope with legions of dark powers in high places, instead of a single demon, entrenched in one cavern, out of which he may, by prodigious efforts, be ultimately ejected and destroyed. But even the nobles of the middle ages patronized some sorts of roads. Had transit altogether become extinct, there would have been no bridges to yield a harvest of unjust tolls, no merchants to fleece, no travelers to despoil. Their very forest laws would have defeated some of the darling objects which lay nearest their hearts, especially in the case of hilarious churchmen, whose genius and tastes lay much abroad, and expatiated in the sports of the field. Highways were necessary for these dignified personages, that they might at once exhibit their rural or ecclesiastical pomp, and enjoy to the full their golden day of jollification. 'Alexander the Third,' says Hallam, 'by a letter to the clergy of Berkshire, dispenses with their keeping the archdeacon in dogs and hawks during his visitation! Such seasons gave jovial dignitaries an opportunity of trying different counties and regions. An Archbishop of York, in 1321, seems to have carried a train of two hundred persons, who were maintained at the expense of the abbeys on his road, *and to have hunted with a pack of hounds from parish to parish.*' The third Council of Lateran, in 1180, had prohibited this amusement on such journeys, and restricted bishops to a train of forty or fifty horses. Alas, for the cobwebs of councils, when villains in coats of mail, or in copes and surplices, were to be caught by them. Clergy and nobility made their serfs and tenantry look warily to the maintenance of their ways; else how could the tithes have been carted home, how could church and state have kept the world at their feet, how could the magnates of the earth have continued to wax fat and shine? The rich monastery of St. Denis in France gravely represented to Charlemagne that the flesh of hunted animals was salutary for sick monks, and that their skins would serve to bind their books in the library! The monarch listened, and perhaps smiled; but the necessary dispensation was formally granted. Roads sufficient for ordinary purposes of transit thus escaped total neglect, until the formation of burgher and mercantile classes still further secured, extended, and improved them for better purposes. The lowest classes of all, much longer remained as *adscripti glebe*, an unfortunate race esteemed by those above them as properly created for their special service and entertainment; about as much fixtures as the cattle grazing in parks and demesnes. Meanwhile, whoever moved about at all had to move on horseback. Barons, bishops, canons, knights, esquires, fair ladies with falcons on their wrists, were every one mounted upon palfreys. Vehicles, except for the transport of

heavy goods, had been forgotten almost for centuries, although, as is well known, chariots both for games and warfare formed the pride of antiquity. The Romans also used them for domestic and social purposes, under the names of *arcera* (which occurs in the Twelve Tables), of *lectica*, of *carpentum*, and *carruca*. There is, moreover, a passage in Suetonius bearing on this point, when in his life of Julius Cæsar he clearly intimates that carriages were then let out to hire at Rome. The conqueror of Pharsalia, he observes, was a mighty traveller; *Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria rheda, centena passuum millia in singulos dies*; cap 57. In an article published some years ago, in the great 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' it was justly remarked that none can say at what precise period carriages were reintroduced. Under the emperors, many have questioned whether there were springs; in the absence of which, all their gold, gems, and trappings, to which we hear allusions in Seneca, Athenæus, and Chrysostom, must have been only splendid miseries. Feudalism, however, abhorred such conveyances, as if it instinctively anticipated that an age might arrive when augmented means of transit would break down its reign of monopoly—when convenient vehicles might carry peasants as well as lords; when they would become not merely useful, but necessary, affording facilities for internal intercourse to thousands and myriads, and more and more nearly assimilating the millions of an enlightened country to the habits and associations of a single united family. There is nothing like liberty, even for the mere temporal enjoyments of mankind.

Roads, therefore, not having been annihilated, were destined in due time to fulfil their appointed functions. Philip the Fair in France, about the close of the thirteenth century, forbade the wives of citizens from using cars. Plebeians were not to have the honour of being bumped about the streets of a gay capital, under the noses of princes and nobles, too poor to maintain an axletree, and far too proud to acquire the means of doing so, through attention to the pursuits of honest industry. Yet the dog in the manger has never been able to do much more than bark at the progress of civilization. When Charles of Anjou entered Naples, his queen rode in a carriage, the out and insides of which glowed under coverings of azure velvet, interspersed with golden lilies. The emperor, Frederick III., in 1474-5, seems to have used a close chaise in his journeys to Frankfort, whilst the electress of Brandenburg, the Duchess of Mecklenburgh, Diana of Poitiers, Rene de Laval, Catherine de Medicis, the father of Thuanus, the great historian, as president of parliament, all dazzled their contemporaries in the same manner. Henry the Fourth kept one coach, and was assassinated in it;

but before that day the practice was rapidly gaining ground. The elector of Cologne, in 1562, had several. Thirty years afterwards, the Margrave John Sigismond, at Warsaw, possessed three dozen, each with six horses, than whose age, according to Frederick the Great, the common indulgence in them is not older. In 1523, a law was enacted in Hungary to prevent the use of carriages, whilst towards the close of that century, Julius, Duke of Brunswick, illustrated that obstructive conservatism in 1588, which has since his reign, so charmed our own Newcastles and Buckinghams. His ducal enactment is too precious a morceau of antiquity to be altogether lost, for it runs as follows:—

‘As we know from ancient historians, from the annals of heroic, honourable, and glorious achievements, and even by our own experience, that the respectable, steady, courageous, and spirited Germans were heretofore so much celebrated among all nations, on account of their manly virtue, sincerity, boldness, honesty, and resolution; that their assistance was courted in war, and that in particular, the people of this land, by their discipline and intrepidity, both within and without the kingdom, acquired so much celebrity, that foreign nations readily united with them; we have for some time past, found with great pain and uneasiness, that their useful discipline in skill and riding throughout our electorate county and lordship, have not only visibly declined, but have been almost lost, (and no doubt, other electors and princes have experienced the same amongst their subjects); and as the principal cause of this is, that our vassals, servants, and kinsmen, without distinction, young and old, *have dared to give themselves up to indolence and riding in coaches*, and that few of them provide themselves with well equipped riding horses, and with skilful experienced servants, and boys acquainted with the roads; being not able to suffer any longer this neglect, and being desirous to revive the ancient mode of riding, *handed down and bequeathed to us by our forefathers*, we hereby will and command, that all and each of our before mentioned vassals, servants, and kinsmen, of whatever rank and condition, always keep in readiness as many riding horses as they are obliged to serve us with, by their fief or allegiance, and have in their service able, experienced servants acquainted with the roads; and that they have as many horses as possible, with polished steel furniture, and with saddles proper for carrying the necessary arms and accoutrements, so that they may appear with them, when necessity requires. We also will and command our before mentioned vassals and servants to take notice, that when we order them to assemble either altogether or in part, in times of turbulence, or to receive their fiefs, or when on other occasions, they visit our court, *they shall not travel or appear in coaches*, but on their riding horses.’—Corp. Jur. Feudal. Germ. 11, p. 1447.

Nor was this German prince aught else than a model to others of his own nation. Philip II., Duke of Pomerania Stettin, attempted the same suppression of improvement in 1608,

and with similar results. Ambassadors appeared in carriages for the first time in 1613, at the imperial commission of Erfurth. Kink informs us that the empress of Leopold, who came from Spain, blazed in her nuptial equipage, before the good people at Frankfort, involving an outlay of 38,000 florins! Her own court had witnessed coaches for the first time in 1546; but at Hanover, Ernest Augustus, in 1681, had fifty gilt carriages, with six horses apiece. We mark such incidents as these for a two-fold reason; first, to shew how greedily the upper classes plunged into their selfish enjoyments; and secondly, to demonstrate the impossibility of arresting the common sense of mankind in catching at every improvement which might ultimately facilitate transit. We have ventured to assert in a foregoing page, that during the middle ages, every one rode on horseback; which, however, must be understood with some limitations, even in old England. St. Erkenwald, a Saxon saint, seems occasionally to have adopted the Roman mode of conveyance. He flourished during the third quarter of the seventh century, and his biographer observes respecting him, '*Quâdam vero die, verbi Dei pabula, commisso sibi gregi, ministraturus, dum duarum rotarum ferretur vehiculo, infirmitate præpediente vel senio, contigit ut altera rotarum semitis difficultate axem relinqueret, et ibidem sociâ relictâ remaneret*: a curious passage, shedding a ray of light upon both the curricles and roads of our Saxon forefathers. We are indebted for it to Sir William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral; as also, to the already mentioned encyclopædia, so well known as an honour to the literature of Edinburgh. In the same publication, there is cited an instance borrowed from Brook's 'Catalogue of Kings and Princes,' p. 67, relative to one of the earls of Derby, who died of a *fall out of his coach*, in the year 1253. Stowe, in his 'Summary of English Chronicles,' takes the following notice of carriages, which we venture to copy without adhering to his orthography: 'This year, Walter Rippon made a coach for the Earl of Rutland, which was the first coach ever made in England, to wit, in anno 1564. The said Walter Rippon made the first turning hollow coach, with pillars and arches for her Majesty, being then her servant.' Also, about twenty years afterwards, he bears testimony to 'a chariot throne,' being constructed 'with four pillars behind, so as to bear a canopy, with a crown imperial upon the top, and two lower pillars before, whereon stood a lion and dragon, the supporters of the arms of England.' The oldest vehicles used by our ordinary British ladies, according to Stowe, were called *whirlcotes*, remaining in fashion but for a short interval. Lord Arundel is said by Anderson to have introduced German carriages into England about 1580; and under James I. something like an offer was

made by an individual from Stralsund, for running coaches between Edinburgh and Leith, for which he was to have a royal patent of monopoly for fifteen years. During the seventeenth century, popular privileges and aspirations took such a start, that comforts and conveniences for the middle classes came not to be considered altogether out of the question. It began to be admitted practically, that peers and princes were not the only persons entitled to the advantages of travellers. Fiacres at Paris, hackney-coaches in London, vehicles for hire at Amsterdam, Madrid, Warsaw, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, at length were permitted to dash, glide, or rattle through the public streets, for the benefit of all who could afford their fares. Good roads also were now called for in various directions. Turnpike trusts had commenced most beneficial warfare against all ruts as deep as ditches, and all gates excepting their own. Stages gradually started between every large city and its adjacent or connected towns; packets sailed towards every conceivable point of the compass; hot water performed unparalleled marvels upon the surface of cold; the post-office developed fresh capabilities for inter-communication, under the auspices of Mr. Palmer; carriages annually improved in their construction, whilst their nomenclature alone would have puzzled antiquaries and philosophers of past ages: nor could we venture to commit ourselves to any description, did even space or time allow it, of the landaus, barouches, phaetons, chariots, chaises, gigs, berlins, cars, tandems, calashes, windsor-chairs, buggies, broughams, and sociables, which are daily advertised in the columns of our public journals. The rate of travelling kept rising ever since the Peace, until it reached twelve miles an hour upon several of our best lines. A journey from the metropolis to Shrewsbury or Exeter no longer involved a fever in the legs or a woollen nightcap. Coaches assumed, with some species of apparent propriety, the names of Quicksilver, Swiftsure, Telegraph, Express, Nonpareil, or the Swallow; until at length, their transitory glories have become finally eclipsed by the transcendant wonders of railroads!

What other region then remained open to adventurous ambition but the very air itself? To dream of traversing it was for centuries considered something like a symptom of insanity; so that men left it as an exclusive field for fowls, insects, and supernatural agents. Yet, though such an opinion prevailed from periods of the remotest antiquity; even amidst the darker ages there occasionally shone forth a ray of better intelligence. Upon what the fable of Dædalus was founded, none can now tell; but Roger Bacon, the famous friar of all mediæval sorcery, suggested the idea of soaring above the earth by mechanical contrivances. He mentions a machine for flying, as in his time certainly known;

'not that he himself had seen it, or was acquainted with any other who had done so, but he knew an ingenious person who had contrived one.' It is probable that he alluded to some method of putting artificial wings into motion, like those of the projector in *Rasselas*, whilst no doubt he feared attempting any ascent into the air in his own proper person, lest literally he should fall into the fire rather than the water, through the tender mercies of an Inquisition. Bishop Wilkins, under Charles II., contemplated a voyage to the moon, in a vessel so filled with light gases, that it should ascend through the different densities of the atmosphere, as a cork rises from the bottom to the top of any water. In the same treatise, moreover, 'Concerning a New World,' he asserts that a flying chariot might be constructed upon 'mechanical principles;' and in his 'Mathematical Magic,' which was a subsequent publication, after specifying various schemes, he gives the preference 'to this very Flying Chariot, on account both of its superior utility, and the greater probability of its success.' His contemporary, the Jesuit Francis Lana, proposed to provide four hollow spheres of copper, each twenty feet in diameter, and so thin, that on exhausting the included air, they would float in the atmosphere, and be capable of conveying either a vessel or any other load. The metal, however, to answer at all, had to be reduced to a tenuity incapable of resisting the pressure of the external atmosphere; besides that his plan for securing a vacuum proved altogether imperfect. It is said, that at Lisbon, in 1736, an aeronaut went up about two hundred feet in a wicker basket of seven or eight feet in diameter; and Joseph Galien, at Avignon, somewhat later, proposed a leathern bag, which was to be neither more nor less than an anticipation of what the two brothers Stephen and Joseph Montgolfier realized in 1782. They were proprietors of a paper manufactory at Annonai, and they also made their first experiments at Avignon. By this time it had been ascertained that the air was an elastic fluid, and observing that smoke and clouds evinced natural tendencies to mount upwards, they conceived it practicable to confine an artificial cloud, 'which would also rise and carry along with it the enclosing substance.' Hence arose balloons, with all the expectations and grievous disappointments, excited and suffered, from time to time, from the generous attempts just enumerated down to those of our own enterprising countrymen, whose names as aeronauts are sufficiently notorious. Several have conceived that balloons might be advantageously used in geographical surveys or electrical experiments; but until some process for securing steerage shall have been discovered, they must be deemed, we conceive, as failures with regard to practical transit for ordinary people like ourselves.

Evaporation from hot water seems destined to bear away the palm of success ; and the old motto of the Greek sage may still keep its position over the Pump-rooms at Bath: APIΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΥΔΡΟ! The radical member for that renowned emporium of gout, rheumatism, and gaiety, astonished the House of Commons, by moving one evening for permission to bring in a bill for an Aerial Railroad ; whilst ever since last Lady-day, the print-shops in London have become almost a nuisance to the pavements, through the gaping crowds collected to stare at representations of the Aerial Steam Carriage ! We must now let the Atlas speak for itself, in describing Mr. Henson's extraordinary invention.

‘ Let our readers then first imagine a floor or platform 150 feet long by 30 feet wide. We are somewhat puzzled for a word, which will accurately designate this part of the machine. We have called it a floor or platform, merely because of its large area ; and yet these terms are improper, unless we divest them of all peculiar meaning as to weight or stability, for this expanded surface floating through the air really performs the office of wings, though it has none of their vibratory motion,—it has no joints ; it is remarkably strong and stiff from end to end, yet of extraordinary lightness. It advances through and upon the air, with one of its long sides foremost, that side being also a little raised. A tail of 50 feet long, and of similar construction, is jointed to the middle of its hinder edge, and under the tail is a rudder. Across its middle is a vertical web, which answers the same purpose as the keel of a vessel, or more nearly of the fin on the back of some fishes,—viz. it checks oscillation. All these different parts of the machine are constructed with an especial view to the combination of strength with lightness, and are covered with silk or linen. To the main expanse or wings, which we have described, and immediately beneath it, are suspended the car, and a small, light, and very ingenious, but powerful, steam-engine ; the latter actuates two sets of vanes or propellers, like windmill sails, and of 20 feet diameter, situated at the back edge of the wings.

‘ The principal feature of the invention, as far as the description has as yet proceeded, is the very great expanse of its sustaining planes, which are larger in proportion to the weight to be carried, than those of many birds ; but if they had been still greater, they would not have sufficed of themselves to sustain their own weight, to say nothing of their machinery and cargo ; so that surely, though slowly, they would have come to the ground. We have remarked, however, that the machine advances with its front edge a little raised ; the effect of which is to present its under surface to the air over which it is passing, the resistance of which acting on it, like a strong wind on the sails of a windmill, prevents the descent of the machine and its burthen. The sustaining of the whole, therefore, depends on the speed at which it is travelling through the air, and the angle at which its under surface

impinges on the air in its front; and this is exactly the principle by which birds are upheld in their flight, with but slight motion of their wings, and often with none.

But then this result, after the start, depends entirely upon keeping up the speed, and there remains beyond that, the still more formidable difficulty of first obtaining that speed. All former attempts of this kind have failed, because no engine existed which was at once light enough and powerful enough to lift even its own weight through the air with the necessary rapidity. Mr. Henson has removed this difficulty, partly by inventing a steam-engine of extreme lightness and efficiency; and partly by another very singular device, which requires particular notice. It is perhaps necessary to add, that any device by which the requisite velocity can be obtained, may be used instead of the inclined plane, as for instance a stationary steam-engine with a level road. All former inventors had supposed it necessary to carry in the machine itself all the power necessary to commence and sustain its flight. Hence some failed in their attempts, and others were deterred from making any attempt at all. Mr. Henson, following out the indications of art and nature, employs this expedient. *His machine, fully prepared for flight, is started from the top of an inclined plane, in descending which, it attains the velocity necessary to sustain it in its further progress.* That velocity would be gradually destroyed by the resistance of the air to the forward flight; it is therefore the office of the steam-engine and the vanes it actuates, simply to repair the loss of velocity; it is made, therefore, only of the power and weight necessary for that small effect. Here, we apprehend, is the chief but not the only merit and originality of Mr. Henson's invention; and to this happy thought we shall probably be indebted for the first successful attempt to traverse at will another domain of nature. Just so does a large bird often start from a high tree or rock. First, he makes a swoop downwards to acquire velocity; that gained, it requires little effort to rise again and increase his speed. The violent efforts made by slow and heavy birds when rising from the ground, and the easy flight of the same birds after they have obtained sufficient velocity, show the operation and importance of the same principle. Indeed, the whole is but a necessary consequence of the established mechanical axiom, that a body once in motion will ever continue to move, if hindering forces be taken out of the way, or balanced. Mr. Henson, having started his machine, balances the hindering forces by the action of his steam-engine; of which the entire weight, with the twenty gallons of water required to work it, is about six hundred pounds.

With the idea of flight we associate irresistibly those of swiftness and facility of motion. If the new machine should accomplish for us, at first, only a more frequent and rapid conveyance of letters at home, we shall realize an advantage, of which the penny postage has just shewn us the magnitude. It is not beyond sober anticipation to hope that we may soon have intercourse by letter, with all the principal towns of the kingdom, as frequently as we now have it with the different parts of the metropolis. We mention this as one of the lowest results; we may

add to it, the great advantages which, in many cases, will follow from this mode of personal transit. We cannot but think, that the invention has appeared most opportunely. Whatever may be our faith as to the social merits of machinery, we know that it exists. The world cannot go back to the days before the prolific inventions of modern times came into being. Whether we lament or rejoice over the extension of factories, and the rapidity of spinning and weaving, that extension and rapidity stand as obstinate facts, whose consequences must be met as best we can. There can be no doubt that our great want is that of markets. Be it noted, however, that there are human beings enough, and ten times more beside, to ensure to their own benefit, as well as ours, all that our most ingenious and most untiring industry can produce. They can give us in exchange commodities we should willingly receive; nay, for lack of some of which, destitution and disorder are afflicting and endangering our entire social body. Now, nothing in our apprehension is so likely to give our markets the extension necessary to remedy this frightful state of things, as this new and extraordinary mode of avoiding nearly all the difficulties of that intercourse, which would make neighbours and customers of all the tribes of the earth. If Mr. Henson should but moderately succeed in his design, there is not a spot on the face of the globe, which may not, in a few years, be familiarly known to us; there is not a tribe, which may not be stimulated by the visitation of this astounding messenger, to long for the benefit of civilization, and which may not contribute, by the demand occasioned through its improving habits, to extricate us from the terrible dilemma, into which the political and legislative errors of our forefathers have betrayed us.'—pp. 178, 179.

Art. VI. *Life and Poetical Remains of Margaret M. Davidson.*
By Washington Irving. London.

THIS volume records another instance of that precocious talent which occasionally flashes like a meteor across the literary hemisphere. Often as the question has been asked, whether genius is an original endowment or a cultivated habit of the mind, it seems not yet to have received a satisfactory answer. The present instance, however, would go far in evidence that it is a primary intellectual power, at least so far as it may be distinctively termed poetic.

The name of Davidson is already familiar to persons addicted to general literature, having been several years ago introduced to their notice through the medium of two biographical sketches of Lucretia Davidson, one by President Morse, of the American Society of Arts, and another by Miss Sedgwick. She died in the seventeenth year of her age, after having given proofs of great poetical talents, which appear to have descended like the prophet's

falling mantle upon this, her younger sister. Mr. Irving states that an acquaintance with some of the relatives of Mrs. Davidson had induced him, while in Europe, to read with great interest everything concerning her; so that when, in 1833, about a year after his return to the United States, he was informed that the mother was in New York, and desirous of consulting him respecting a new edition of her daughter's works, he immediately repaired to her house, where he found her feeble and emaciated, and supported by pillows in an easy chair. He states—

‘While conversing with her on the subject of her daughter's works, I observed a young girl, apparently not more than eleven years of age, moving quietly about her; occasionally arranging a pillow, and at the same time listening earnestly to our conversation. There was an intellectual beauty about this child that struck me; and that was heightened by a blushing diffidence when Mrs. Davidson presented her to me as her daughter Margaret. Shortly afterwards, on her leaving the room, her mother, seeing that she had attracted my attention, spoke of her as having evinced the same early poetical talent that had distinguished her sister, and, as evidence, shewed me several copies of verses remarkable for such a child. On further inquiry, I found that she had very nearly the same moral and physical constitution, and was prone to the same feverish excitement of the mind, and kindling of the imagination, that had acted so powerfully on the fragile frame of her sister Lucretia. I cautioned the mother, therefore, against fostering her poetic vein, and advised such studies and pursuits as would tend to strengthen her judgment, calm and regulate the sensibility, and enlarge that common sense which is the only safe foundation for all intellectual superstructure.

‘I found Mrs. Davidson fully aware of the importance of such a course of treatment, and disposed to pursue it; but saw at the same time that she would have difficulty to carry it into effect, having to contend with the additional excitement produced in the mind of this sensitive little being by the example of her sister, and the intense enthusiasm she evinced concerning her.’—pp. 10, 11.

Every one's experience will enable him to realize something of the difficulty referred to, for whatever direction a genuine and original enthusiasm takes, and most of all when it ascends to the regions of pure fancy, the efforts to control or rein it in are almost like attempts to persuade the flame not to burn, or the sparks not to fly upward. In nine cases out of ten, perhaps, the intellectual activities will overcome the physical constitution, and not unfrequently crush its energies, or push it into madness; but we are not insensible to the value of moral education; on the contrary, we deem it of inexpressible moment, both in regulating the wild eccentricities of an enthusiastic mind, and in calling into vigorous and useful exercise hitherto undetected or undiscovered

How often, in my childish glee,
I've sported round them, bright and free!
Could I but see thee once again,
My own, my beautiful Champlain!

'How oft I've watch'd the fresh'ning shower,
Bending the summer tree and flower,
And felt my little heart beat high,
As the bright rainbow graced the sky.
Could I but see thee once again,
My own, my beautiful Champlain!

'And shall I never see thee more,
My native lake, my much loved shore?
And must I bid a long adieu,
My dear, my infant home, to you?
Shall I not see thee once again,
My own, my beautiful Champlain?

Margaret contented herself, however, at Ballston. The mornings were spent in study; the evenings in conversation, or in the reading of some favourite author aloud for the benefit of the family circle. She became well versed in both ancient and modern history, and was familiar with the British poets. She also learned French, and made advances in Latin, in company with her brother. She had read some of the early books of Virgil, when illness again confined her to her room, but in about two months she recovered. In the following spring a severe shock was given to her feelings by the death of her sister Lucretia, an event which called forth some excellent verses, as did the subsequent illness of her mother in the spring. In December she was again seized with a liver complaint, which affected her lungs, and she was not able to leave her room till April. Her mind, however, continued its usual activity, and the interval was employed in various compositions. In the autumn of 1835, Dr. Davidson deemed it expedient to remove his family to a rural abode on the banks of the East River, near New York, called Ruremont. The large old-fashioned style of the house delighted her, and she revelled with the highest satisfaction in its productive gardens and pleasure grounds. At the close of the year her affections were deeply tried by the loss of her little brother, to whom, as in other cases of domestic affliction, she dedicated some commemorative verses. Her own health was in a most precarious condition, yet, as her mother states, she constantly persisted that she was well. The irritating cough, however, the hectic flush, and other symptoms, too surely pointed the way to a premature grave. About this period she became acquainted

with Miss Sedgwick, with whom she had many interesting communications.

It is surprising how she lingered on earth month after month, and even year after year, amidst alternations of severe indisposition, and almost apparently renovated health; surprising, we should call it, did not daily experience testify the deceptive and insidious character of that disease which has conducted with similarly slow steps and fitful changes, so many of the young, the beautiful, and the gifted, to the tomb. It is not our design to enter into these details, or to give an account of her removals from place to place in pursuit of health which never could be overtaken: for these we willingly refer to the volume itself, while we select a specimen or two of her prose and poetic compositions. The following is characteristic:—

‘A few days since, my dearest cousin, I received your affectionate letter, and if my heart smote me at the sight of the well known superscription, you may imagine how unmercifully it thumped on reading a letter so full of affection, and so entirely devoid of reproach for my unkindly negligence. I can assure you, my dear coz, you could have no better way of striking home to my heart the conviction of my error, and I resolved that hour, that moment, to lay my confessions at your feet, and sue for forgiveness. I knew you were too gentle to refuse. But, alas! for human resolves! We were that afternoon expecting brother M. And how could I collect my floating thoughts and curl myself up into a corner with pen, ink, and paper, before me, when my heart was flying away over the sand-hills of this unromantic region to meet and embrace and welcome home the wanderer. If it can interest you, picture to yourself the little scene. Mother and I, breathless with expectation, gazing from the window, in mute suspense, and listening to the ‘*phiz, phiz*,’ of the great steam-engine. Then when we caught a rapid glance of his trim little figure, how we bounded away over chairs, sofas, and kittens, to bestow in reality the greeting fancy had so often given him. Oh! what is so delightful as to welcome a friend! Well, three days have passed like a dream, and he is gone again. I am seated at my little table by the fire; mother is sewing beside me. Puss is slumbering on the hearth, and nothing external remains to convince us of the truth of that bright sunbeam which had suddenly broken upon our quiet retreat, and departed like a vision as suddenly. When shall we have the pleasure of welcoming *you* thus, my beloved cousin? Your flying call of last summer was but an aggravation. Oh! may all good angels watch over you and all you love, shake the dew of health from their balmy wings upon your smiling home, and waft you hither, cheerful and happy, to sojourn awhile with the friends who love you so dearly. All hail to spring—the bright, the blooming, the renovating spring! Oh! I am so happy—I feel a lightness at my heart, and a vigour in my frame that I have rarely felt. If I speak, my voice forms itself into a laugh. If I look forward, everything seems bright before me. If I look back, memory calls up what

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LINES WRITTEN AFTER READING ACCOUNTS OF THE DEATH
OF MARTYRS.

' Speak not of life, I could not bear
A life of foul disgrace to share!
Wealth, fame, or honour's fleeting breath,
What *are* they to this glorious death?
Think ye a kingdom back could win
My spirit to this world of sin?
Think ye a few more years of strife
Could draw me from eternal life?
Dark is the path to Canaan's shore,
But Jesus trod the path before;
He hath illumed the grave for me,
My Saviour, I will die for thee!
Yes! lead me forth in faith secure,
The keenest anguish I'll endure;
And while my body feeds the flame,
My soul its bright reward shall claim;
Soon shall these earthly bonds decay,
This trembling frame return to clay,
And earth enrobed in clouds of night,
Shall fade for ever from my sight.
But who would mourn a home like this,
When gather'd to that home of bliss?
But there is many a tender tie
Would shake my firm resolve to die;
Cords which entwine my longing heart,
Affections death alone can part.
Jesus, forgive each faltering thought,
Which weaker, earthlier love hath taught;
Forgive the tears which struggling flow
To view a mother's, sister's woe.
Forgive this grief, though weak it be,
Nor deem my spirit turn'd from thee.
Raise my unworthy soul above
The tempting wiles of earthly love;
Soon shall each torturing pang be o'er,
And tears like these shall flow no more;
And those I love so deeply here
Shall meet me in yon heavenly sphere.
Love! what have I compared to thine!
Love, pure, ineffable, divine!
Love which could bring a God below
To taste a mortal's cup of woe;
To weep in agony, to sigh,
To bear a nation's scorn—to die!
Oh, love undying, godlike, free,
All else is swallow'd up in thee!

Soon shall I also soar above,
 To dwell with thee, for ' *God is love.*'
 Yes! pile the blazing fagots high,
 Till the bright flames salute the sky;
 From each devouring pile you raise,
 Shall soar a hymn of love and praise,
 And the firm stake you rear for me,
 The gate to endless life shall be.
 But oh, ye frail, deluded train,
 How will ye meet your Lord again?
 Father! their crimes in mercy view,
 Forgive, they know not what they do!

The last and longest piece in the series, a poem called *Leonore*, is the best. It possesses considerable dramatic interest, and is written with a vigour and elegance which would not be unworthy of some of our own poets. It indicates powers, which, had she lived, would have given her a highly creditable rank among the children of song.

Her mother wrote to Miss Sedgwick an account of her death, which is deeply affecting. It occurred on the 25th of November, 1838, when she had attained the age of fifteen years and eight months.

Art. VII. *Sinim: A Plea for China.* By R. G. Milne, A.M.
 London: Snow.

As this is the first 'Plea for China,' which we have seen from the pulpit; and is the first publication of the author—one of the sons of the late Dr. Milne, of Malacca—we avail ourselves of it, to throw out some general hints on the character and claims of this vast empire. The sermon itself is highly creditable to the writer, and not unworthy of his father's memory. To the young, it will prove a useful clue to the wants and woes of the celestial empire, as distinguished from the moral state of other heathen nations. Sympathy, however, is not the only feeling that needs to be awakened on behalf of China. Curiosity, interest, and hope, require to be created, and that in *practical* forms, now that the empire is opened to our missions, at a moment when the church seems unable to sustain her old positions in the heathen world. She needs, therefore, to look closely and calmly into her commission again, and at the facilities which British influence affords for acting it out. She is neither so weak nor so poor as she thinks; nor is she at liberty to pause in her missionary career until better times come. Her country, as well as her commission, binds her to go forward, now that 'a

great and effectual door' seems opened for the gospel in China. We invite attention to this fact.

Britain, and the British dominions, present a strange contrast, in point of extent! The greatness of our empire is best seen by looking first at the smallness of our 'little island,' and then at the amazing fact that the sun never sets upon our dominions. Had we not grown up in familiarity with this fact, we should not be able to think of it without astonishment, or speak of it without awe. It makes this island, both politically and morally, greater than any or than all the continents of the world. She does not, indeed, employ her immense influence in the world so well as she ought, on behalf either of her colonies or of her allies; but no other nation, probably, would employ such power so well, because no other has so much *principle* to regulate its power. This view of our position should do anything but nourish national pride. Our position may be as perilous as it is sublime. It is as responsible as it is inspiring; and is becoming more so every year. We shall not, however, best discharge or feel our national responsibilities *to* the world, by underrating our national importance *in* the world. There is no humility in shutting our eyes upon facts that fix the gaze of all the nations of the earth. Nothing, indeed, could so increase our national humility before God, as a clear sight and a keen sense of our national greatness, as being just the measure of our national responsibility to God and the world. The nation, however, will not, as a body, 'turn aside to see this great sight; nor will the nominal church look at it in the light either of eternity or of the New Testament. Only the real Christians of the land will weigh the land's obligations to the world, or to her dependencies; and thus how few, comparatively, will do justice to, or even judge fairly of the spiritual claims of either China or India! This is an oppressive and appalling fact, now that both India and China are open to the gospel! What are all the missionaries which all the friends of missions could send forth and sustain, when divided amongst 'so many' hundreds of millions? The evangelization of the world, be it remembered, is 'the religion of *barns*' yet, and not of cathedrals—of the poor, not of the rich. The weight of the 'great commission' rests upon the weakest section of the community, in a pecuniary point of view; for although the nation has some generous sympathies with the missionary spirit of the age, so far as that is enterprising and civilizing, and for the heathen, too, so far as they are savage and wretched, it cares but little about the *salvation* of the world. Solicitude for that is felt only in the houses to which 'salvation is come,' as it came to the house of Zaccheus, opening the heart and the hands at the same time. The other parts of the community are as much de-

pendent on the church of Christ for their own conversion to the *power* of religion, as the heathen themselves are for the knowledge of Christianity. Thus the true 'holy catholic church' has to grapple at once with all the nominal Christianity of the land, and with all the real idolatry of the world. Both must find their remedy from her; for she alone is the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. Only real Christians will or can promote Christianity.

This solemn fact thins greatly the apparent ranks of 'the sacramental host of God,' by whom the captain of salvation is to conquer all nations. It thins them, however, only as Gideon's army was thinned at the well of Harod, in order to render them more efficient, by making them all, like Gideon himself, entirely dependent on the 'sword of the Lord.' Besides, it would ill become the soldiers of the cross, few as they are compared with its enemies, to flinch or faint, now that 'all Asia' is opening to them. The ELEVEN apostles betrayed neither fear nor surprise, when the risen Saviour met them by appointment on a mountain of Galilee, and commissioned them to 'teach all nations;' nor when he met them at table, and commanded them to go into 'all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' They started no objections whatever to this vast commission, nor were staggered by the labour or the peril it involved. Their Master had based it on the fact, that 'all power in heaven and on earth' was given unto him; and this was reason enough for them.

Their ready acceptance of such a commission presents a sublime spectacle. It was the heroism of *humility*, as well as the perfection of faith; for they all knew that they had none of the wisdom that charmed the Greeks—nor of the eloquence that swayed the Romans—nor of the daring that awed the Scythians—nor of the wealth that conciliated the Jews. They accepted their commission, be it remembered, before the day of Pentecost, and even before the ascension of Christ. But the Galilean mountain, where the world was consigned to their care, might have been covered, like Carmel, with 'horses and chariots of fire,' for aid and for defence; so promptly did they accept the charge, unappalled by its responsibilities or perils. Nor was this from ignorance of the world they had to evangelize. Their fearlessness was neither fool-hardiness nor fanaticism. They had never, indeed, travelled beyond their own nation, nor studied the religion or the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans; but still, they had seen not a little of Roman pride, and Grecian sophistry, and Arabian licentiousness, and Egyptian superstition, in Jerusalem, during the three years they had visited it at the great festival, when it was crowded with foreigners. They had witnessed enough of mankind at

home to enable them to judge what they had to contend with abroad. Besides, their own countrymen presented before them all the varieties of character, idol-worship excepted, that could be found in any civilized nation of the heathen. Thus it was neither ignorance nor fanaticism, but faith in the universal power of the Saviour, that led the apostles to undertake the mighty enterprise of evangelizing the whole world, even before they were baptized with the Holy Ghost, or knew what kind or degree of miraculous power Pentecost would bring to them.

This fact must never be lost sight of by the church, if she would do her duty to the world. Unless she embrace the whole world in the arms of her sympathy, she will not labour effectually for any part of it. She cannot, of course, labour everywhere. The apostles could not do that. What they did was, to keep for ever in sight the whole, whilst labouring hard for the parts they occupied. This led them to take great pains with every church they planted, in order that it might be a *missionary* as well as a holy church, and thus help them to carry out the great commission, and raise up men to carry on the work. The apostles never attempted too much, nor did too little, for central points. Instead of trying how many new places they could visit, they often came back upon the old places, 'confirming the souls of disciples.' They also went first to, and continued longest in, the chief cities of the Roman empire. Whoever traces them will see that they laboured most where work would tell best. They chose just those commanding and influential points for evangelizing the empire, that Rome chose for preserving it, planting and watering chiefly where she was most triumphant, although this exposed them to constant danger. But they were working for the 'whole world,' and therefore assailed first the strongholds most trusted in, and the fall of which would be most widely felt.

These hints contain valid reasons, why the church should not be appalled at her responsibilities to all nations, and why she should now attempt great things for China. One signal triumph of the cross there would alarm all the idolatries of Asia at once, from the Budhuism of the empire to the Lamaism of Thibet and the Hindooism of India. All these idolatries have been unmoved by the triumphs of the gospel in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands, and amongst negroes and slaves; and they would remain unmoved, were Polynesia and Africa fully conquered. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that the *recoil* of the Hindoo mind in India from idols and shasters, which has alarmed the Brahmins for their system, has even been heard of either in China or in Japan. But both India and Japan would

ring and reel, were either the Budhuism or the Faonism of China shaken in Ning-po or Amoy, as Hindooism is in Calcutta and Benares. Not that the Brahmins of India, or the Bonzes of Japan, wish well to the sages of China, but that they would bode ill to their own system, and tremble for it too, if Confucius began to lose authority, and Budh worship, in the Chinese ports. And should British protestant missionaries find their way to Pekin, and be allowed by the emperor to do in the capital what had been done in Calcutta, all Asia would tremble for her idols.

It is, however, only protestant, and chiefly British missions, that could have such effect upon Asia at large. Popish missionaries, whether from France or Portugal, or direct from the college of the propaganda at Rome, might resume their old place at Pekin without producing any sensation in Thibet or Japan, or much in China itself; because popery compromises and symbolizes so much with their own superstitions, and leaves its converts so like other people, that it is hardly dreaded or hated as a religion, even when most denounced as a policy. But not thus will simple protestant Christianity act in China, or re-act on the Grand Lama at Lassa, and the Bonzes at Meaco. It will tell there, as it has done in India upon the Brahmins. The popery of India has had nothing to do with the revolution now going on in the Hindoo mind, or with the fears of the Brahminical mind. Both have been produced by protestant schools, books, bibles, and missionaries. Rome herself feels this, and is superseding her old agents by young Jesuits, under the conviction, evidently, that now the old school is what the Abbé Dubois called it, 'unable' to convert Hindoos. We have now before us an original map of her missions in India, given to us by the Jesuit who surveyed them, in order to an infusion of new blood into their decrepit frame. And, no doubt, the Jesuits will render them more efficient. In the meantime, however, their converts, although they amount to half a million, have little or no moral or mental influence in India. It is protestantism alone that has shaken Hindooism; and it only can shake the throne of Confucius, or the altars of Budh, or the shrine of the Lama-lamala, in China. Popery cannot, were it at the court again, teaching science like Schaal and Verbiest, and dazzling the natives with the splendour of high mass, as in the palmy days of Gerbillon; for the Jesuits, and the Dominicans, and Franciscans, are as much *rivals* as ever, and both bound to teach that supremacy of the pope which, when claimed a century ago by the legate of Rome, Mezabarba, led the emperor to ask indignantly, 'Who is the pope? The pope commands! Pray, who is he, that he should take upon himself to command? He dare

not send his orders to either the English or the Dutch, and yet he presumes to subject China to his will !”*

This objection will for ever lie against, and retard popery in China. The missionaries of Rome must enforce submission to the pontiff, whatever else they may be at liberty to sacrifice or modify, in order to gain their purpose. Popes may contradict each other, by conceding and denying to Chinese converts a right to conform to some of the national superstitions ; but they will never allow their missionaries to compromise papal supremacy in the *abstract*, and the emperor will never allow it in any form. This is the grand security, humanly speaking, against the ascendancy of popery in China ; for of nothing is the emperor or the nation so rigidly jealous, as of any human power that claims either supremacy or equality with their own. Their whole history is both an illustration and a proof of this. Accordingly, in 1805, the imperial edict of Kia-King denounced even the supremacy of Jesus Christ, because the Roman-catholic books called him, ‘ the *incarnate* king of the universe,’ in common with God.†

Thus, protestantism will have to take care how it states the kingly office of Christ himself to the Chinese. It will find no difficulty, however, in stating his mediatorial supremacy wisely, for something very like the doctrine of the trinity prevails in China, and especially in the works of the sages. ‘ The theory of a TRIAD POWER uniting in one essence to create all things, and separating into distinct personages, successively, to rule the world in its first ages, has exercised considerable influence over the religious systems now prevailing in China. And why should it be thought improbable that some, at least, of these notions, though now enveloped in the grossest error, were yet originally derived from revealed facts, through the darkened medium of tradition ?’ ‘ The principal divinities are the ‘ THREE PURE ONES,’ united in one abstract essence, of which eternal reason is the basis and characteristic.’ ‘ The three sages of the sect of Taou, or Reason, are but one first cause, or indivisible monad. The first dwells in heaven, bestowing happiness ; the next in rank grants forgiveness of sins on earth, whilst the inferior rules the waters, and delivers from impending calamities.’‡

Laou-keun-tsze, the founder of this sect, flourished about five hundred years before the Christian era, and was contemporary with Confucius, whose sect also speak of the three powers of nature, as do the Budhuists likewise.§

* Auber’s China, p. 48.

† Kidd’s China, pp. 139—141.

‡ Quarterly Review, 1810.

§ Medhurst, p. 218.

The sect of Fu also have a triform idol, the San Pao, so like the image of the Trinity on the high altar of Madrid, that some of the popish missionaries said, when they saw it, that any Chinese would worship that image, were he in Spain.*

Le Compte says of the Taou sect, that its founder constantly repeated, as the basis of all true wisdom, the maxim, that 'the eternal reason produced one; one produced two; two produced three; and three produced all things;' a plain proof, he says, that the sage 'must have had some obscure notions of the Trinity.' The learned Abel Remusat has proved that the symbols of the Taou Trinity are the Hebrew letters of the name Jehovah.

These remarkable coincidences struck all the Romish missionaries, and gave them great hopes of success. One of their earliest Chinese tracts was on the Trinity; but, by a strange oversight, which shows how little practical place the Holy Spirit has in popery, 'they expressed both his existence and operations by a word signifying 'Love or Desire,' and thus merged both his personality and perfections in an abstract influence.†

In referring to these traces of primitive truth in China, we do not forget how uninfluential are all Chinese notions of God, nor how vague are the best of them. Still, we must maintain that both the popular and mystical vestiges of the Trinity, the atonement, and immortality, vague as they are, will give the missionary some immediate hold upon the Chinese mind, and may be turned to good account. He will not have to awaken, like Moffat, in Africa, the reasoning or the reflective faculty of the natives, before he can preach to them. He will have, indeed, to clear away unparalleled masses of all kinds of rubbish from the native mind; but still, he will have *mind* to work upon, and some first principles to appeal to, and will find a few scattered gems of primitive truth worth bringing into union and polishing into brilliancy; and his very knowledge of both the good and evil of all the Chinese systems of religion, will create a general surprise that must be favourable to his influence.

We will illustrate what we mean, by a reference to the vestiges of the doctrine of *atonement* in China. 'The Chinese annals record,' says Martinius, 'that a great famine, contemporary with that in Egypt in the days of Joseph, desolated the kingdom for seven years. Ching Tang, the founder of the second imperial dynasty, was told by the priests that the vengeance of Heaven could only be appeased by a human sacrifice; and the Emperor readily devoted himself to be the victim for the people.'

* Dr. Kidd on the Trinity, p. 519.

† Kidd's China, p. 390.

He laid aside his imperial robes, cut off his venerable grey hairs, and barefooted, and covered with ashes, and walking in the posture of a criminal, went to the altar, where, with uplifted hands, he implored Heaven to launch the thunderbolt of its wrath at his head, and to accept the life of the monarch for the sins of the people. For some time he calmly awaited the awful stroke that was to crush a king and save a nation. But it *fell* not,' say the annals, 'Heaven, to reward his piety, sent an abundance of rain, and soon, unbounded plenty reigned throughout the empire.' This tradition, with the prevalence of sacrifice, and the popular notion of sins being forgiven by the second person of the Taou trinity, forms vantage-ground, on which the missionary can sooner and better preach the cross, than anything that Africa or Polynesia furnished to Moffatt and Williams, at first. Accordingly, some of the Jesuits made good use of this tradition. The late Professor Kidd translated part of one of their tracts, said to be a fine specimen of the best Chinese style, which reasons thus from it:—

'The deeper Tang's personal humiliation, the more resplendent was the honour it exalted him to. His degradation was rendered imperceptible to his ministers and people, by the glory of removing a direful calamity from them. I borrow an allusion from the historical recollections of Tang, which is, after all, like taking a particle of dust to represent the western mountains, or a drop of water to symbolize the eastern ocean. Still, small and great things, when compared, may tend to corroborate the evidences of truth. Tang was the prince of a country; Jesus Christ is the Lord of the universe. To estimate Tang's merit by his virtue, he only delivered one nation from famine at a peculiar era; Jesus is able, by his virtue and merit, to rescue ten thousand worlds from everlasting misery. Tang only charged upon himself the six calamities incident to the body; but Jesus congregated in his own person the curses due to the sins of all mankind. Tang's sacrifices only aimed at prolonging the mortal existence of the people for a short period; Jesus endured concentrated agonies from the scourge, the nails, the spear, and the cross on which he expired, to procure for guilty multitudes the blessings of eternal life! It is needless to point out which is the superior of these two characters. But if the inferior be honourably distinguished, then must the superior rise from his humiliation to infinitely higher honour and glory.'—*Kidd's China*, p. 369.

We also attach some importance to the Chinese theories of human nature, conflicting though they be; for they prove that the subject is not altogether overlooked, nor thought of lightly. The orthodox opinion is, that human nature is originally virtuous, or that every man is born with a good disposition, and only made

bad by the force of example. Another opinion is, however, that human nature is like the wood of the willow, that can only be made into what is useful by working it aright; or like water, that has no tendency to rise above its level, although it can be *forced* over mountains. Neither of these opinions, we are aware, can be turned to much account, except by disproving them; but as both make human improvement depend upon the regenerating power of education, they will furnish fine opportunities for commending Divine truth and grace, as the only remedy for the hereditary or the acquired evils of the heart. Indeed, the educational system and family discipline of the Chinese, present greater facilities for the preaching and spread of the gospel, than the tastes or habits of any other heathen nation in the world. No one can read 'The Sacred Edict' of the Emperor Kang-He, or the commentaries of his son, Yoong-Ching, on it, without earnestly desiring the time when the countless schools of China shall sit at the feet of Jesus, studying the word of God, instead of poring over the mystic writings of Confucius and the sages. So much is education a principle or element of the Chinese government, and so long has it been so, that it is even a *passion* of the Chinese mind. And then, the love of it is as much laid in each family, as the authority of it in the throne. It is the universal law, but it is also the family rule; and thus the boast of both the palace and the cottage, because it bears equally upon endearing the emperor and parents. Of all things in China nothing so deserves the profound study of missionaries and missionary societies, as the *family feeling* which is the bond of that vast empire; for the parental, filial, and brotherly principles of the gospel, as they had never so wide a channel in the world to pour themselves into, so they had never so favourable a channel. In this respect, no people were ever so 'prepared of the Lord' to act out the *domestic spirit* of the New Testament. We say this confidently, although we believe much of what is said about the female infanticide that prevails in China, and all that missionaries have said about the defects of Chinese education in both the family and the school; for still it is the fact, that parents and books are *idolized* by all classes of the young, and home virtues the most popular acquirements. These convictions were forced upon us by the study of 'The Sacred Edict.' And yet that volume, so full of wise maxims, and warm solicitudes for the peace and order of families, contains not one direct reference to God or immortality, as *motives* to the virtues it inculcates. Responsibility to Heaven is not even mentioned, and the wish for a future life is laughed at as covetousness! It is hardly to be wondered, therefore, that some of our books on the religion of China should represent the Chinese as almost atheists and materialists, although

written by men who knew the language and the people. This is just such a mistake, only more inexcusable, as that which Moffat fell into in the case of the Betchuanas, who had, he says, 'no idea whatever of a God.' He forgot that the *power* they dreaded in witchcraft was their god, and the presents made to propitiate it their worship. So in China. The belief of immortality is to be judged of by the sacrifices offered to the *spirits* of the dead, and not from the etymology of the words spirit and immortality, nor from the interpretation given of them by the natives, whether learned or ignorant. Thus also their belief in 'Heaven,' or the Supreme Power, is so identified with their laws as divine, and with their Emperor as 'Heaven's Son,' that their names are interchangeable. To call the Chinese literati, 'atheists in creed and idolaters in practice,' as Langobardi has done, is, therefore, just about as unwise and unfair as it would be to call the English deists, because they call a peer, and even a bishop, lord.

We cannot enter further into the claims or character of China at present; much as we wish to bring before our readers the whole subject. We hope, however, to return to it soon. In the meantime, we ask our readers to remember that the London Missionary Society is pledged to China, and is prepared to act at once upon that empire. Its operations must not be eclipsed by any hierarchical movement, but ought to be enabled to display all 'the *simplicity* that is in Christ,' before either high or low church can exhibit the mitred forms of religion. We say this in no spirit of rivalry; but because we know what is doing, in order to an ecclesiastical demonstration in China. Puseyism, happily, cannot keep its own secrets, and we are not bound to keep them.

Art. VIII. *The Life of a Travelling Physician, from his First Introduction to Practice; including Twenty Years' Wanderings through the greater part of Europe.* 3 vols. 12mo. London: Longman and Co.

THE author of these entertaining volumes quitted England in search of health at the close of his collegiate course, and was fortunate enough to find it in the valleys of the Pyrenees. His first excursion, about twenty-four years ago, was as travelling physician to an English nobleman, and the pleasure experienced in this trip, together with the difficulties of getting into settled practice, induced him to form other similar engagements, in the fulfilment of which he 'wandered over the largest portion of Europe.' A pulmonic complaint, aggravated by typhus fever,

having greatly reduced his strength, he was ordered by his medical advisers to try the effect of a warmer climate. 'All were agreed,' he tells us, 'on one point—viz., that I could not survive another winter in Edinburgh. All were not agreed that I could survive another winter anywhere else.●'

It is no wonder, that with health thus broken, and with finances in anything but a flourishing state, our young physician was somewhat depressed in spirits on leaving 'Auld Reekie' in order to try his fortune in London. Various unsuccessful efforts were made to obtain an appointment in India or elsewhere, until, through the kind offices of a professional friend, he was introduced, in September, 1819, to an invalid nobleman about to visit Spain in quest of health. 'I shall never forget,' says the diarist, 'the impression that my patient made upon me. I saw all the features of consumption traced upon his face, and I must have expressed this by my own, (one of the most treacherous ever allotted to man,) for as soon as we left the room, the surgeon said to me, 'I see you think it is all over with him. You are right, I am afraid; but still he may live for some time.' The course of their journey was speedily arranged, and our author, with his patient and family, were on French soil, hastening to the *terra incognita*, where the lost blessing was hoped to be recovered. The travellers resolved to winter at Pau, the scenery around which is described as pre-eminently majestic.

'Everything which I had hitherto beheld appeared insignificant compared with the scenery which now presented itself. Immediately before us, and under our feet, (for the town is built upon abrupt ridges,) extended a long plain of meadow land, through which the Gave serpentine in a quick and bubbling stream. The foreground was bounded by a long ridge of hills covered with the vines festooning from their summits to their feet; these were backed again by forest trees, among which the beech predominated; and to bound the whole, the Pyrenees, stretching along the horizon, resembled, by their rugged summits, the back bone of the globe. The four seasons seemed to be blended into each other, and present at the same time. The meadows still wore the aspect of spring. The hills, covered with the rich luxuriant grape in its mature state, indicated the influence of the summer's sun; the blood-red beech and other forest trees began to show, in their party-coloured leaves, the garments of autumn; and, lastly, the snow-capped mountains presented all the dreariness of winter, save when for a few moments they were illumined by the rays of a setting sun, which had already left the plains in darkness.'—Vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

The invalid nobleman gradually declined during the winter, and expired in the month of April, just when spring gladdened the face of nature, and filled the earth with merriment. The

following brief extract is descriptive of a peculiarity in the climate of this part of France, which claims the attention of invalid visitors:—

‘ During the course of the winter we experienced a hurricane, a thing uncommon in the country. It was in the month of January that for several days successively the weather had been unseasonably mild, when one evening a warm Levant wind came over the mountains, and felt to the faces of those exposed to it like the steam of warm water. It produced a sudden and depressing effect upon the system, such as is described by those who have experienced the sirocco at Naples. The body seemed as if immersed in a steam bath. It blew softly for several hours, till towards eight in the evening, when it came in furious and sudden gusts, levelling several of the large trees which grew in *la place* just before our windows. These gusts continued for about half an hour, causing great mischief. Some hundreds of noble trees in the Bois de Henri IV. were torn up by the roots, and the trees in the different public walks were stripped of their branches. Several houses were unroofed, and many cottages were blown down. This hurricane did not certainly last more than half an hour, but it did its work of destruction upon the vegetable world.’—*Ib.*, p. 56.

Returning to England, our author spent two years in London, and has furnished an amusing account—somewhat overcharged, by the bye—of the efforts which he made to obtain a dispensary appointment. Failing in this, as well as in other attempts, he engaged himself as private physician to a Polish nobleman then resident in Paris, and hastened in consequence to that city to join his employer. Prince B—— was ‘ a man who lived for the day, and only thought of the morrow as able to procure him possibly more entertainment than the day. He seldom read, and if he did, it was only a pamphlet, or the last new novel published by *Avocat*.’ Love of ease was his ruling passion, of which sufficient advantage was taken by many of his household. The following dialogue between the prince and his French cook is an amusing illustration of this:—

‘ The Prince, once shut up with him in his carriage, and proceeding gloomily along the road which leads to Smolensko, (soon after the termination of the campaign which reduced that city to ashes,) wishing no doubt to change his train of ideas, burst like a torrent upon his unsuspecting artist with the emphatic demand, ‘ Why do you rob me so?’ The poor astounded cook, who was at the very moment probably devising some plan of peculation, to make up for the time lost in a long, and for him unprofitable, journey of some weeks’ duration, replied in an agitated tone, ‘ Sir, sir, I don’t rob you, I only——only make the usual profits of my —— ‘ Stop,’ said the Prince, ‘ I am not angry with you: I know that you rob me; but I wish to make an arrangement with you. Why do you do it? I give you a handsome salary, you

have many perquisites, and what need have you of more? Now be candid, and speak the truth boldly; you know that I cannot do without you.'

'There is nothing like making an appeal to a man's feelings; it is by far the best way of attacking him. The cook felt the full power of the concluding part of the sentence, 'I cannot do without you.'

'Why, sir, I admit that yours is an excellent situation; but you know, sir, that it is not equal to my expenses. I like society—to treat my friends handsomely. I am addicted to play; *enfin j'ai une petite maîtresse*; and you must be aware, Prince, that, all these things considered, your wages are not sufficient.'

'Good,' said the Prince; 'this is precisely the point to which I hoped to bring you. Tell me how much all this costs you over and above what I give you, and I will make up the difference; only do not rob me.'

'The cook laid his hand upon his heart for a minute, and looking with an affectionate, and even grateful expression towards his master, replied in a suppressed sigh, '*Non, Monseigneur, je préfère de vous voler.*' Having said this, he burst into tears, and hid his face in a cotton handkerchief.'—*Ib.*, pp. 112, 113.

During his stay in Paris, our author became acquainted with Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, whose phrenological system was then at the height of its reputation. An amusing instance is given of the obstinate adherence of the former to his theory, however clearly opposed to facts, and no very pleasing impression of his social qualities is left upon the mind. Dr. Spurzheim was obviously a man of a far more estimable and attractive character. Their physiognomy is thus contrasted:—

'No two men ever differed more in their physiognomies, nor in their moral characters, than these two professors of phrenology. Dr. Spurzheim's physiognomy indicated everything which was kind and benevolent, and he was what he appeared. A better man never lived. He had, perhaps, too great faith in his own opinions. As to the countenance of Gall, I should say that it indicated that feeling had been absorbed in interest, and that it betrayed a disbelief in everything, and even in his own system; and if the world judges rightly, such was really the case. In conversing with several of the French professors upon this subject, I found them unanimously of this opinion.'—*Ib.*, pp. 150.

Our author remained in Paris during five years, and had abundant opportunities of noting the characteristics of its society, of which he diligently availed himself. His observations are acute, and his judgments for the most part sound. He lived as a man of the world, and has recorded what he saw and heard in a style well fitted to transfer his own impression to his readers. There is a vivacity in his descriptions, which, as united with correct observation and a general kindliness of disposition, render

his pages both pleasing and useful. More extended and elaborate sketches may be met with elsewhere, but those occasional touches which reveal character, and render us familiar with the *inward and spiritual*, are to be found in sufficient frequency throughout his volumes. Being invited by Prince B—— to spend a winter professionally in Poland, our author, having first revisited his English friends, set out for the North, in company with the son and domestics of his employer. On entering the Austrian territory, he experienced, what all travellers complain of, the inquisitorial espionage which that *paternal despotism* so vigilantly maintains. ‘The custom-house officer,’ he remarks, ‘asked me fifty questions perfectly unconnected with any part of his duties, but to all of which I had my answers ready; and I know not whether he was more tired with my replies than I was with his interrogatories.’

At Egra, the first Austrian town which he visited, he was introduced to a singular personage, whose tastes were in striking contrast with his official avocation. Our readers will be greatly surprised at our traveller’s account of the anomalous combination which existed in the character of this individual.

‘There is a modern antique, a living curiosity, at Egra, to whom every stranger pays court when he visits the town; for, curious in himself, he possesses curiosities of all times and ages. A gentleman and a scholar, a man of genius and a poet, a naturalist, chemist, and antiquary, possessing great urbanity of manners, and a most prepossessing exterior; were he not indeed the common hangman, we might add, *‘Integer vitæ scelerisque purus.’* Such is the person to whom I, with many others, have had the honour of being introduced. This miserable office is doubtless not of his own choice, but by the laws of the country it is an inheritance, and there is no cutting off the entail. He showed me his collection of minerals, which were very nicely arranged, and labelled in German and Latin. He showed me also his collection of hostile weapons, and his famous collection of medals. He has disposed of the latter to Prince Metternich, for an annuity of about twenty-five pounds sterling, but the Prince has made him a very hard bargain. He has specimens of the wonders of the three kingdoms of nature; his house is in fact a museum. ‘Alligators stuffed, and other skins of ill-shaped fishes,’ are suspended from the ceiling. There are some portraits also, and one of Wallenstein, supposed to be painted in his thirteenth year. The sword of his rival, Gustavus Adolphus, hangs by its side. Nothing can be more courteous than the manners of the antiquary of Egra; verily, at that awful moment it would be no trifling consolation to be hanged by such a man.’—*Ib.*, pp. 212, 213.

Leaving Austria, the travellers entered Russia, when a scene presented itself far from gratifying. ‘It was appalling,’ remarks our author, ‘to leave civilization behind, and enter this gloomy land.’ Journeying on, they came to the house of the Countess —,

a niece of the famous Potemkin, who had died in her arms: where they halted for a time. The aged Countess was possessed of the largest fortune in the empire, and was sovereign on her own estates, yet our author found her seated in a small chamber, almost destitute of furniture. 'The walls were merely white-washed, and upon the chimney-piece rested an oval cast, in plaster of Paris, of the late empress, which was daubed over with paint. Some logs of wood were hissing beneath, and upon an open table were scattered some loose papers, and rolls of parchment.' The prince and his suite dined at her table, of which a minute account is furnished, which we transcribe for the information of such of our readers as are interested in these matters.

'The dining-room was not better furnished than the parlour; the walls were bare. There was a long table covered with a clean coarse cloth, and nothing encumbered it but a bottle of champagne opposite the hostess's plate, and a bottle of Don wine at each end of the table. About fifteen guests sat down to dinner. If I was surprised at the dinner service, my astonishment was still greater when the dinner was served; and I committed my observations to paper after the repast. Behind each person stood a servant, not dressed in the most splendid livery. The dinner commenced by slices of cold ham handed round in a dish; then a cold *pâté* of the livers of geese; then a salad consisting of craw fish, garnished with slices of beet root; and, lastly, some thin slices of Parmesan cheese.

'Being myself fond of cold meats, I congratulated myself upon having made a good dinner, though I could have devoured more with pleasure; but as I saw the other guests help themselves but sparingly, I could but follow their example. I was about to ask for a third slice of bread, having consumed the two portions of white and brown which were placed before me, when I opened the eyes of astonishment upon the entry of the soup. Not knowing how to act, I watched the operations of the Countess, thinking that I could not do wrong if I followed her example. I despatched a plate full of craw-fish soup, than which I never tasted anything more exquisite, and, seeing the hostess qualify it with a glass of wine, I filled my glass from a bottle near me; the doctor's place being, as I have before observed, at the end of the table. Whether she perceived any wryness in my face, as I gulped down the sour wine, I know not, but she ordered the man behind her chair to put beer and kvass upon the board, and immediately a bottle of each was placed before me. I partook of both during the repast, but they were not to my taste. I now found a large sirloin of beef at my left shoulder. The Countess had already helped herself very plentifully, but after having tasted a mouthful or two, she sent her plate away, which she did with two thirds of the dishes. I found that a favourite servant enjoyed the privilege of eating off her mistress's plate, who was now employed in groping with her fork in a black earthenware jug, from the top of which a bladder had been partially removed, to pick out some stewed kidneys, which she consumed with a peculiar

gusto. This dish was not handed round. Some buckwheat, boiled, and served up with cold butter in a saucer, followed the beef. I took the liberty of allowing this dish to pass, having, indeed, dined before the arrival of the soup: as I saw in what way the hostess treated her platefuls, I was easy upon this score. The next temptation presented itself in the shape of stewed carp, of which I partook, but they had the real muddy taste of the species; they were well dressed, and seemed to be approved. Had the wine been better, it might have stimulated my stomach to a little longer warfare; as it was, I was quite *hors de combat*, and saw with pleasure what I supposed to be the last dish, in some chickens stuffed with parsley. I had often heard that eating and drinking to excess were very hard labour, and I seemed to be proving the truth of the adage; the chickens being handed to me, I summoned up courage and took a wing to play with; and on my plate being removed, I found a plum-pudding at my elbow. Not venturing to attack this dish (the *mehlspeise* of the Germans), another was presented, consisting of fine asparagus covered with a sweet sauce. I had no alternative but to die of an apoplexy, or cease to eat altogether. I preferred the latter. I had now only to gaze and wonder at the capacity of the guests' stomachs, most of whom partook of every dish which was presented to them, and many asked me why I did not eat. The asparagus was succeeded by an immense joint of roast veal, served with salad, and the repast was terminated by a pile of cold craw fish, which were picked and eaten as a kind of *passe tempe*. Little conversation, or only monosyllabic dialogues, enlivened the meal; all seemed anxious to lay in a stock of the *vis vite* only, for, as Pindar (Peter) has said—

'Food is the bird-lime of the brain.'

'No sweet of any kind, save the few raisins in the *mehlspeise*, found place in the banquet. Colonial produce is not patronised by the Countess, who, like one of the old school, thinks that every country sufficeth unto itself. The cloth was not removed, for the table was of common wood, and this does not set off a dessert to such advantage as polished mahogany. I counted fifteen different kinds of fruit upon the table, all the produce of the garden, which now became the theme of conversation; and, to do it justice, its credit was fully maintained by its fruits.

'The flavour of the peaches, of the melons, of the pine-apples and grapes, was exquisite. A small basin of pounded sugar was handed to the Countess, who sprinkled a little over her melon, but sent away the basin, observing that the fruit was sugar itself. It is the custom in some parts of Poland for guests to bring their wine and colonial produce with them.

'Looking around with a smile of great good-nature, the old lady arose; upon which many of the guests flocked round her and kissed her hand. We retired to the drawing-room, and found our coffee poured out, and ready sweetened. After having sipped it, I was invited to go and survey the garden, of which I had heard so much before dinner; and the old Countess sat down to the quadrille table with three other ladies.'—Vol. ii. pp. 41—44.

Shortly before their arrival at Odessa, the travellers fell in with one of the scourges of the country, and the account which he gives of the insect in question, is strongly confirmatory of the scripture narrative.

'It was about three o'clock, or perhaps a little later; and in the distance was a hill, the only elevation we had seen since we left Lemberg. I was riding upon the outside of the calash, reading a book, and as we rode slowly along I perceived a large black cloud lying upon the top of the hill. I first thought it betokened a thunder-storm, a daily occurrence during the whole of our journey. I was, however, struck with the motion of the cloud, which seemed to assume all shapes, lengthening and contracting and throwing itself into various contortions. I knew not to what this could be attributable, but of course immediately referred it to the usual and unerring cause which accounts for all physical phenomena—*electricity*. As I was still gazing upon it, the calash suddenly stopped, and Count —, who was in the van, beckoned me to him.

'Do you see that large black cloud in the distance, Doctor?'

'I have been watching it for some time, I answered.

'Well, what do you think it is?'

'It is not difficult to say what it is, but I am puzzling my brains to find out what causes it to make such evolutions; and as I spoke, it suddenly tapered into a long string.

'Now look at them,' said the Count. 'These are the locusts upon wing. I hardly ever saw such an army in the air.'

'Is it possible? I replied, half convinced that it was something more solid than air, which now took a different direction, and left the hill clear to the view.

'We shall hear what devastation they have done before we get to Odessa. Woe to him on whose fields they alight—not a green thing will remain.'

'We lost sight of them all at once, and proceeded on our journey.'
—Vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

They soon reached Severinowka, where they were to dine, but the locusts had preceded them, and their devastations were found to be tremendous. Their host, the uncle of the Polish nobleman, 'a thin, spare, and feeble old man, polished in his manner, and affectionate in his greetings,' came out to welcome them.

'Well, you are come,' he exclaimed, 'to see me ruined for this season. The locusts are in my garden, and in my fields, and my poor peasants will not have an ear of corn to put into their garners. They are all gone out to endeavour, by means of marrow-bones and cleavers, to drive them from the wheat; but it is all in vain. We have not enough hands to put to rout such an army. Come into the garden, and see how thick they cover the ground and the trees.'

'It is almost impossible to hope for credence from those who have

not been eye-witnesses of the sight which the garden presented. The whole of the surface was covered, ankle deep, with these insects, clamoring pellmell over each other, but all proceeding in the same direction. They did not allow us to tread upon them, but, on our approach, rose on wing with a whizzing noise, and, flying forwards over the heads of the main body, settled down again in the vanguard of the body of their army. This is the manner in which they alight from the wing; the first rank pitches upon the ground, and the others do not follow the train, but precede it, alighting one before the other, so that the rearguard in flight is the vanguard when they are upon the field.

'The sight of them upon the trees was most curious. The branches were bent to the ground by the incumbent weight, and the Italian poplars resembled weeping willows, from their lighter branches being reversed by the weight of the locusts. Several trees were already completely bared, for the insect destroys much more than it consumes. It gnaws the stem of the leaf, and not the body, so that the leaf drops upon the ground almost entire, its stalk only having been eaten.

'When the insects are browsing upon the trees, they are not so easily scared away by the appearance of man as when merely settled upon the ground; they hold fast to their food, and the boughs must be shaken before they will leave their hold. This was indeed a curious and amusing experiment, for it was something like magic to see a tree throw its branches up into the air, as soon as the locusts were shaken off. Their instruments of destruction must be very tough, for many is the stalk of a large sun-flower which I have seen gnawed through by these insects. They seem, indeed, to be particularly fond of the stalk of this flower, and, as several are employed upon it at the same time, it soon breaks where the part is weakened by their gnawing; and it is curious to see the insects rise suddenly in the air when put to flight by this unexpected accident.'—*Ib.*, pp. 83, 84.

We pass over the account of Odessa, as well as that of Petersburg, in which latter city our young physician remained for some years—having recently heard much from other visitors of these towns. His remarks on Poland must, however, detain us a little, as there is a tragic interest connected with everything pertaining to that ill-fated country. It is true that his observations are not recent, and that great changes have passed on Poland since they were written, but the national character remains substantially what it was, and the condition of its inhabitants is not one whit the better. There is a fearful guiltiness attaching to some parties, the payment of which will yet be recorded on the page of history. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, are not the only criminals: they were indeed, the active perpetrators of the wrong, but other states were basely silent when the act of national spoliation was consummated. Poland, it is true, was unfaithful to herself, and hence the success

of her foes, but the treachery of her sons affords no justification of the robbery of her spoilers. Our author spent some time at Cracow, once the magnificent capital of an independent kingdom, and as the family with which he resided was one of the most opulent, he had ample opportunities of observing the habits of its principal inhabitants. The common vices of an aristocracy, aggravated by subjection to a foreign yoke, were found to prevail, as the following extract will show :—

‘ We seldom sat down less than twenty to table, and as many more were added to the party during the evening. Feasting and revelling lengthened the days by stealing from the hours of the night; and such was the kindness and hospitality which I received, that I found no difficulty in accomplishing my determination to amuse myself well during my residence in the republic.

‘ Several characters of note presented themselves in the course of the winter, and at Christmas the house was full of guests. The method of killing time employed by the Polish nobility appeared to me to differ in no material respect from that practised by our own aristocracy. I should say that the Poles were more certain in succeeding in their attempt than the English, and that they were more apprehensive also that time would kill them. I have been consulted by many of them, not for any particular complaint, but for the sake of ascertaining my opinion as to the probability of their longer or shorter duration upon earth.

‘ Each guest breakfasts in his own room, where tea and coffee are served him at his own hour; he rises to take it, or takes it in bed, sipping his coffee, eating his toast, or smoking his pipe, alternately. If he has no particular plan of amsement for the morning—no hunting, no shooting, nor gallanting, he remains in his dressing gown, reclining upon his sofa, with a pipe in one hand, and a book in the other, till dinner time. There is in most houses a luncheon served about eleven, but it is often sparingly attended by the guests, for the dinner hour is early in Poland. Not ‘longing at sixty for the hour of six,’ their longings are not so long, and all assemble for the grand object of life about three o’clock. Then the ceremonies of inquiries concerning health, and last night’s fatigue, and ‘hope you did not take cold,’ and ‘I am afraid that you exerted yourself too much,’ and ‘how charmingly your daughter dances,’ and ‘when does your son return from his travels?’ and then the servant enters with a little tray, covered with little glasses, which he presents with one hand, holding a bottle of brandy or some spirit in the other, to fill the glass at your command, and another servant hands you a small bit of cheese, or a bit of dried salmon, or salt herring, with a little bit of bread upon which to put the tit-bit, which you put into your mouth; and, the folding doors opening, you hand a lady in to dinner.

‘ As regards the seat you occupy, the nearer you are to the mistress of the table, the nearer you are to the seat of honour; and each takes his place by a kind of aristocratic instinctive feeling. The doctor

sits very near the end of the table, the farthest removed from the seat of honour.

'The dishes are all handed round, as in France, and nothing is carved upon the table, which is generally covered with the dessert. There are few dishes peculiar to the country, except the sour soup, which is exquisite. The beer is delicious, the wines of the country bad; but at a nobleman's table, of course, the best wines are imported from France.

'The dinner does not last long; the process of carving much lengthens this repast with us. All rise together, and the gentlemen conduct the ladies to the drawing-room, where coffee is served. If there be no strangers present, it is customary for the men to retire into their rooms immediately after dinner, where they smoke their pipes, and take a siesta till about eight o'clock. All meet in the drawing-room at tea time, when evening visitors flock in. Then begin the waltz and the mazurka, with the ravishing German music. How much he loses who does not dance, and has not music in his soul! Cards, dice, billiards, have their votaries, and the amusements continue till midnight, when all retire, and the following day resembles the preceding.—Vol. i. pp. 262—266.

Such were the occupations, or rather the frivolities, of the upper class. Let us now listen to the account given of other and lower grades.

'In Poland there are but two classes of society—the rich and the poor, or the nobleman and the peasant; there is no *tiers état*, and the whole commerce of the country is carried on by Germans and Jews. The lower class, who inhabit the towns, are, for the most part, indolent and lazy, and much addicted to drinking. As soon as they procure a few kreutzers by their labour, they buy spirits, and cannot be induced to work till their funds are exhausted. Everything, therefore, proceeds very slowly. It is the work of years to complete a moderate-sized house; and even public works do not seem to progress more rapidly. The people are dirty in the extreme, and their mental endowments are not of a very high order.

'The inhabitants of the country differ widely from those of the town. The peasant is a distinct being, living entirely upon the produce of the ground he cultivates, and with which alone he seems conversant. His state of well or ill being depends upon a variety of circumstances not to be understood but by those who have resided some time in the country. Some have no other possession than a hut and adjoining garden, sufficient only to plant their potatoes. Others are like our little farmers, who pay a rent for their land; and others pay an annual poll tax. Some work out their temporal existence by labouring five days in the week for their master.

'Their dress is grotesque, but pleasing to the eye. A long white cloth coat, reaching to the heels, cut in a peculiar shape: a large, broad, and thick stuffed leathern belt, buckled before by five or six straps, surrounds the waist. This allows of all variety of taste.

Some are of plain leather, some studded with silver-headed nails, and some with mother of pearl, inlaid in shapes of flowers and images. This part of the dress seems to be the touchstone of their pride. A long blue waistcoat, with embroidered flap pockets; loose striped cotton trowsers, thick long boots, and a broad-brimmed hat; all these much modified by the circumstance of the individual; but such was the Sunday attire of a respectable peasant when I resided in the republic of Cracow.

‘If a nobleman in a fit of anger killed one of his peasants, the law compelled him to furnish money sufficient to bury him. If he slew the peasant of his neighbour, the latter could compel him to replace him by one of his own.’—*Ib.*, pp. 268—271.

The bravery of the Poles is undoubted; and if their patriotism had been equal to it, their present degradation could never have been experienced. Unhappily, there are great vices in their character, amongst which must be ranked an intense and almost unparalleled love of gambling. The following, which refers to this passion, presents a melancholy view of their condition and prospects. The morals of Polish society must be lamentable indeed before such practices could become characteristic.

‘It must be remembered that although rents may be paid but once a year in Poland, still spending money goes on all the year round; and, of the expenditure, gambling forms the greatest item. There is much more play than cash, and more debts than ready money. The want of this is supplied, however, by notes of hand—I.O.U’s.; such payment having been first instituted, as we are informed, during the siege of Granada; and these notes are payable at the contract of Kiev. Here they are exchanged (which is very rare) for ready money, or they are cancelled by a run of good luck on the opposite side, and are issued now by the former creditor, with his signature as a debtor. The original bond may be, however, much increased; and payment being pressed for, the estates are pawned or sold.

‘When the sums are not so large, nor the means of payment so considerable, still the same abominable system prevails; and many a man returns home lighter than he arrived by some thousand ducats, having left his coachman, horses, and some half dozen servants, in pawn with his successful adversary. Of all the people in the world, the Poles are the most reckless gamblers. The French and Italians are fond of play; but there is a method in their procedure: some system and some bounds are prescribed. Not so with a Pole; he sits down to play for all he has.

‘I have known a man of high rank lose in one evening his estate, all his peasantry, his house and furniture, his stud of horses, and, descending in the scale, his carriage, and coachman, and valet, and finally the watch which he had in his pocket. England blushes for one Long Pole. Here is a nation of such.

‘Gambling supersedes all other considerations; and we find in the history of the dismemberment of Poland under Catherine, that they were often engaged at play in the camp when they ought to have been fighting their battles in the field. It is not their patriotism or their bravery which is impugned by the assertion. These will bear the severest scrutiny, and will come purer from the crucible of investigation. But still their insatiable passion for play is a spot too deep to be washed out. The largest fortune in Poland in olden times, when it was proverbial that it rained water in other towns, but ducats in Dantzic, was lost in Paris in the course of one short winter.

‘Some matrimonial concerns have been transacted in a strange way, however, on these occasions. To lose each other’s mistresses at play is a common occurrence; and if we examine into the causes of divorce and its repeated occurrence, nay, its universal toleration and sanction by the laws of the land, we may not be too uncharitable to suppose that wives may be played for, as any other exchangeable commodity. Now that Poland no longer exists, perhaps this crying sin will be no longer sanctioned by law, or rather the law will have the power of preventing its so ready accomplishment.

‘As the Poles are rigid Catholics, it puzzled me to know why this continued divorce, not allowed by the church, was permitted so frequently. The loop-hole of retreat lies in proving that the former marriage not having been legal is consequently null and void. This farce has been repeated as much as four or five times, each previous marriage being easily proved illegal as soon as the parties found it convenient to separate, or one party determined to have another companion.’—*Ib.*, pp. 136—139.

We shall be glad to meet our *Travelling Physician* again, and in the meantime commend his volumes to the early perusal of our readers. They betoken an acute and vivacious mind, together with a nice perception of the minuter points both of character and scenery, united to considerable power of graphic description.

Art. IX. *Protest by the New Seceding Assembly in Scotland.*

WE heartily congratulate our readers on the magnificent moral spectacle which Scotland has been honoured to present to the view of Christendom—to exceed the largest expectations of the most sanguine admirers—to rebuke the apprehensions of honest friends, and the accusations of unscrupulous enemies—breaking at once the fetters that so long bound her, to assert her spiritual freedom—and animated by the consciousness of a great deliverance and a high vocation, to start in a new career of usefulness and glory. The new secession from the Scottish church is, however, still too recent, the excitement produced by it is yet

affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the establishment.

‘ And finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God’s word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God’s good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland and the obligations of the Treaty of Union, as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the establishment, while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached,—we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us,—maintaining with us the confession of faith and standards of the church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God’s grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ’s house according to His holy word. And we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have now come upon us because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this church and nation ; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ’s crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as king in his church.’

The leading facts, as far as they are interesting to the public, may now be given.

The *number* of the seceding ministers is as great as we stated it probably would be, in our last article on the Scottish Church. Including those who were members of the assembly before the separation, those who immediately united with the separating brethren, and those who, in other parts of the country, have given in their adhesion, the number amounts to about 460, of whom no fewer than 260 are parochial incumbents, the others being *quoad sacra* men, ministers of chapels of ease, of parliamentary and extension churches, or assistants of parish ministers, or professors in colleges. To the latter class, Drs. Chalmers and Welsh belong. The number of parochial ministers in Scotland is about 940, the seceders of this class being more than one-fourth of the whole number. Ministers of all classes having cures, are some-

what more than 1200, the seceders thus amounting to more than one-third of the whole number of ministers. To these, it is proper to add, a large proportion of the probationers and students have already attached themselves. The former are those who, having finished their *curriculum* of study at college, have been licensed to preach the gospel, but have no charge, and are not yet ordained to the office of the ministry; the latter are still in collegiate training, and not yet licensed to preach the gospel. Of the first class it is said nearly 200 have joined the seceders—being, we suppose, a large majority of the probationers of the church.

The *character* of the seceders is far more important than their numbers. Every impartial person will correctly suppose that in a body of 500 or 600 ministers of religion, all are not alike in respect of talent, of acquirement, of zeal, of piety, any more than in age, experience, acceptance, influence, or even cordiality in the cause—some having been long since decided—some rather led than leading—some taking the decisive step with more hesitation than others—and a few, it may be, falling into the ranks at last, with little grace and less credit. While all this will be readily conceded, it is believed, even by the most ardent friends and admirers of the movement, it is not to be doubted that the very *élite* of the ministers of the church are the separatists, in all that constitutes character and ensures usefulness in the ministers of Christ—that in respect of ability, learning, decided piety, active zeal, public spirit, general estimation among the churches of Christ, and influence among all classes of the people, those who remain will not bear a comparison with those who have left—and that, while the latter are likely to improve by the felicity of their new position, under the blessing of God, even the better class among the former are not less likely to fall in general repute, in mental peace and energy, and to become benumbed into torpor by the influence of that dense and chilling cloud of *moderationism*, in which, as in a wintry fog, they have willingly, and most unwisely, involved themselves.

The *extent of the sacrifices* made by the seceding ministers is well worthy of consideration. For ourselves, we do not estimate very highly the amount of pecuniary sacrifice which their duty has demanded. In some cases, this is large; (Dr. M'Farlan of Greenock, is said to have given up an income of 800*l.* per annum, derived from his parish—certainly a noble surrender)—in a good many, it is very considerable; and for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which such sacrifices have been made, these respected ministers should be, and are, held in merited honour. But the besetting sin of ministers of the gospel—that is to say, in comparatively poor churches—is most certainly not

the saint-like form of Gordon—the classic bust of Welsh—and Candlish with his quick step and restless look, the church rang with the shouts of the multitude. Shortly after, the commissioner was on his throne, all the members were in their places, and the proceedings began with a solemn prayer by the moderator, *constituting* the assembly. According to previous concert, Dr. Welsh, amidst the breathless silence of the multitude, and himself pale, and somewhat agitated with profound emotion, rose and spoke to this effect—that, according to the usual form of proceeding, this was the time to make up the roll of the assembly, but that in regard of certain proceedings affecting their rights and liberties, which had been sanctioned by her Majesty's government, and by the legislature of this country, and more especially in regard there has been an infringement on the liberties of their constitution, so that they could not now as before constitute the court, without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this country, as now authoritatively declared, he must protest against their proceeding further. 'The reasons,' he added, 'which had led him to this view, were fully stated in a document which he held in his hand, and which, with the permission of the house, he would read.' Dr. Welsh then read a formal *Protest*, setting forth the reasons of their secession, and immediately on reading it, left his place with great solemnity of manner, and was followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Candlish, and the whole body of the protesters, amidst looks of the deepest sorrow and many tears on the part of the spectators within doors.

Without, a vast crowd, consisting chiefly of the middle classes, had assembled to witness the egress of the seceders, after the act of separation had been consummated; and on leaving the assembly, the ministers were greeted with cordial, sympathetic, and restrained, rather than vociferous, plaudits; and forming into procession, they walked to their place of meeting, along streets, the windows and pavements of which were everywhere crowded with approving and applauding beholders. A large hall had been prepared for their accommodation, capable of containing from 2000 to 3000 people. From an early hour in the morning this place began to be occupied; and long before the seceding brethren reached it, the space reserved for strangers was crowded almost to suffocation; and our readers may well imagine with what emotions the men who had just separated themselves from the church to which they had been so long and so ardently attached, entered this humble hall, amidst the approbation of their own consciences and the loud and long acclamations of their assembled friends. It was indeed a triumphal entrance.

The proceedings of the new assembly were unostentatious

and simple. Dr. Welsh again prayed, and proposed Dr. Chalmers as their first moderator, a proposal which, of course, was carried with fervent acclamation; and, after clerks were chosen for the new assembly, the *Protest* was again read over, as containing the grounds of their separation. We give this important document entire:—

PROTEST.

‘We, the undersigned ministers and elders, chosen as commissioners to the general assembly of the church of Scotland, indicted to meet this day, but precluded from holding the said assembly by reason of the circumstances hereinafter set forth, in consequence of which, a free assembly of the church of Scotland, in accordance with the laws and constitution of the said church, cannot at this time be holden—considering that the legislature, by their rejection of the claim of right adopted by the last general assembly of the said church, and their refusal to give redress and protection against the jurisdiction assumed, and the coercion of late repeatedly attempted to be exercised over the courts of the church, in matters spiritual, by the civil courts, have recognised and fixed the conditions of the church establishment as henceforward to subsist in Scotland to be such as these have been pronounced and declared by the said civil courts, in their several recent decisions in regard to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, whereby it has been *inter alia* declared—

‘1. That the courts of the church as now established, and members thereof, are liable to be coerced by the civil courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions, and in particular in their admission to the office of the holy ministry, and the constitution of the pastoral relation, and that they are subject to be compelled to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, in opposition to the fundamental principles of the church, and their views of the Word of God, and to the liberties of Christ’s people.

‘2. That the said civil courts have power to interfere with and interdict the preaching of the gospel and administration of ordinances, as authorized and enjoined by the church courts of the establishment.

‘3. That the said civil courts have power to suspend spiritual censures pronounced by the church courts of the establishment, against the ministers and probationers of the church, and to interdict their execution as to spiritual effects, functions, and privileges.

‘4. That the said civil courts have power to reduce and set aside the sentences of the church courts of the establishment, deposing ministers from the office of the holy ministry, and depriving probationers of their licence to preach the gospel, with reference to the spiritual status, functions, and privileges of such ministers and probationers—restoring them to the spiritual office and status, of which the church courts had deprived them.

‘5. That the said civil courts have power to determine on the right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the church by

affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the establishment.

And finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God's good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland and the obligations of the Treaty of Union, as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the establishment, while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached,—we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the confession of faith and standards of the church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house according to His holy word. And we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have now come upon us because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as king in his church.'

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affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the establishment.

‘And finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God’s word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God’s good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland and the obligations of the Treaty of Union, as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the establishment, while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached,—we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the confession of faith and standards of the church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God’s grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ’s house according to His holy word. And we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have now come upon us because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ’s crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as king in his church.’

The leading facts, as far as they are interesting to the public, may now be given.

The *number* of the seceding ministers is as great as we stated it probably would be, in our last article on the Scottish Church. Including those who were members of the assembly before the separation, those who immediately united with the separating brethren, and those who, in other parts of the country, have given in their adhesion, the number amounts to about 460, of whom no fewer than 260 are parochial incumbents, the others being *quoad sacra* men, ministers of chapels of ease, of parliamentary and extension churches, or assistants of parish ministers, or professors in colleges. To the latter class, Drs. Chalmers and Welsh belong. The number of parochial ministers in Scotland is about 940, the seceders of this class being more than one-fourth of the whole number. Ministers of all classes having cures, are some-

what more than 1200, the seceders thus amounting to more than one-third of the whole number of ministers. To these, it is proper to add, a large proportion of the probationers and students have already attached themselves. The former are those who, having finished their *curriculum* of study at college, have been licensed to preach the gospel, but have no charge, and are not yet ordained to the office of the ministry; the latter are still in collegiate training, and not yet licensed to preach the gospel. Of the first class it is said nearly 200 have joined the seceders—being, we suppose, a large majority of the probationers of the church.

The *character* of the seceders is far more important than their numbers. Every impartial person will correctly suppose that in a body of 500 or 600 ministers of religion, all are not alike in respect of talent, of acquirement, of zeal, of piety, any more than in age, experience, acceptance, influence, or even cordiality in the cause—some having been long since decided—some rather led than leading—some taking the decisive step with more hesitation than others—and a few, it may be, falling into the ranks at last, with little grace and less credit. While all this will be readily conceded, it is believed, even by the most ardent friends and admirers of the movement, it is not to be doubted that the very *élite* of the ministers of the church are the separatists, in all that constitutes character and ensures usefulness in the ministers of Christ—that in respect of ability, learning, decided piety, active zeal, public spirit, general estimation among the churches of Christ, and influence among all classes of the people, those who remain will not bear a comparison with those who have left—and that, while the latter are likely to improve by the felicity of their new position, under the blessing of God, even the better class among the former are not less likely to fall in general repute, in mental peace and energy, and to become benumbed into torpor by the influence of that dense and chilling cloud of *moderationism*, in which, as in a wintry fog, they have willingly, and most unwisely, involved themselves.

The *extent of the sacrifices* made by the seceding ministers is well worthy of consideration. For ourselves, we do not estimate very highly the amount of pecuniary sacrifice which their duty has demanded. In some cases, this is large; (Dr. M'Farlan of Greenock, is said to have given up an income of 800*l.* per annum, derived from his parish—certainly a noble surrender)—in a good many, it is very considerable; and for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which such sacrifices have been made, these respected ministers should be, and are, held in merited honour. But the hesitating sin of ministers of the gospel—that is to say, in comparatively poor churches—is most certainly not

avarice. They would be the veriest fools if they entered upon the Christian ministry in such churches with the intention or expectation of making money by their vocation. Some wretched Mammonists there ever have been, who have dared to rank themselves among the ministers of Him who had not where to lay his head, since the days of the thief who bare the bag among the twelve—men who have had more care of money than either of their own souls or of those for whom they have professed to watch, who have preached and praised but never practised charity, and have loudly lauded the virtue in others which their own example could illustrate only by the force of contrast. But such despicable beings are happily rare. There are other influences, however, to which even good minds are more accessible. The insensible influence of education, inspiring them with an almost idolatrous reverence for the church of their fathers, in which they themselves have been born and reared, and to which, from their earliest years the sacred epithets, ‘our Zion, our Jerusalem, the church,’ have been applied by all the wisest and best with whom they have most intimately associated; their strong local attachments to the decent and respectable manse, in which they have long dwelt in peace and comfort, where the loved olive plants have sprung up around the table, where their favourite studies and pursuits were followed, and in which all the charities of home were felt in their power and tenderness; the edifices hallowed by the solemnities of religious worship, and the precious memorials of Christian fellowship and experience; everything suggested by the words *status* and *association* in an established church, accompanied with feelings repulsive and contemptuous for the whole condition and status of dissent, with its scanty and supposed precarious support, and all its popular checks and molestations—do you think, good reader, that such influences have no potency in the bosoms of frail though excellent men, and that there is no moral magnificence in that virtue, no holy heroism in that faith, by which so many hundreds in one church scruple not to lay them down at the feet of their heavenly Master, and to count them but loss for the honour of his blessed name? What else was the virtue of the Hebrew law-giver, who by faith forsook Egypt, counting the reproach of Christ greater riches than all its treasures, because he had respect to the recompence of reward? Not that we mean to be exclusive in this merited laudation of these brethren. The dissenting ministers in Scotland, whose literary, philosophical, and theological training, is quite equal to that of the established clergy, and to whom access to the establishment is as open as to them, did not regard to principle bar their entrance, have all along practised similar self-denial, and made sacrifices equally admirable. Nor do we place the amount

of sacrifice on the part either of the old seceders or of the new, on a level with that of the two thousand who quitted the English establishment on St. Bartholomew's day, nearly two centuries ago, not amidst general applause, not amidst the over-flowings of popular liberality, but with the certain knowledge that poverty and reproach—nay, that ruthless persecution, awaited them. Still this new example of a self-denial, so pure, is most refreshing, raises the Christian ministry in the estimation of all classes, and while it will be graciously recompensed on high, will be held in enduring remembrance by the excellent on earth. Indeed, nothing could be in finer keeping with the occasion than that self-denying act, prepared with deliberation and subscribed in public with all solemnity, by which the ministers formally denuded themselves of their status and temporalities in the established church; and, to save the tedious technicalities of ecclesiastical procedure, transmitted the document to the assembly they had left; by this decisive deed superseding all further proceedings.

The *general bearing* of the members of the new assembly, (with some slight and rare exceptions, to which we shall advert presently,) was truly excellent. Whether there was any arrangement in regard to speakers, we know not; but if good arrangement is not entitled to the praise, good sense has the merit, which is better; for of the many who sat in the Assembly, a very small number spoke on any occasion during the long session of eleven days, the less gifted brethren contenting themselves with the tranquil pleasure of delighted listeners, and leaving the arena to their more gifted, or, at least, their more willing and practised brethren. Where there was so much good speaking, possessing the staple qualities of good sense and good feeling, without an ambitious straining after eloquence, although in many cases reaching it, it is difficult to make distinctions; yet it were unpardonable not to refer to the moderator, Drs. Candlish, Welsh, Cunningham, M'Farlan, and Buchanan; perhaps it may be added, above all, to Mr. Guthrie, with his robust, generous, and heart-stirring effusions; certainly, to Dr. Gordon, with his deep sincerity, his earnestness, his sacredness, his humble dignity, his spirit worthy of Polycarp, or of the Apostolic master of that venerable martyr.

The *measures of the Assembly* have been altogether worthy of the occasion, being chiefly important practical arrangements, and such precisely as were dictated by the new circumstances in which they were placed. One committee was appointed to make up the roll of members, and arrange the business of the assembly; it having been previously agreed that in place of restricting the members to delegates from the presbyteries, ac-

ording to the constitution of the assembly of the establishment, *all ministers* should become members of the new assembly, who were present from any part of the church, on their appending their signatures to the Protest; another committee was appointed to report on the best means of providing an interim supply of the ordinances, planting churches 'for the adhering population,' and making interim arrangements as to presbyteries; a third was charged with the means of providing education for students of divinity, and the establishment of a system of schools; a fourth was to report on a system of administration in regard to the secular affairs of the church, and the revival of the order of deacons; a fifth, on 'united co-operation with other bodies of evangelical Christians; and a sixth to prepare an address to the people adhering to them, and 'letters to be addressed to corresponding churches at home and abroad.' Of the proceedings connected with these and other important objects, we cannot afford space for particular notice; all of them will soon be more completely developed. The election of ministers is in the meantime vested with male communicants, without check, by an initiative, or otherwise, by any other body or individual—a great advance toward complete ecclesiastical liberty. A vast education scheme is sketched, introduced by Dr. Welsh with much *naïveté*, who proposes that 200,000*l.* must be raised forthwith, for colleges, schools, and libraries! Intercourse with other religious bodies of Christians was introduced by Dr. Buchanan, in a speech replete with sound principle and Christian charity.

As to the *extent of the secession among the people*, it is impossible, as yet, to speak with certainty. Many of the seceding ministers had very small congregations, others very large ones, and many betwixt those extremes. In some places, the whole congregations, or very nearly the whole, appear to have come out with their ministers. In most cases a considerable body will remain in the old churches. But in very many instances, large detachments of the very best members, headed by their elders, have already come off from the ministers, who remain in the establishment. We should estimate that in many towns, and those the largest, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, a large majority of the worshippers formerly connected with the established church, are now with the new secession; and that, taking Scotland as a whole, the worshippers in the national church, will now be reduced probably one-half, the seceders certainly forming that portion of the church whose piety was most conspicuous, and by whom the efforts of the church, both for her own improvement, and for the diffusion of the gospel during the last ten years, have been mainly sustained. The seceders are drawn chiefly from the

middle and lower classes, with a sprinkling of the minor aristocracy; but never was Scotland the scene of such prompt and enlarged liberality as the people who have seceded have manifested in this hour of need. They possess, indeed, large pecuniary means, but they have drawn upon them most bountifully; the sum already reported as available for the new church, amounting to 232,347*l*. This magnificent offering is composed partly of donations, some of them of princely amount; the greater part is the united result of 720 associations, spread over the land. Of this sum, it is said, so much is destined for the 'Sustentation Fund' as will yield about 160*l*. a-year, for each of 500 ministers.

Such are the present numbers, organization, and measures of this last secession from the national church of Scotland. That the immediate results, under the blessing of God, will be the diffusion of the gospel of our salvation, with augmented zeal and rapidity, in every quarter of the land; that set free from parochial forms and other technical checks, they will lift up their voices in those localities where moderatism has long breathed death upon the land, and covered many a valley with bones exceeding dry; that with the *prestige* of recent church connexion in their favour, and store of Gaelic preachers at their command, they will make glorious inroads on the Scottish Highlands, and be recompensed with the acquisition of many spiritual conquests; that their zeal and their liberality, beside imparting to themselves the reality and the consciousness of strength, will be the means of provoking very many to similar efforts—in a word, that the transactions in Edinburgh will echo over the Christian world, and will stimulate at once praise to God and efforts in his cause, on the part of foreign churches and missions, there can be no doubt.

Where there is so much to admire and to applaud, it is painful to interpose with remarks of another character; for the allegation that in these proceedings there was some admixture of wrong with right, is little more than to affirm that it was by men they were conducted. Regard, however, not only to our own consistency, but to far higher objects, requires that we suggest, however reluctantly, the following qualifications of our preceding remarks.

The opening speech of Dr. Chalmers, carefully prepared, of course, was altogether beneath, in some respects beside, the occasion. It was rather a stale rehearsal of old opinions, than a sympathetic coincidence with existing movements and emotions. It rather checked and chilled, than led and warmed the auditors. It had neither depth, breadth, nor height, in any proportion to the moral magnitude of the circumstances in which it was

spoken. It had, indeed, more of *tirade* than was well endurable against *voluntaries*, and against another and ill-defined class who have a *penchant*, it seems, for setting law at defiance (a very infelicitous allusion, all things considered), accompanied with a sort of courting of the aristocracy—as hopeless a courtship *now* as any love-stricken wight ever attempted. Dr. Chalmers and his brethren have the same right to do justice to their conscientious convictions in vindicating the compulsory principle, as the older dissenters have in vindicating the voluntary principle, which they believe to be Christ's; but assuredly it was the oddest, the queerest, the most *outré* time possible for talking of his banner 'with the inscription, *no voluntarism*;' not only at the very moment when he and his brethren were throwing themselves nobly on that very principle, both for their own 'sustentation,' and for the defence and propagation of Christ's blessed gospel committed to them, but when it had pleased God to call into such munificent operation this very principle in the breasts of the people. Does Dr. Chalmers think it would have been befitting in King David to have displayed from the window of his palace in Jerusalem, in the presence of the assembled princes and congregation of Israel, some royal pendant, with this inscription in the Hebrew tongue, 'No Voluntarism,' just when the unequalled liberality of his people had filled his aged heart with a joy that made him feel young again, and brought this burst of grateful praise from his lips, 'Now, therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.' Surely Dr. Chalmers, excellent as he is, cannot imagine that more honour would have been reflected on the free church, on the gospel which it loves, on Christ to whom it is devoted, had all this money been wrung from it by the coercive power of the law, than by proceeding, as it has done, from the willing and enlarged hearts of a pious people. Surely, he would not desire that the promise of the Father to the Son, assuring him of his recompence for the travail of his soul, had been reversed; and that, instead of the divine assurance, 'Thy people shall be *willing* in the day of thy power,' the oracle had declared, 'Thy people shall be *forced* in the day of thy power.' No, no; these are not times for the churches of Christ to display on their banners, 'No Voluntarism.' When the vast majority of those who worship at all, even in the British dominions, support their institutions from no other source—when all America does the same—when every society in Christendom, having for its object the evangelization of the world, is no other than a voluntary society, deriving the supply of its treasury from the spontaneous bounty of hearts, made

willing by the abundant grace of God—when the voluntary principle is stirring ecclesiastical society, and gaining over the most influential minds, in all the leading countries of Continental Europe—when this new secession at home from an established church has become, shall we say, first among the foremost in the good cause,—is such the time for Christians to abjure the voluntary principle, or to harbour in their hearts one doubt of its efficiency? Whatever the new secession may inscribe on their banner, we know what the spirit of God has written on the fleshly tables of their hearts. By their fruits we know them, and they are known of all men. Voluntary in *practice*, they must be voluntary in *principle*, unless we were to say, what we never will say, that their practice is unprincipled.

But this is not the place to argue the question further. Dr. Chalmers, according to the reports of the press, qualified his first statements afterwards, not in regard to the inscription on his flag, but at least to the extent that he was far from wishing to keep aloof from the religious fellowship of churches whose members were voluntaries. This much is as it should be. But we hardly need to regret either the first reports of the statement of Dr. Chalmers, or the necessity under which he felt himself placed for subsequent explanation, since these had the effect of calling forth the generous effusion of Mr. Guthrie, which the assembly, to their honour, received with cordial cheers. ‘I never sat,’ said Mr. Guthrie, ‘in any assembly with more delight, than I did when Dr. Chalmers gave an explanation,—an explanation that out-and-out corresponded with the sentiments of my own mind. I am for a union in the meantime in the way of co-operation. What am I to do with the Cowgate and the Grass-market, and the other destitute districts in my parish? I cannot open a church for them as I did when I was an established minister; but, God helping me, I will not leave them to the man they may put into St. John’s. I cannot carry on the work myself; and I will rejoice with all my heart if the evangelical dissenters of any denomination in Edinburgh would come and sit down at a board with me in friendly conference. I would propose to Dr. Brown, you take that portion of the work—to Mr. Alexander, you take that—and I will take this; let us divide the labour, and go forth to the heathen lands of Edinburgh, just as we go to the heathen land of Africa. We cannot stop there; and I defy any man to stop there who has heard our clerk repeat this evening the affecting prayer of Jesus for his disciples. What is repeated over and over again in that prayer of our Lord, ‘that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.’ I never will rest contented—I never will cease to pray and work,

and, as I do, I will bury in oblivion the memory of former controversies. Yes, sir—oh! that the day were come that I might meet with my brethren over the grave of all former controversies, that we might shake hands, and join hearts, and be one in Christ Jesus—one regiment bearing the same colours and going forth like an army mighty for battle, against one common and tremendous foe! These truly Christian sentiments were vehemently cheered within the assembly, as they deservedly have been, by all parties without.

The remarks that follow are intended rather for apology than censure. It has been regretted by many of the friends of this movement, that the grounds of secession were not from the first more broad, solid, and palpable—in particular, that the brethren did not take their stand on the *no patronage* ground, and, perhaps, also on the mischiefs arising from state connexion, considering the unchristian character of the body politic with which, as an establishment, they were allied. We join in this regret, but we plead that candid minds will not too pryingly examine the past; the *present* character and principles of the body being of immeasurably greater importance, both to themselves and to the sister churches. They are thoroughly anti-patronage *now*; and they have now got such an experimental knowledge of the manifold vexations of state connexion as to preclude effectually all longings for its restoration. Let this, in the meantime, suffice.

It has also been regretted, that they should still hold the principle that there may exist state support without state control—an establishment of a church by the state with the independence of that church of the state. In another article we have exposed this fallacy; but we plead that, with our seceding brethren, it is now a matter of abstract theory, not of practice; since they will neither hold that, *de facto*, the establishment they have left enjoys this independence; nor, *de jure*, that such an establishment as they believe it now to be, ought to be independent. With it, they believe, liberty would be licentiousness. It must be coerced. Still more is our southern establishment, in their judgment, alike destitute and undeserving of liberty. Confessedly, both establishments are creatures and dependents of the state.

The tone of some of the speeches, and the tendency of some sentiments uttered, have also caused regret. From these, it would seem as if the air and pretensions of the establishment-men were still retained after the *status* was renounced, and as if they could not own that now they are but simple seceders. Does Dr. Candlish himself know what he means by the following remarks, attributed to him by the 'Scottish Guardian,' of June 2nd?—'When the ministers of the established church of Scotland thought it their duty to separate from the existing

ecclesiastical establishment, they had before them two courses which they might have followed. In former instances of secession from the church of their fathers, the seceding brethren met together, and constituted themselves into a separate church, and they began by simply setting up their own congregations, waiting till they should gradually multiply'—(What? 'Their own congregations' only? When, or where, was this?)—so as to take possession of larger portions of the population. None of the former secessions from the established church of Scotland *ever assumed the character of nationality at the outset*, (no, indeed, they had not so much presumption!) or set itself to form a plan for the supply of ordinances to the *whole population*. . . . But the other alternative before this church, was one in consistency with our duty to our Great Head, and to our people. We have gone out, *not as a secession from the church of our fathers; but assuming the character, and claiming the title of the church of Scotland*. . . . *We go forth not as a secession from the church, but as the church herself;* &c. Who would have expected anything so gigantic from Dr. Candlish? Blessed Scotland! The existing established church desires to provide 'church accommodation, and pastoral superintendence' for the whole population. This new secession, which is 'not a secession from the church,' but the church itself, or beside itself, is to perform the same service for 'the whole population!' Why, if these things were to be, this new secession would very miserably add to the amount of existing sectarianism in the land. But we plead, in extenuation, either that Dr. Candlish is injured, as was Dr. Chalmers, and has been misreported by his friends—or that, in the excitement of the occasion, he wist not well what he said—or that for a moment he forgot where he was, and dreamed that he was *in still*. Sure we are that he had no wish to use 'swelling words of vanity,' or to offend any class of his fellow-dissenters, and that such words shall never more pass the door of his lips.*

We have done with such observations. We regard this movement as so manifestly a great work of God, that it were most bitterly to be lamented were unwise friends within the society, or imprudent observers without, to do anything by word or deed,

* We know not well what to make of Dr. Candlish. Since the above was written, it appears from the newspapers that he has been again affected with the same fit of magniloquence, and has used such modest phrases as these:—'We are not a sect, but the church—We are the church of Scotland, the only church that deserves the name—We are not a sect separating from the national church, but are the church of Scotland separated from the state,' &c. '*I am France*,' said Napoleon. Does Dr. Candlish wish to mimic this mock-heroic? There is about as much sobriety and modesty in the exclamation of the emperor, as in the affirmation of the minister. O how loftily vain man will look and talk! But enough. Still we are inclined to

tending to impair its usefulness. When we reflect how little the leaders of this movement contemplated existing results when their first measures were adopted—that their sincere desire was to popularize, to extend, to confirm the establishment, and, without interfering with toleration, to ‘absorb dissent’—that the very measures they took for the accomplishment of these objects, have diminished and endangered the church—that the law on which they leaned has so grievously smitten them—and that the disruption has occurred, not under a liberal government, which they strove to displace, but by a conservative ministry, which they brought into power; when agents are thus employed to accomplish purposes the most alien and opposite to their own intentions, surely we cannot fail to exclaim, ‘The finger of God is here!’—this is the doing of him who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working.’ And if but a little charity, forbearance, and wisdom, are mutually called into action by the old and by the new seceders,—if they shall reduce to practice the Bible law, ‘whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same things,’—if they shall seize favourable occasions for co-operation in good works, past differences will soon vanish, and they will experience and display the advantages of ‘brethren dwelling together in unity.’ The old dissenters will be immense gainers by these new friends. The former, it is well known, could never bear the claims of churchmen to have a pastoral superintendence of the whole population—to visit their schools with authority—to insist that they ought to have accommodation in their churches for all the people in the land, to claim new endowments, and other such freaks. And whatever the new dissenters may think of the claims of the establishment *that was*, they will be one with their elder brethren as to the claims of the establishment *that now is*. The old dissenters have been the long-tried friends of the great cause of civil and religious liberty; and although they never did make political opinions a test of admission to religious fellowship, any more than they sanctioned the making religious opinions a test of admission to civil or political place and power, they cannot but hail, as most influential allies, their new brethren in that sacred cause which they (the old dissenters) can never

hope, not against hope, that Dr. C.’s grace will work out his corruption, that his wisdom will prove an overmatch for his folly, and that he and his brethren will take no offence with their true position—the only position they can now occupy—that, namely, of a *section*, numerous and influential, but still only a *section of dissenters and seceders from the established church*. And if they are, what we believe them to be, a true church of the Lord Jesus, this honour may well satisfy them. We long for the *documents* of the New Assembly. These, we trust, will be antidotes to the aberrations of individuals.

abandon. Above all, the two classes have 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all;' and it is most devoutly to be desired that they shall jointly endeavour 'to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'

The *residuary*, as it has been called, or old assembly, may receive our notice afterwards; our limits forbid present remarks. A Queen's Letter was sent to that very reverend body, and how could they do otherwise than reverence their Queen? They made haste and delayed not to keep her commandments. The veto law was rescinded—the deposed in Strathbogie were declared to be ministers in as good standing as if they never had been stripped of their orders—all the *quoad sacra* brethren were ordered out of the house,—and in all things, the question with these excellent men was, What say the Queen and the law? It was, indeed, a Queen's assembly. Some other measures were taken. In 1797, the Assembly passed a law prohibiting their pulpits to all ministers, except of their own communion. In 1842, this act was repealed. The Queen's assembly revoked the act of 1842, and fell back on the act 1797. The chief reason seems to have been, lest error should find its way into their holy communion; or, perhaps, the members, from their love of monopoly, wished to reserve heresy for themselves. Finally, the assembly unanimously agreed to petition for endowments to their *quoad sacra* brethren. What a heart would the Queen have if she denied the favour to servants so obsequious!

But what will be the fate of this assembly—this church which it says it represents—the church, not of the people, but of the Queen and the law? We must not reply hastily to a question so grave, but we shall conclude our article with the following reply from an able conservative journal:—

'It has already been ascertained by the Reports of the Commission of Inquiry of 1835 or 1836, that the dissenters of Scotland constitute about one-third of the population. Besides these, it is to be feared that another very large section must be allotted to the irreligious or unbelieving classes. The church, then, even now possesses by far too slender a hold on the people; but once drive out of her pale, all that mass of piety, zeal, energy, and talent, which has been exhibited during the last few years under the leadership of such men as Chalmers and Gordon—expel at a blow some hundreds of the most active and devoted of her clergy, and with them several hundreds of thousands of her people—and then say what rational prospect there can be, that the *wretched fragment, the mere dead carcass* which will remain, will be able to hold its ground even for a poor two or three years, against the assaults of dissent, popery, and infidelity, embattling against her, as they then will be able to do, at least five-sixths of the whole population.'—*Fraser's Magazine*, March, 1842.

Nous verrons !

Brief Notices.

Use Them, or Gathered Fragments; Missionary Hints and Anecdotes for the Young. By Mrs. Beddow.

Perseverance Rewarded; a Sequel to 'Use Them, or Gathered Fragments.' By Mrs. Beddow. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

If the present age has brought peculiar demands on the benevolence of the Christian public, there has not been wanting religious ingenuity to devise those means by which labour may be rendered profitable and pleasing, and moments and opportunities be embraced for the most important usefulness. Valuable aid, to a considerable extent, is now rendered to our various missionary societies by 'Ladies' Working Associations,' and time, which in the lives of the maids and matrons of former years was devoted to the working of samplers, and curious embroidery, is now employed in the preparation of articles which, either in substance or price, may be added to the available resources of Christian benevolence. Highly as we approve this well-directed zeal, we trust our fair readers will pardon the intimation that in this their peculiar department charity should begin at home, and allow us to express the hope that the attraction of new institutions will not supersede those more venerable societies known by the scriptural name of Dorcas. Both classes have our earnest good wishes for their prosperity and success. The friends and advocates of the former will find the little volumes whose titles precede this notice, valuable teachers and instruments in establishing and sustaining Ladies' Working Associations for missionary purposes. They will be suitable either for distribution in order to awaken attention to the subject, or for perusal during the hours of feminine employment. Unacquainted as we are with the mysteries of needlework, we suspect there are some useful hints to be found in these little books about measurement, cutting out, scraps, cottons, needles, &c., and from better knowledge we are satisfied that they contain a great amount of missionary information.

A Celestial Atlas, containing Maps of all the Constellations visible in Great Britain, with corresponding Blank Maps of the Stars, systematically arranged for communicating a practical knowledge of the Heavens. By J. Middleton. London: Whittaker. Norwich: Sandel.

A Companion to the Celestial Atlas, containing a Series of Lessons on the Constellations, a Dissertation on the Fixed Stars, and Conversations on the Heavens, with Descriptions and Views of the most remarkable Double Stars and Nebulæ. By J. Middleton.

Mr. Middleton's object in preparing his *Celestial Atlas* and *Companion*, has been to furnish an easy method of acquiring an intimate and correct acquaintance with the fixed stars; such as would enable

any person, with a moderate degree of attention, to distinguish not only the constellations, but every star to about the fourth or fifth magnitude. His plan is to exhibit, on five maps, all the stars and constellations visible in Great Britain, not in an inverted position as they are drawn on celestial globes, but precisely as they appear in the heavens. On four of the maps, each bearing the title of one of the seasons, may be seen the constellations respectively visible in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, while the other map contains those constellations which are always visible, having the names of the seasons on its four sides, as a direction to the position in which it must be held to shew the situation of the stars at any season. These five maps are arranged on the right hand pages of the atlas, and opposite to each is a corresponding map of the stars only represented white on a black ground, as they appear in the sky.

The *Companion* is divided into three parts; the first, which is the most important, consists of a number of lessons on the Constellations. At the commencement of each is a direction as to the quarter of the heavens where they may be found in the respective months when visible. Then follows an enumeration of the principal stars as distinguished by the Greek letters, and the parts of the constellations in which they are placed. These are required to be first found on the maps containing the names of the stars, &c., and afterwards on the blank maps opposite, from which the transition to the sky is easy and natural.

This list of stars is followed in each constellation by notes describing the peculiar conformation of the stars, and by short directions serving to point them out, together with notices of double, quadruple, and variable stars, nebulae, &c. The second part of the *Companion* (page 67) treats of the nature, number, distance, &c., of the fixed stars, of variable, double, treble, and quadruple stars, nebulae, &c., with questions at the end of each chapter to adapt it to the purposes of instruction. The third part (page 117) consists of conversations on the heavens. The work, as thus described, is admirably adapted to impart an accurate knowledge of the heavens, and may be safely recommended to all who are interested in astronomical pursuits. Mr. Middleton's object in its preparation has been, not merely to enable a person to know each constellation and star, but also to exhibit a correct view of the present extent of our knowledge of the sidereal heavens, to describe in plain language the important and interesting discoveries of Dr. Herschell in this department of science, and to qualify any one in possession of a good telescope to discover many interesting objects for himself. Though Mr. Middleton's Atlas has been constructed so as to be peculiarly adapted to the purposes of instruction, it will be found to answer all the ends of other celestial atlases, and as such, we recommend it to our readers.

Judah's Lion. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Seeley and Burnside.
London: 1843.

In this volume the authoress has produced a simple, beautiful, and affecting tale. It is the imaginary biography of a young Jew, born

and partly educated in England, under the management of his father, a man of Jewish birth, and of an ambitious and worldly spirit. The interest of the tale commences with the departure of the youth in a British man-of-war for the Mediterranean and the East. The associations and incidents of the voyage are detailed with much ease and gracefulness. During this voyage, Mr. Cohen, the hero of the tale, becomes acquainted with the honest gunner of the ship's company, a noble Christian man, and with Captain and Mrs. Ryan, missionaries among the Jews. An interesting character, who will prove, we expect, a general favourite with our readers, here makes his appearance, in the person of Charley, the child of the missionaries. We have also during the voyage introduced, a learned priest and student of the Jewish Talmud, in the person of Rabbi Ben Melchor. In company and conversation with these parties, Mr. Cohen reaches Joppa, and afterwards Jerusalem. The condition and scenes of the Holy Land are described with minute accuracy and deep pathos. As it advances, the narrative increases in interest. Some stirring adventures are related during which the hero becomes associated with Bedouin Arabs, and being seized by the authorities of the country in their company, narrowly escapes execution in Jerusalem. The story ends in the hero avowing himself a believer in the truth of the Christian religion. The title of the book is taken from a coincidence between the royal standard of England and the lion of Palestine, supposed to have arisen in consequence of Richard I., after his conquest of Palestine, introducing the latter into the arms of this country. The statement of this coincidence, on the part of the gunner, first awakens in the mind of the young Jew a desire to search the Scriptures, and eventually guided him to the knowledge of the true Messiah. The narrative is made the means of teaching, with interest and profit, many great and important principles. The authoress is a zealous advocate of the literal interpretation of the prophecies, passages of which she introduces at length. Judaism is treated by her as containing both popery and Christianity; the one, to use her own image, as the shell—the other as the kernel; the obstacles to the belief in Jesus as their Messiah which present themselves to the mind of a Jew, arising on the one hand from the idolatries and superstitions of the papists, and on the other, from the pride and coldness of the Protestants, are vigorously set forth in this narrative. The idea is also repudiated that in embracing Christianity the seed of Abraham must cease to be Jews, and the vague and common expression 'converted Jew,' is shewn to be as contrary to fact, as it must be painful to those to whom it is applied. Fiction is seldom made a more pleasing instrument of teaching truth than in this narrative: and in an age of awakening sympathy and interest towards the Israelitish race, the volume deserves, and we hope may obtain, a wide circulation.

Extracts; Useful, Instructive, and Entertaining. London: Madden and Co.

Brief selections from all kinds of writers on all kinds of subjects, such as we might expect to find inserted in daily or weekly periodicals to fill up inconvenient space. Coleridge, a passage from whose writings appears by way of apology on the title page, never, we are sure, contemplated the manufacture of such a book as this.

Lessons on the Globes, on a Plan entirely new, in which they are taken together in illustration of Terrestrial and Celestial Phenomena; with original familiar explanations of the ever varying circumstances of our Planet and the Solar System generally, and extended notices of several departments of Natural Science, interspersed with numerous corroborative Quotations from the best popular Authors. Also, an Appendix, containing Memoranda in Verse, Rhymes on the Constellations, &c. By T. H. Horne. London: Cradock and Co.

This work is chiefly important to two classes—teachers and their pupils. And how valuable it may prove to these may soon be made evident by an adoption of the plan which it so fully and ably explains, and which the author in his own case has most successfully applied. That its arrangements differ widely from those of other treatises on the use of the globes, is the author's best justification for publishing it. It proceeds on a new principle, which, when well understood, must render obsolete all that have hitherto preceded it. The principle is to associate the two globes—not to study them separately, but together; as the best means of facilitating the pupil's acquaintance with both. To study them apart, Mr. Horne clearly shows not only inconveniently interferes with the attainment of a full and correct knowledge of what is intended to be taught, but that it renders double labour necessary, there being often as much for the pupil to unlearn as to acquire. In the whole routine of school occupations, can there be anything more at variance with perspicuousness than the very common use made of the line, which, on the terrestrial globe, marks the daily change of the sun's declination; that line being frequently taken to represent the ecliptic, and the model of our earth being turned in a contrary or westward direction to show the risings, and bearings, and settings of the sun. The author is of opinion that it is owing to this inconsistency in the use of the terrestrial globe, that, in numerous instances, pupils of superior intelligence, whose attention has been for some time engaged on it, (to the exclusion of a desired acquaintance with the appearances of the heavens,) are still possessed of very ambiguous notions respecting even the circumstances more immediately connected with the daily rotation of the earth.

The definitions and illustrations immediately preceding Mr. Horne's lessons, occupy twenty-four pages of the work,—these again are preceded by preparatory readings and illustrations—scraps of mathematical and physical truth, references to the microscope, telescope, &c., which daily experience shows to be required, if the teacher would lead his

pupils to a thorough and pleasurable understanding of the interesting subject before them.

After these definitions and illustrations, which are divided into two classes, we have the *first section of problems*. And here again the author's matter, as well as his arrangement of it, differs from those of his predecessors. Of the nineteen problems it contains, seven are for performance on the celestial globe; and of the rest, several which are for the terrestrial globe 'as a model of our planet rotating in starlight,' are pleasing original explanations of the appearances the celestial globe is intended only to represent.

Readings and Conversations on Church History; especially intended for the Young. By a Grandfather. London: Jackson and Walford.

True Stories from the History of the Church; With Preface. By the Rev. Thomas King. London: Charles Haselden.

'It is probable,' remarks the author of the first of these volumes, 'that others beside the compilers have felt the want of something in an abridged and very familiar form, presenting the prominent points of the history of the Christian church, with a simplicity of style adapted for the young people of Christian families.' To the truth of this observation we readily subscribe, and thank our author for his attempt to supply a desideratum. Although not altogether free from certain blemishes which belong to some larger works whence this little volume is compiled, it is on the whole very well adapted for the accomplishment of its object. The study of the history of the church of Christ, although in a professedly Christian land grievously neglected, is one of the most important subjects of knowledge into which the minds of the young can be initiated, and is likely from the course of the events and controversies of the age, to force itself on the attention of the rising generation. We shall be glad to find so useful a volume reach another edition. We recommend, in order to place it in the hands of a larger number of readers, a reduction in price. The first volume is from the pen of a nonconformist; the second is published under the sanction of a clergyman of the establishment. The latter is adapted for children of an earlier age than the readers of the former—to which it would prove an appropriate introduction. 'True' stories,' although arranged in chronological order, are selections from the most interesting portions of the general history, as far as the age of the emperor Julian. With both little works we have been gratified.

Letters on Missions. By William Swan, late Missionary in Siberia. *With an Introductory Preface.* By William Orme. Second Edition. London: John Snow.

A neat reprint of a work which can never be out of season, and which is specially appropriate to these times, when the obligation of the church to seek the evangelization of the world is just beginning to be realized.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR AUGUST, 1843.

Art. I. *The Bible Cyclopædia; or, Illustrations of the Civil and Natural History of the Sacred Writings, by reference to the Manners, Customs, Rites, Traditions, Antiquities, and Literature of Eastern Nations.* 2 vols. 4to, 1841—1843. London: Parker

BEFORE directing particular attention to the work whose title we have transcribed, we desire to take a brief survey of the origin and history of the class of books to which it belongs, and which has, in the course of time, taken a rather prominent place in biblical literature. This will necessarily involve the expression of our opinion respecting most of the principal works of this description, that we may be enabled to indicate what has already been done, and what yet remains to be accomplished.

The first biblical cyclopædias appear to have originated in the desire to abridge to preachers and divines the labour of comparison and research, by exhibiting under one head whatever the Scriptures contained respecting places and persons. This object did not, however, immediately produce biblical cyclopædias, but *Indices to the Bible*. The earliest work of this description which we have been able to find is the *Mamomotrectus, sive expositio in singulos libros Biblorum, per singula capitula*: authore Joan. Marchesino, A.D. 1470. There is a copy in the King's library at the British Museum. It is a quarto black-letter volume of one hundred and twenty-nine folios. The body of the work is composed of a summary of the Scriptures by chapters, not unlike the summaries at the heads of chapters in our larger Bibles, and occasionally taking the form of an explanation. At the end is a very copious index to the contents, and it is this index which imparts a distinctive character to a work, which appears at that time to have been considered an important help to the study, or rather to the

ready use of the Scriptures. We are to consider that this work was among the earliest products of the press; and must regard it as a putting forth of multiplied impressions of one of those mechanical helps to preachers and students, which it had been previously necessary that every one should compile, or copy from a previous compilation, with his own hand.

In time, indices to summaries of the Bible, expanded into indices to the Bible itself; and these progressively became more copious and extensive. Now, when an index becomes sufficiently copious to contain, under one name or title, a self-indicative reference to all the principal matter in Scripture relating to that name or title, it wants but a few connecting sentences and dates to render it an article for a biblical dictionary; and this was, in fact, the process by which the index became a dictionary. Let us explain this by an example—the one we have readiest at hand. In the *Bible de Vence*, (based on Calmet's Bible) the *volume* of index gives the following under 'Abram.'

'ABRAM, le même qu'*Abraham*, fils de Tharé; sa naissance, Gen. xi. 26, 27. Sarai, sa femme, sterile, xi. 30; sort de son pays, va en Egypte à cause de la famine; y fait passer Sarai pour sa sœur, xii.; querelle de ses gens avec ceux de Lot, xiii.; reçoit la promesse d'une nombreuse postérité, xiii. 15, *et suiv.*; † xv. 4; † xvii. 16; † xviii. 10; ne reçoit rien des hommes, xiv. 22; épouse Agar, xvi. 4, *et suiv.*; appelé Abraham, xvii. 5; son hospitalité; adore des Anges sous la figure d'hommes; prie pour les habitans de Sodome, xviii.; naissance d'Isaac, xxi. 2. Il est prêt de l'immoler, xxii. 9; honore les habitans du pays; achète un sépulcre pour ensevelir Sara, xxiii.; envoi choisir une femme pour Isaac, xxiv. 4; sa mort, xxv. 8; son éloge, Eccli. xlv. 20; proposé à imiter, Isa. li. 2; appelé père de plusieurs nations et de tous ceux qui croient, Gen. xvii. 5; Matt. iii. 9; Luc. xix. 9; Jean viii. 39; Rom. iv. 11, 17. Sa postérité, Jos. xxiv. 3; Isa. xli. 8; Ezek. xxxiii. 24; Néhém. ix. 7, *et suiv.*; Matt. viii. 11; Act. vii. 2 et 16; Hebr. xi. 17; qui sont ses vrais enfans, Jean viii. 33; Rom. ix. 7; Gal. iii. 7.'

Now here is an apparatus for the biblical history of Abraham, in his natural and spiritual capacity, so complete that many sound biblical students would much prefer to work with it themselves than accept the ready-made article in a biblical dictionary, which might easily be produced from it; and a more full production of the contents of the passages of Scripture to which reference is thus made, would form a complete and satisfactory notice of Abraham, fit for the purposes of a biblical dictionary as at first understood. Indeed, this was the mode by which the biblical index became changed into a biblical dictionary. The biblical index referred the student to the passages containing all the information which the Scripture afforded, leaving to him the labour of collection and comparison. The first biblical dic-

tionaries spared him a part of this trouble, by combining these dispersed passages, and placing them in substance or detail before him. Not only was this labour spared, but it was soon found that this mode of producing the matter of the sacred Scriptures admitted the introduction of improved chronological arrangements, and of such results of critical and illustrative research as could not possibly be incorporated with a simple index to the Bible. Hence the biblical dictionary, in process of time, grew up into an alphabetical arrangement, not only of the matter in the Bible, but of criticism, research and illustration on the several subjects embraced in that arrangement—a sort of commentary on the Scriptures, in the alphabetical instead of the textual order. It was in the nature of things that such works should grow cumbersome; and they did so, until at length we have had biblical dictionaries in several volumes, folio and octavo, vying in size with the larger textual commentaries on the Scripture. This has of late years been seen as an evil, and a disposition has been manifested, at least in Germany, to revert to a sort of improvement of the original index, by making the dictionary state only leading facts, and arguments, with the results and conclusions of extensive investigations, the place of the details being supplied by numerous references to Scripture, and to works which treat of or illustrate the matter in hand. Such a work is, in fact, an index not only to the Scripture, but to vast materials of criticism and research thereon. It is thus possible, within the limits of a single octavo volume (like Winer's*) to exhibit materials which might be extended into ten folio volumes. Such a work is invaluable to scholars. But it would not suit this country, because the scholarship which the proper use of such a work requires is not sufficiently diffused to warrant its production; and because it supposes the possession of, or access to, such libraries as in England are rarely seen. In proceeding to notice some of the leading works by which these views have been suggested, we must revert to the original index which the dictionary superseded. The old indices have now become very rare; and the popularity of dictionaries has prevented new ones from being produced. They have, perhaps, been undervalued. They might be made to afford far more valuable assistance than a concordance, in searching the Scripture on a given subject. They also encourage such research, by lessening the labour without diminishing the gratification. A good and complete modern index to the Bible is yet a desideratum in our biblical literature.

* Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* is in two German vols., but they easily bind into one, and contain less printed matter than our common biblical dictionaries in a single octavo volume.

It has not been our good fortune to meet with many of the earlier indices produced in this country. The best of those which have fallen under our notice is also one of the latest: it is *A Rational Concordance, or an Index to the Bible*, by Matthew Pilkington, L.L.B., Nottingham, 1749. It is, however, confined chiefly to the doctrines and duties of Christianity; and the reason which the author gives for the scanty display of proper names might operate with advantage in excluding a vast number of such names, which enhance the price and unprofitably occupy the space of the modern biblical *cyclopædias*: 'It would not have been difficult with the helps I have by me, to have greatly enlarged the historical part of this index; but unless there was something more recorded than the genealogy, age, and death of a person, or the situation of a place, I concluded it would be unnecessary to mention them at all; and I was unwilling to enlarge the bulk and price of a book, which, if it may be of any general use, will be the more so by omitting such articles, as there would be very rarely occasion to refer to.'—Preface, p. xiv. In this work the headings occupy a ruled off margin, and the particulars fill the body of the page, each particular beginning a new line, thus:—

'Adultery.	Strictly forbid. Exod. xx. 14., Lev. xviii. 20.
	— Ordered to be punished with death. Lev. xx. 10, Deut. xxii. 22.
	— will be punished by the Lord. Mal. iii. 5; 1 Cor. vi. 9; Heb. xiii. 4.
	— the temporal inconvenience thereof, with other motives to avoid it. Prov. v. 15, vi. 32; (Ecclus. ix. 9, xxiii. 18.)
	— what will be so accounted. Matt. v. 28.
	— called fornication. Matt. v. 32, xix. 19.
	— Idolatry so called. Jer. iii. 2, xiii. 27; Ezek. xxiii. 39.
	— (The aggravation of the crime in woman. Ecclus. xxiii. 22.)
	— Instance of. 2 Sam. ii. 2.'

This branch of biblical literature has its 'curiosities' like every other. The year 1711 produced '*A Metrical Index to the Bible*'; or alphabetical tables of the Holy Scriptures in metre, composed

'I. To help the memory,

'II. To con-note with the letters the numbers of the several chapters.

'III. And to supply the want of a small concordance, useful for all the lovers of God's word, especially the young students in theology. By John Chorley, M.A., Minister of the Gospel, Norwich, 1711.'

The plan of the work is explained in the preface:—

‘Every book is divided into stanzas or staves, and every stanza, (excepting a few) consists of four lines or verses, whereof every one gives the contents of a chapter, or some principal matter in it, so that every stanza will comprise four chapters. The first line of every stanza begins with a letter of the alphabet, first with A, second with B, &c. Hence it follows that A stands for 1; B, which begins the second stanza, for 5. If then it be known what chapter every letter denotes, the number of the chapter which begins with the letter is known by it; as, for example, if I know that B stands for 5, then when I have this line, ‘Before the flood long age of man,’ I can presently tell that it is the fifth chapter (of Genesis).’

That the reader may perceive the *modus operandi*, we give, as a specimen, the ‘Index’ to the first eleven chapters of St. John’s Gospel:—

Chapter.

- 1 A Gospel John writes; Christ’s God-man.
- 2 Water to wine doth change;
- 3 Proves Nicodemus an ignoramus;
- 4 Converts Samaritan.
- 5 B ethesda’s pool; blind Pharisees.
- 6 Christ is the Bread of Life.
- 7 Goes to the feast; invites the guests;
- 8 Christ is the Bread of Life.
- 9 C ures one born blind; blind Pharisees.
- 10 Shepherd and Door is he.
- 11 Doth Laz’rus raise, when dead four days;
Much people come to see.’

Of the Biblical Dictionary, properly so called, the earliest examples are, of course, in Latin. Among these we find the ‘*Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*,’ Basil, 1567, of Mathias Flaccius. This work consists of two parts, of which the first only requires notice. In this, the words and forms of expression used in the Scriptures are arranged in alphabetical order, and explained after the manner of a dictionary. This work is very creditable to the author and to his age, and considering the state of biblical literature at the time of its production, is worthy of the praises bestowed upon it by Franzius, Glassius, Mosheim, Walch, Orme, and others. Whatever was wanting as to the *mass* of materials brought together in the form of a Biblical Dictionary, was supplied by Peter Ravanel, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra seu Thesaurus Scripturæ Canonice amplissimus*, 3 tom. folio, Genev. 1650. This is correctly described by Orme, as ‘A Dictionary of everything relating to the theology, natural history, morality, rites, and ceremonies, &c., of the Scriptures; in short, a kind of

Protestant Calmet. The work, however, is far inferior to that of Calmet. It is heavy, technical, and full of redundancies. The plainest subjects are loaded with explanations, and encumbered with logical definitions and distinctions. It is at the same time a work which discovers vast reading, and a most minute attention to the Scriptures. It is also, I believe, one of the first works of the kind published by a Protestant.* Having the work now before us, we should only object to this that the comparison with Calmet is scarcely fair to Ravanel. He is to be regarded as one of the first collectors, on a large scale, of the *materials* for such a work. That he did not digest the materials so well as one who, by coming after him, had less labour of collection, scarcely lessens the merit of his more arduous labour.

In process of time, biblical dictionaries, like other books, came to be written in the languages of the several nations which produced them. But those which appeared prior to Calmet's great work, which formed an epoch in the history of Biblical Dictionaries, will not long detain our attention.

Those which were produced in England were rather religious than biblical: that is to say, scholars contented themselves with the Latin works, and the English readers were supposed to be more in need of an explanation of the spiritual terms and phrases which occur in the sacred books. It would, perhaps, be more correct to describe them as dictionaries of such terms and phrases occurring in the *English* translation, and therefore dictionaries of the English bible, just as Calmet's work is a dictionary of the Vulgate. Of the works of this class, Wilson's '*Christian Dictionary*,'* is a very favourable specimen; and it appears to have been the most popular, for the copy which lies before us (dated 1622), is of the *third* edition. It seems also to have been the earliest English work of the kind, and the author claims to be original. He says in the general preface, 'I have wondered that so many worthy, learned, and godly divines, which are as willing, from their love to the good of the church, as able for their sufficiency of gifts, not one—no, not one (that I know) has ever attempted to provide our Christian scholler such

* The full title is:—A Christian Dictionary; opening the signification of the Chiefe Words dispersed generally throughout the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, tending to increase Christian knowledge. Whereunto is added a Particular Dictionary for the Revelation of St. John; for the Canticles or Song of Solomon; for the Epistle to the Hebrewes. The Third Edition. Augmented by the addition of divers thousands of Words, Phrases, and Significations, and by Explication of Levitical Rites: also, of most Difficult and Ambiguous Speeches, with farre more profitable Annotations than before. By Thomas Wilson, Minister of the Word at St. George's, in Canterbury. London: printed by William Iaggad, dwelling in Barbican. 1622.

a Christian dictionary of words as contain the secrets of our heavenly profession and art. Many have framed and set forth primers, and A, B, C's, for beginners—I mean catechisms—to enter them into the knowledge of God; but not any (as yet) have set too their hands to interpret, in our mother tongue (in alphabet order), the cheefe words of our science, which being very hard and darksome, sound in the eares of our weake schollers as Latine or Greeke words, as indeede many of them are derived from these languages; and this I have esteemed as no small lette to hinder the profitting in knowledge of holy Scriptures amongst the vulgar; because when in their reading or hearing Scriptures, they meete with such principall words, as carry with them the marrow and pithe of our holy religion, they sticke at them as at an unknown language. Mathias Flaccius Illyricus,* (whom I did not looke upon, nor upon Enchiridion Marlorati, until I had well nye done this worke), hath worthily performed this in Latine, by whose helpe it is easy for a divine to do some such work in English. I, the unmeetest and unworthiest of all my brethren, not one of a thousand, have attempted this enterprise, and performed a poore something, sufficient onely to give the more learned occasion to doo some more exact thing in this kinde.'

The writers of the recommendatory prologues in prose and verse, by no means felt themselves restrained by this modesty in the author. One of them has:—'Seneca saith, *Nova, quamvis non magna miramur*: that wee make much of new things, though they be not great. Loe, in this booke they both meete together; heere is newnesse, and heere is goodnesse. This worke is new, and it is precious—how then should it not much inamor thee !'

We have no room for specimens of this work; but we may note that it omits proper names altogether; and that explanations of the kind which it does give, abound in all subsequent dictionaries, along with proper names and material subjects of biblical literature.

Only one work of this kind in the French language, prior to the appearance of Calmet, appears to have acquired much popularity. This was the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, published at Lyons in 1695. Its author, Richard Simon, is usually but erroneously confounded with his much more eminent contemporary, Father Simon, whose Christian name was also Richard. Calmet says, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, that he had been at first advised to put forth a new and improved edition of this work; but he found it so exceedingly inaccurate, that he deemed it much easier to

* The same whose work is noticed above. The author was surnamed Illyricus, from the country of his birth.

compose a new dictionary than to improve another's. He attributes this defect of Simon's work to the author's ignorance of Oriental languages, and his inadequate access to books. In the preface to his own work, Calmet denies having obtained any other assistance from Simon, and his other predecessors, than such as might be obtained in the formation of his vocabulary or list of headings.

We now come to Calmet's own work, the importance of which we by no means desire to underrate, although it seems to us now altogether out of date ; and that it is full time that it should be in this country, as it has long been in Germany, superseded by something more adequately representing the immense progress which has been made in all the departments of biblical science since it appeared.

Although known in this country chiefly for his Dictionary, Calmet's great work was the *Commentaire Littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, published from 1707 to 1716, in twenty-three quarto volumes, and reprinted in twenty-six volumes quarto, and nine folio, in which last form it is now most usually met with. In this work very much attention is given to historical, geographical, and antiquarian research ; and a great quantity of curious illustration of the incidents and of the phraseology of Scripture is derived from the ancient classics, and from the customs of modern Oriental nations, with which few men of his time were better acquainted than Father Calmet. In criticism, it falls far short of the continental demands of the present day, although Calmet was no mean scholar ; and this, perhaps, is the cause of the slightly disparaging terms with which it is now sometimes mentioned. Such terms could only be applied to it by those who misunderstand its pretensions, and expect from it what it does not affect to give. For our own part, if we hesitate to subscribe to Adam Clarke's dictum, that Calmet's work forms 'the best Commentary ever published on the sacred writings, either by Catholics or Protestants,' we must confess that we set a high value upon it ; and although we seldom now find occasion to refer to it, we remember with something like affection and respect the assistance we obtained from it in our earlier studies, which assistance was often such as we sought elsewhere in vain. It is understood that in this, the great labour of his diligent and useful life, Calmet was materially assisted by many of the more learned brothers of the order (the Benedictine), whose services were at his disposal. A peculiar and most interesting feature of this commentary consists of the curious and elaborate dissertations which are connected with each book, relative to the principal subjects of interest or difficulty which they contain. Thus

we find joined to Genesis, dissertations—sur le Paradis terrestre—sur le patriarche Hénoc—sur les Géans—sur l'arche de Noé—sur l'universalité du Déluge—sur le partage des descendans de Noé—sur le Tour de Babel—sur la première langue et sur le confusion arrivée à Babel—sur Melchisédech—sur l'origine et l'antiquité de la Circoncision—sur la ruine de Sodome et de Gomorrhe, etc.—sur la Monnoie. The great and signal success of the Commentary was very much owing to these dissertations. They are not very remarkable for reasoning or criticism: but they are full of facts, collected from an immense range of literature, and forming a valuable apparatus of references for the student who might wish to work out his own conclusions on the subjects to which they refer. This is their chief value—for although Calmet was an eminently judicious man, the student will not always accept the conclusion which he draws from the facts he has, with such unwearied industry, brought together; and the citations themselves require some watching and verification, as they are not unfrequently inexact from being taken at second-hand.

But what has all this to do with Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible? Very much: for the Dictionary is nothing more nor less than a *refaciménto*—and, indeed, scarcely that—but rather an alphabetical arrangement of extracts from the *Commentaire Littéral*, and from the *Histoire de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, of the same author. The historical and biographical articles of the Dictionary are mostly from the latter work, and the rest are from the former. Now, there was certainly no harm in thus 'using up' again the materials which had been already produced in the two previous works; but it may be regretted that Calmet declined the trouble of re-casting his old materials, to suit them for their new purpose, and contented himself with the easier task of copying his previous works verbatim; or, in other words, with cutting large pieces out of the one or the other of them, and then sticking the necessary 'heading' at the top. It is this process which explains the already cited declaration of Calmet, that he found it less difficult to produce a new Dictionary, than a new edition of Richard Simon.

The real eminence of Calmet thus was not enhanced by his Dictionary, the substantial honours of his literary labour resting upon the great original works from which his Dictionary was compiled; yet it is that Dictionary which has given to the name of Calmet its wide renown; and had that work not been produced, the name of Calmet would assuredly have been altogether unknown to millions, with whom it is now as familiar as a household word. And it is scarcely probable that any degree

of labour which the author might have bestowed upon it could have rendered its success more signal, or its influence of longer duration.

This work, in its complete state,* was published in 1730, in four volumes folio, under the title of *Dictionnaire Historique, Critique et Chronologique de la Bible*. Since then, the name of Calmet has been throughout Europe synonymous with that of Dictionary of the Bible, and there are few persons who ever heard the name of Calmet without thinking of a Dictionary of the Bible, or who ever heard of a Dictionary of the Bible without thinking of Calmet; yet, as we have more than once hinted, the work is one of those which contrive by the influence of established associations to live on in solitary renown long after we have advanced out of, and far beyond the condition of literature under which they were produced. And thus, however useful and important its influence in its own day and generation, that influence has latterly been rather detrimental than otherwise, by offering the barrier of an old name and character to every new production more suited to the times which we have reached. There is a kind of conservatism in literature as well as in politics; and this is one of the examples.

The work of Calmet was speedily translated, and abridged, into various languages, and satisfied Europe long felt that in this matter there was nothing further to desire. We have not space to trace the history of Calmetism in different countries. In no country has the influence of the book been more marked than in this. We should like to trace it out minutely, and dwell upon it as a kind of monomania in English biblical literature: but we must be content with a slight sketch.

An entire, complete, and costly translation of this work, in three folio volumes, appeared in the year 1732. This translation was the work of two clergymen, not otherwise known in literature—the Rev. Samuel D'Oyly, M.A., and the Rev. John Colson, M.A., F.R.S.†

The former translated the Dictionary as far as the letter M,

* The work was originally issued in two volumes. Two more volumes, in the way of supplement, were afterwards added; and in the edition of 1730, the matter of these four volumes was incorporated under one alphabet.

† The full title is:—'An Historical, Critical, Geographical, Chronological, and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible, in three volumes, wherein are explained all the proper names in the Old and New Testament, whether of men, women, cities, countries, rivers, mountains, &c., as also most of the significant or remarkable appellatives that anywhere occur therein, with accounts of all the natural productions, as animals, vegetables, minerals, stones, gems, &c. The whole digested into alphabetical order, and illustrated with above one hundred and sixty copper-plates, representing the Antiquities, Habits, Buildings, Sepulchres, and other Curiosities of the

together with the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and the *Treatise on the Tactics of the Ancient Hebrews*, which come at the end of the work. The rest was done by Mr. Colson. It is highly creditable to the translators, that they showed the proper respect to the original work of making their translation a complete reflection of it, without the suppression of any matters which they might have deemed unnecessary or erroneous. Unless where condensation or abridgment is the object, curtailment is a dangerous and unsatisfactory operation; and in the use of those translations or editions, in which it has been exercised, the reader must have great confidence in the judgment of the translator or editor—more confidence, indeed, than any translator or editor has a right to exact—who does not often feel the necessity of recurring to the original work. On this point, the translators observe:—

‘We do not forget that the author is of a different and very dangerous communion; but St. Jerome has taught us this lesson, *bonis adversariorum, in honestum quid habuerint, non est detrahendum*. The reason of which procedure is so agreeable to natural equity, that we are sure a more partial behaviour, on the score merely of a diversity of sentiments, would be very inexcusable to men of ingenuous and free spirits. We have not therefore maimed him by retrenching or disguising anything delivered by him, but in these articles which have more immediate relation to the peculiar tenets of his church, we have faithfully expressed his sense of them, without any apprehension of spreading the infection of such errors as an ordinary capacity may discover, and every intelligent Protestant is able to confute. Not that we have been absolutely negligent in this particular; some little memorandums being added in the margin, at all proper opportunities, in order to awaken the more unwary reader, and arm him against surprises, as well as to declare our own dislike of such corrupt innovations in Christianity.’

This translation has formed the basis of all the variously named *Biblical Cyclopædias* and *Dictionaries* which have ever

Jews. To which is annexed, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, or a Copious Catalogue of the best editions and versions of the Bible, with a large account of the most valuable Commentaries, Expositions, and Paraphrases upon the whole, or any part thereof, and the authors of the same; and an ample Chronological Table of the History of the Bible, a Jewish Calendar, Tables of all the Hebrew Coins, Weights and Measures reduced to our own. A Dissertation upon Jewish Coins and Medals; another upon the Tactics of the Ancient Hebrews, by the Chevalier Folard: concluding with a literal translation of all the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek names in the Bible; with Prefaces proper to each part. Written originally in French, by the Rev. Father Dom. Augustin Calmet, a Benedictine Monk, Abbot of Senones: and now translated into English, by Samuel D'Oyly, M.A., &c. &c., and John Colson, M.A., F.R.S., &c. &c.

appeared in this country : but sixty years elapsed before a new edition of Calmet's own work appears to have been contemplated. Mr. Charles Taylor commenced the publication of a new edition in quarto in 1793. This, when completed, formed four thick volumes,* comprising about the same quantity of matter as the three folio volumes of the first English edition. Two of these volumes are occupied with *an abridgment* of Calmet's work, and the other two with a variety of singular disjointed remarks, dissertations, &c., of Mr. Taylor himself, under the exceedingly appropriate name of 'Fragments.' Then Mr. Taylor casts away, in his edition, more than half of Calmet's work, to make room for as much matter of his own. It hence follows, that in this edition, and in those that have been since formed out of it, only a part, and scarcely the chief part, of the matter which passes under the name of Calmet, belongs to him or to his times. Mr. Taylor, however, knew what he was about, and repeated editions of his expensive work attested how correctly he had estimated the taste and judgment of his day. It is needless to speak now of a work so well known as Taylor's Calmet. It appears to us that Taylor has omitted much valuable matter in Calmet, to make room for much inferior matter of his own. That there are some very valuable, much very curious, and more very ingenious things in the 'Fragments,' is beyond dispute : but we are satisfied that the substantially useful matter which the two quartos of 'Fragments' contain, might easily have been comprehended in one-fourth of the space. The work has been extravagantly over-estimated. Horne, always lenient, lauds it highly, and even the usually severer Orme praises it with equal warmth. We are more willing to subscribe to the opinion of Professor Robinson :—

'The character of Mr. Taylor as an editor, and the value of his additions to Calmet's work may be given in a few words. Acquainted with Oriental philology only through the meagre system of Masclif and Parkhurst, as an expounder of etymologies outstripping even the extravagance of the latter, and as a theorist in the ancient history of nations, overstepping the limits which even Bryant had constrained himself to observe, his remarks on these and many collateral topics may be characterized as being in general fanciful, very often rash, and sometimes even involving apparent absurdity. They must ever be received by the student with great caution. His chief and undoubted merit consists in diligently bringing together, from a variety of sources, facts and extracts which serve to illustrate the antiquities, manners, and customs, and geography of Oriental nations.'

* In later editions, the plates, being bound separately, form a *fifth* volume.

As these remarks are prefixed to Dr. Robinson's own edition of Taylor's Calmet, they will not be suspected of being too severe. Indeed, we take the liberty of believing, that if he had given his opinion of the work since, instead of *before* his own elaborate researches in geography and his personal glimpse at the manners of the East, he would have formed a considerably lower estimate of Mr. Taylor's services, even in those departments in which he allows him 'undoubted merit.'

Eventually, it was deemed advisable by the proprietors of the work to reduce this immense mass of rather crude *materials* into a manageable shape under one alphabet. This task was executed with ability and success by Mr. Josiah Conder, who rendered an acceptable service to Biblical literature by bringing all that was most valuable in the larger work within the modest limit of one large royal octavo volume. This reduction appears to have been effected chiefly by the omission of as much of Mr. Taylor's own matter as was not directly illustrative of the Scriptures. The responsibility of rejection is, however, anxious and painful; and we are not surprised to find that Mr. Conder, from commendable delicacy to his author, errs more on the side of retaining what is useless than of rejecting what is good. We can point to much in the octavo volume which might have been omitted without loss, but we have not discovered that the octavo omits any portions of the four quartos which we would have retained. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Conder did not, like Calmet himself, consider it much better to produce a new work than to reproduce an old one; for there are few men equally qualified to furnish a better Biblical Dictionary than this country has yet seen.

This condensed edition of Taylor's Calmet was immediately (1832) reproduced in America under the able editorship of Professor Robinson. This eminent scholar performed his task by expunging much of Taylor's matter which Mr. Conder had retained. In the place of these retrenchments, and to a much greater amount, he made important additions from modern travellers, and from that wide range of German Biblical literature with which all the English editors of Calmet appear to have been unacquainted. Still, on surveying what he had accomplished, he adds, 'The present work contains very many things which I should never have inserted, but which, being once there, I did not feel myself at liberty to reject. Such a course would have resulted in the compilation of a new work, which it was neither my wish nor my duty to undertake. My province was merely to prepare a revised edition of the English work. This I have done, and almost every page bears witness of such revision.' Such, then, according to the acknowledgment of its

latest editor, is Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible in its most recent dress.

The Germans were the first to rid themselves of Calmet altogether, as belonging to a past age of biblical literature, and the new and original works which they have produced, have not yet been rivalled in any other country. We regret that the extent to which this article has already run, forbids us to do more than thus briefly to indicate their merits.

It is true that our own country has many Biblical Dictionaries besides that of Calmet; but as *Biblical Dictionaries*, properly so called, they demand but little notice. The mode of their construction has been to abridge and select from Calmet, and then to throw in a number of *theological* and *ecclesiastical* articles, with definitions of the meanings and applications of the more recondite terms which occur in the English version of the Bible. These works have been distinguished from one another, chiefly by the diversity of religious opinions among their editors, and which they have so imparted to their respective works, that every denomination may be considered as having its own Bible Dictionary. One great reason for the superior success of Calmet's work was, that it took ground which rendered it equally acceptable to *all* denominations.

It is now time to turn our attention to the work which has given occasion for these remarks. Its object is limited by the title page to the 'illustration of the civil and natural history of the sacred writings, by reference to the manners, customs, rites, traditions, antiquities, and literature of eastern nations.' It is not very easy to see how the *natural* history of the Scripture, at least, is to be illustrated from the sources indicated; and still less easy to see how a Biblical Cyclopædia could be formed on this principle, or out of these materials. The meaning of the editor is, however, apparent in the body of the work; the substance of which is formed out of the stock matter in Calmet; and that which the title page produces as the character of the undertaking—illustrations from the sources indicated—is only applied in some articles dispersed through the work, and is indeed, only capable of incidental application. This it is, however, which distinguishes the present Cyclopædia from previous works of the same description, but rather in the extent than the principle of 'illustration,' for the original Calmet has something of the kind, and his last editor, Mr. Conder, has, in his octavo edition, incorporated under the several heads, much of the matter of this description, which Charles Taylor had collected in his 'Fragments.'

As this 'illustration' is the characteristic feature of the present work, it may be well to see how it is executed. We are sorry to

say that there is here no evidence of research, and very little of judgment in selection. Without going further, the writers have been content to form an alphabetical arrangement (*not* digest) of the matter collected to their hands by Harmer, Burder, Paxton, and Roberts, and of the stores of varied information contained in the 'Pictorial Bible,' and the 'Pictorial History of Palestine.' Of these, Harmer, Burder, and Paxton are sometimes cited, Roberts always; but the two latter works, which have been the most largely drawn upon—and which are composed of matter more requiring acknowledgment than that (extracts chiefly) of which the three first works are comprised—are scarcely named or alluded to throughout these two volumes. The right of appropriating in this wholesale manner the labour of another, even with all possible acknowledgment, admits of a question; but when this is done, in such fashion as to make that labour of another to appear one's own by the unacknowledged appropriation not only of his facts and conclusions, but of his authorities and references, the act considerably overpasses the limit of that honourable consideration which one scholar has a right to expect from another.

We will now indicate, almost at random, a few articles by which this prominent characteristic of the present work may be substantiated.

Adultery.—This article is distinguished by what seems to be the one solitary reference to the 'Pictorial Bible.' Nearly the whole article—certainly all that is curious in it—is copied from that work; and this isolated act of acknowledgment is compromised by a palpable attempt to obscure the extent of the obligation.

Ezra.—The article and engraving copied from the 'Pictorial Bible,' without acknowledgment.

Dead Sea.—The whole article (four quarto pages) copied from the 'Pictorial Palestine' without that work being named. The same extracts, from the same travellers, in the same order, and with the same connecting and incidental remarks.

Mandrake.—From the 'Pictorial Palestine, (unacknowledged;) and here, as elsewhere, a most unpleasant effect is produced upon one's mind by observing that the rare foreign books which the author of that work was the first to think of consulting for materials, are coolly cited in the articles derived therefrom—while the studied absence of any reference to it, makes these references appear the result of original research in the present book, which derives all of its very limited value from such unseemly appropriations.

Mice.—From the 'Pictorial Palestine,' (unacknowledged,) with

the sole addition of a concluding extract (acknowledged) from Wilkinson.

Manna—is thus composed. 1. A statement concerning the *word*, from the 'Pictorial Bible,' (unacknowledged.) 2. A statement respecting the *thing*, from Mr. Conder's 'Modern Traveller' (Arabia), introduced by 'A modern writer' (who? where?) 'well observes,' &c. 3. An extract from Burckhardt, introduced by an observation *implying* original production of the testimony, which testimony is, however, given by both the writers from whom the previous matter is derived. 4. A concluding extract from Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, of which the credit may be given to the writer.

Palestine.—The largest article in the work, being twenty-six pages. It is in substance, taken from the 'Physical History,' which forms the elaborate introduction to the 'Pictorial History of Palestine.' It is safe to say, that if the history had not then been published, this article, in its present form and extent, would not have been seen in the 'Bible Cyclopædia.' Yet, the 'History' is not once, in any way, named or alluded to throughout the six-and-twenty pages, although some extracts edged in here and there, from the great work of Dr. Robinson, and the little work of Dr. Michael Russell, are duly and carefully acknowledged—the copyist being evidently but too happy to avail himself of any opportunity which an easy reference afforded, of imparting some freshness to his article by occasionally copying from these works rather than from that which he chiefly used. Now, this would have been a somewhat unconscionable operation, even had the 'Pictorial History' been duly acknowledged—but without the shade of any acknowledgment it is such an act as we forbear to characterize.

The reader will readily excuse us from tracing more of these delinquencies, although they might be multiplied without difficulty. In general, we may say that the matter derived from the sources indicated, and *not* indicated, is heaped together under the assigned heads, extract upon extract, with very little judgment, and without any such attempts to verify, to analyse, to digest, and to generalize, as might in some degree have created a kind of property in the 'borrowed' goods, and in some degree have excused, perhaps justified, the writers in their 'appropriations.'

Egyptian antiquities, which have become so common a source of biblical illustration, since the 'Pictorial Bible took up the subject with materials derived from the French works on Egypt, and from Rossellini's 'Monumenti dell' Egitto'; and which have become more especially common since the publication of an ori-

ginal work on the subject of Egyptian antiquities (Sir J. G. Wilkinson) in the *English* language—are introduced most extensively and indiscriminately in the present work, which appears to embrace a very large proportion of the text and cuts of Wilkinson's first series, helped out by the 'Pictorial Bible' illustrations, and by those contained in Dr. W. C. Taylor's little book on the same subject. We are not disposed to undervalue the just and temperate use of Egyptian antiquities as a source of biblical illustration: but here the thing is decidedly overdone. Egyptian customs of every kind are supposed to run parallel with Jewish usages, whereas *excepting in those matters in which proximity would necessarily operate*, it is likely that no two nations ever differed more from each other in general habits and circumstances of life than did the ancient Israelites and the ancient Egyptians. The great difference in the climate and physical constitution of Egypt and Palestine, must alone have produced a corresponding difference of life and occupation, of dress, food, dwellings, and of all the principal circumstances by which one nation is distinguished from another. Much of the very large space occupied by the Egyptian matters, is therefore, for all biblical purposes, thrown away in the present 'Bible Cyclopædia.'

Much the same remark applies to the Hindoo illustrations; for, although incidental analogies will necessarily turn up in comparing any two nations, nothing can well be more different than the whole system of life of the ancient Hebrews and the modern Hindoos—the inhabitants of a tropical country, with animal and vegetable productions as different as possible from those of Palestine. Far better analogies might be found in Spain for instance. And why do not our biblical illustrators turn their attention to that country, which, next to Syria and Arabia, furnishes far better materials for analogous illustration of Scriptural manners than any other country in the world? Into the present work, nearly the whole of Mr. Roberts' recent volume of 'Oriental Illustrations' is copied; and, although there is here no lack of acknowledgment, the justice, no less than the wisdom of this wholesale appropriation may very much be questioned.

But we are weary of this process of dissection, and shall content ourselves with a few observations on those parts of the work with which no particular pretensions are connected.

The editor may have been, and probably was, a learned man; but for all that appears in this work, he need not have known more of Hebrew than the alphabet, for all the oriental learning is taken from Gibbs' *translation* of Gesenius's smaller dictionary, which is followed, even where its statements were afterwards modified or corrected by Gesenius himself, in his greater work, the 'Theasaurus,' the wealth of which appears to have been altoget-

ther unknown to the writers of this cyclopædia. Of Greek, there is even less appearance, and taken for critical uses, the work is certainly, as the Turks say—*Bosh!*

It is further to be observed that not the slightest use has been made of the vast stores of all kinds of learning and knowledge which the Germans have accumulated on all the matters which are, or should be, comprehended in a biblical cyclopædia. There is no evidence that any of the writers are acquainted with that language, or able to avail themselves of the treasures locked up in it. And the time is already come when it must be considered the height of presumption for any one to undertake a work of this description, who has no access to this exhaustless storehouse of materials. The only German writers quoted, are those which have been translated into English, such as Michaelis, Jahn, &c.

It appears from the preface to the second volume, that the original editor died when three-fourths of his task had been completed. The remaining portion of the work is edited by Dr. W. C. Taylor; and in it the various articles are distinguished by the initials of the several writers. The new editor seems to have regarded it as his only duty to work out the plan of his predecessor; and this latter portion of the work is therefore not very remarkably distinguished from the bulk of it. It contains single articles of merit, but, on the whole, bears marks of hasty compilation, and is obviously inferior to what a well-informed scholar like Dr. Taylor must have been capable of producing, if sufficient time for preparation had been allowed him, or had he not been shackled by the bad plan of his predecessors.

We took up this work with every disposition to judge it favourably; and if we have spoken unfavourably, it has only been from the impulse of the convictions which have been forced upon us as we proceeded. It were worse than idle at the present day to speak mincingly of works like this—well intentioned, it may be—the work of good men—but still, mere spoon-meats, offered to meet the requirements of an age which pants for strong nutriment, for the food of men.

Art. II. *The Pictorial History of England during the Reign of George III.* Vols. 1, 2, 3. Charles Knight, London.

We have no high opinion in general of works that are intended to be *popular*; yet popularity in our days is a very different thing from what it used to be; the production of such a work as the history before us, for the use of the people at large, is a sufficient proof of this. It is got up with great labour and care, is copious

in its contents, is marked by great impartiality, and is full of good, sound, *English* feeling. In some parts—that relating to the French Revolution, for instance—it is perhaps more full and particular than is *necessary* for a history of England, though not at all so for our individual taste; and the style is sometimes careless, sometimes almost flippant, sometimes, though rarely, coarse; but it is a useful and valuable work.

The volumes now before us contain the history of our country from the accession of George III. to the peace of Amiens, a period which witnessed the first acts of some of the greatest dramas that have ever been performed on the theatre of this world; teeming also with men whose names will be renowned as long as our common race exists.

Times make men, and the men of these extraordinary days were the embodied spirit of the times. A period of such interest and excitement, with one or two exceptions, was never witnessed by our country, and its moral and political effects are not even yet, and perhaps never will be, entirely exhausted:—one world lost and another gained, and a great and neighbouring country devastated by a tempest, such as our later days had never experienced, which agitated Europe to its centre, and which gave an aspect to our own affairs and to those of other countries, such as in any other circumstances they could scarcely have assumed.

A considerable connexion exists also between some of these phenomena, if not strictly in the relation of causes and effects, yet, still in that degree of collateral affinity which exerted no little influence on all. Principles, also, great principles, were involved in all; in some degree opposing principles, each true perhaps to a certain and an important extent, but mischievous or almost ruinous if urged beyond it; and it is probably to the abuse of one or more of such principles, or to the advocacy of them exclusively without reference to the others, that much of the misery of these unhappy times may be referred.

The affairs of the eastern and of the western world—of India and of America—were those in which we were more directly interested, and which must of necessity have called in one way or another for our direct interference, whether the result should be fortunate or otherwise. As regards the position which the government of this country thought proper to assume towards France, and our intermeddling with her affairs; as neither reason nor justice required such proceeding at our hands, we have none but ourselves to blame for what has been the consequence, and have only to be thankful that we have escaped so well.

There is a point at which the colonial possessions of any country, especially those which are very remote, may well be supposed to feel a desire for independence, but that point they

can never reach till they are perfectly capable of governing and defending themselves, and till their trade and commerce have arrived at such a state that they can depend on their own resources. When this state has been attained, it has been the opinion of many experienced statesmen, that it is for the benefit both of the mother country and of her dependencies that their mutual relations should be changed.

At this point—at the breaking out of our American war—our colonies supposed themselves to have arrived; but the English statesmen of that day, both among the ministry and the opposition, had not as yet adopted those opinions on the subject to which we have above alluded. Even Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke, and others, though they had opposed the proceedings of ministers in the conduct of the war, beheld with dismay the ultimate separation of the colonies from the parent state, and considered that the brightest jewel had been lost from the crown of England.

If on the question of expediency opinions were divided, they were by no means less so on those of abstract right; and the carrying out of those opinions to their legitimate consequences involved considerations of such importance, as might well in some degree have modified the very opinions themselves. There could be no middle course; the colonists were either men defending their legitimate rights, and therefore entitled to all consideration; or they were rebels, and might, if overcome, be treated as such, without considering anything but the law which they had broken. Though might does not make right, yet right is little without it; and though circumstance and expediency are allowed to rule this world at such a rate that things may often change their names without altering their nature, they are seldom permitted to do so without some reason, good or bad. A rebellion must be successful before it can be called a revolution; if unsuccessful, it is but a rebellion still; in one case its agents will be patriots, in the other, merely traitors. Whether colonies have a right to shake off the authority of a parent state at all? whether oppression will justify their doing it? how much oppression may confer the right? what *is* oppression? and, finally, who are to be the judges? are *questiones vexatæ* into which we need not enter, and which, though they cannot well be *solved*, will probably be *settled* according to the prejudices and feeling of the opposing parties. This, in fact, will leave the strongest arm the arbiter; and thus, after all, it was, that the knot was cut, not loosened.

One great error into which our statesmen fell, (and which has generally proved a fatal one to those who have indulged it,) was that of contemning their opponents; not their persons; for their ancestors were Englishmen, and their courage, therefore, was un-

doubted ; but their means were undervalued, and their unanimity was questioned. The loyalty of some, it was supposed, would neutralize the disaffection of others—and many *were* loyal ; but loyalty in any people as a mass, is less powerful than interest ; they may love their king, no doubt, but they will love themselves much better. A good king is a good thing, assuredly, but one who makes himself a bugbear to a nation, will first be terrible, and then despicable. The Americans could scarcely be ignorant of what was known so well in England, that the war against them was begun and carried on, in a great measure, through the obstinate determination of the king, who, whatever might be the virtues of his private character, was as stanch a stickler for prerogative as ever breathed.

When we say that the means of the Americans were undervalued, we do not mean that the number of their rifles was underrated, or their power of making gunpowder : we refer more especially to what may be called their negative means—the great extent of their country, its peculiarly unequal and woody nature making it difficult for regular troops to act, while it afforded the greatest facilities for carrying on a guerilla warfare, of all kinds the best suited to their habits, and to the constitution of their army ; of which the affair of Lexington, where the first blood of the war was shed, offers a memorable example.

On the other hand, the disadvantages on the side of Great Britain were so many, and of a nature so overwhelming, as sufficiently to account for the failure of her arms. Indeed, it is wonderful that either party spirit, or that voluntary obtuseness of mental vision which does not see because it will not, should have blinded statesmen of any party or degree to the inevitable result. The great distance of the mother country from the seat of war, which rendered it difficult to know the exact amount of the means that must be needed ; the length of time required to supply that need, or to make up for the effects of sudden disasters before the consequences should be fatal ; the great extent of the theatre of war, and the many parts into which, in consequence, it would be necessary to divide our means ; the array of a great European power against us ; and, though last, not least, the miserable incompetency of many of the men to whom the conduct of the war was given, must all be taken into the account against us.

If, as has been observed—we believe, by Clarendon—revolutions have generally succeeded, less from the power and exertions of the movers, than from the supineness of those in power, and the inefficiency of the means at first employed by those who should suppress the movement ; if, we say, this statement is true in general, it was emphatically so in the present instance : we overrated our own means as much as we underrated theirs.

As a specimen of the manner in which the war was conducted, and which may explain, though it cannot excuse, our failure, nor satisfy our *amor patriæ*, we will extract a brief description of the celebrated affair of Bunker's Hill, and of the no less celebrated and more disastrous retreat from Boston. The reader will understand that the English were in possession of Boston, and the Americans blockading them. We must abridge in our quotations.

'To the north of the peninsula of Boston, and separated from it only by Charles River, (about the breadth of the Thames at London) and now, though not then, united to it by a bridge, is the somewhat similar peninsula of Charlestown, entirely surrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the main land by an isthmus, somewhat wider and more accessible than Boston Neck. The town which gives its name to the peninsula stands immediately over against Boston, like a suburb to it, or as Southwark to London. In the centre of the peninsula rises the memorable eminence of Bunker's Hill, which has an easy ascent from the isthmus, but is steep and rugged on every other side. Charlestown stands at the foot of this eminence, which is high enough to overlook every part of Boston, and near enough to cannonade and command that city. It should seem almost incredible that the merest tyro in the art of war—the veriest blunderer ever confided in to lead his flag into disgrace, and his troops to destruction—could possibly neglect this vital position: but Gage, deaf to advice, *had* neglected it; and though Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton, had been more than twenty days at Boston, with Bunker's Hill constantly staring them in the face, they had done absolutely nothing to secure it, nor had they even thrown out piquets beyond their work at Boston Neck, to watch the proceedings of the Americans, and guard against any sudden movement.

'According to Stedman, Gage was beginning to talk of doing something with Bunker's Hill, and his talk was reported to the enemy, like nearly everything else that was discussed at head quarters. On the night of the 16th of June, between nine and ten o'clock, a strong detachment of the blockading army moved from Cambridge, passed unchallenged and unobserved over Charlestown Neck, and reached the summit of Bunker's Hill without being detected. Setting to work, they presently threw up entrenchments, and a formidable redoubt, and placed their guns in battery. Although Boston and Boston Neck were so near—although the peninsula of Charlestown was almost surrounded by men-of-war and transports—nothing was discovered, or at least, no intimation given, till break of day, when the 'Lively' ship of war began a cannonade on Bunker's Hill. This gave the alarm to Boston and the army, and the officers, rubbing their eyes, saw the important and formidable height, covered with works which seemed to have risen by magic in the night, and with troops who were shouting and beginning to fire on Boston Neck and the shipping.'

Gage opened a battery of six guns upon them from Copp's

Hill, in Boston, which did them no damage, and about noon a more decisive step was taken by landing General Howe, and Brigadier Pigott, on Charlestown peninsula, with a force which was ultimately increased to 2000 men.

‘There were several ways of attacking the Americans; the first and best, and the easiest of execution, as we had the *entire* command of the water, was to have landed the British troops in the rear of the entrenchment, where there was not a cannon to bear upon them, and where the ascent was exceedingly easy. The second way was to have sent some transports drawing little water, and some gun-boats, up Mystic channel, where they could have got within musket shot of the left flank of the Americans, which was quite uncovered and naked. The third way, and the *worst*, was to mount the hill right in front, where it was steep and rough, and where the American artillery could meet our men in the teeth—and this was the way chosen by our inconceivable generals!’—vol. i. pp. 215—257.

Our soldiers were met by a fire so tremendous (from men secure behind their entrenchments) that it almost swept them down the hill; they rallied, however, and stormed the works, and drove the Americans before them at the point of the bayonet, down the easy side of the hill to Charlestown Neck. A sloop of war and two or three floating batteries opened on them as they ran, and did them more mischief than they had waited to receive from the soldiers; but they were suffered to escape without pursuit, and with the loss of only 450 men in killed and wounded; while the English lost 1050 in killed and wounded, including 89 commissioned officers.

Notwithstanding this severe lesson, the English generals actually contrived to lose Boston in precisely the same manner, by allowing the Americans to occupy the heights of Dorchester, which commanded the town and the British lines. Howe was obliged to evacuate the place, carrying with him whatever his ships would hold, and about 2000 American royalists, who durst not remain behind when he was gone. The worst remains to be told. He left—for want of room in the ships—250 pieces of cannon, half of which were serviceable, four large mortars, 150 horses, 25,000 bushels of wheat, and a quantity of barley, oats, and other provisions—of which Washington’s army stood greatly in need—and a large quantity of ammunition, which ought to have been destroyed. His force did not much exceed 7000 men, while Washington’s, including militia and volunteers, was between 25,000 and 30,000. To complete all the woful blunders which had been committed, Howe, in sailing away, left no cruiser in Boston Bay to warn the ships expected from England that the place was no longer in our possession; and a few days after several of our store ships sailed into the harbour, and fell into the hands

of the enemy. One of these ships alone, the *Hope*, had on board 1500 barrels of gunpowder, besides carbines, bayonets, gun-carriages, and all sorts of tools for the army and artillery. Yet worse, Lieut. Archibald Campbell, with 700 men fresh from England, ran into Boston harbour, not knowing but that the place was still in our hands. He was taken, of course, and became in the hands of the Americans a subject for brutal retaliation.—p. 261. From a war so conducted what could be hoped?

Of all the men who were engaged in bringing the great struggle of their country to a successful termination, Washington and Franklin were probably the most effective—the former in a military, the latter in a diplomatic capacity. Not that we look upon Washington as a general of the best class; he was once or twice preserved from the destruction that would have been consequent upon his rashness, by General Lee, who, whatever else he might be, appears to have possessed the talents fitted for a soldier. It was the sound views of Washington, and his firmness in carrying them out in spite of opposition, that rendered him so valuable to his country, and so formidable to her invaders. His firmness, indeed, ran to the excess of obstinacy; a memorable instance of which was furnished by the case of Major André. Great as is our respect for Washington, we cannot rid ourselves of the feeling, that his conduct towards that unfortunate and amiable officer is a slur upon his character. We know that his decision was sanctioned by the opinions of a council of war, composed of generals of other nations, as well as of his own, and better acquainted with the laws of war than he: still, had he felt inclined to spare, there were circumstances in the case of his victim, and in the conduct of General Clinton towards Americans similarly circumstanced, which furnished him at once with example and excuse. We believe that he had no wish to spare, and hence the nature of our feelings towards him. The case of Captain Asgill, too, though he ultimately spared him to the strong remonstrances of the court of France, did him no credit. Perhaps the brightest and the greatest action of his life was that by which, after having saved his country, he relinquished a course of power which was open to him, and retired into private life.

Benjamin Franklin was a man as great in another way as Washington was in his, though in some respects of a more unfortunate notoriety—unfortunate, we mean, as regards himself. He it was who was sent to carry out the negotiations in France which Silas Dean had begun, and to his talents chiefly the co-operation of that country in the views of America may be ascribed. Besides his great natural talents, he was a philosopher

in our sense of the word, and a *philosophe* in theirs—a very different thing—including, besides the requisites which we look for in the character, republicanism and scepticism. Franklin believed in some things, and doubted some; he believed, for instance, in the identity of lightning and electricity, and in the perfectibility of man, but he doubted revelation. His friends in France were more liberal; they also doubted revelation, but they believed in everything else. He was quite the rage in Paris.

In 1778, Silas Dean concluded the treaty between France and America. This man, judging both from his portrait and his proceedings, was a genuine American, clever, crafty, and not over nice; probably, what is now called in the new world, a *smart* man. It was said that he was aware of the intention of the man called Jack the Painter to burn our dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth; that he approved of that intention, and promised to reward the incendiary if he succeeded in it. Such a plan appears, without doubt, to have been entertained by both the French and Spanish ministers, not, we believe, with the knowledge of Louis XVI., but not, in all probability, without that of Charles III. Whether Dean was actually cognisant of the plot, it may perhaps be fair to doubt, as we have no other evidence than that of the culprit himself, who, however, continued to assert it to the last, when he had nothing either to gain or lose by doing so.

France had entered into the war in favour of America. The king, as we have his own word for it at a subsequent period, was averse from the measure, but the queen and her party appear to have been all powerful, and they were ardent to the verge of insanity in favour of the war.* In their anxiety to strike a blow against Great Britain, which they flattered themselves would lay her prostrate at their feet, they forgot the dreadful emphasis with which it would recoil upon themselves. Their country was already bankrupt, their means exhausted, their people starving; disaffection was spreading through the kingdom; the annual expenditure was immensely greater than the utmost revenue that could be wrung from a people who were reduced to beggary, and even to famine, to pay it; and yet, in the face of all this, they hurried into a ruinous war for the sake

* A story is told—we cannot vouch for the truth of it—that Commodore Barney being sent to France from the United States, was received with such enthusiasm at court, that the queen allowed him to salute her. The court ladies, of course, followed the example, and the consequence was, that wherever he appeared, fair cheeks were offered him by dozens; and this, it is said, was the origin of the once popular song of 'Barney, leave the girls alone.'

of inflicting injury on us. Turgot, the most able and upright of all the ministers of Louis, had been dismissed for his opposition to the war, and had been succeeded by Necker and Calonne, the former of whom, a mere banker, and no statesman, would have saved France by petty retrenchments, and loans, which nobody at last would lend; the latter by no retrenchments at all, and apparently by no other expedients when he found that further taxation was impossible. Finding that money must be had, and that it *could* not be wrung from the ruined and starving people, he ventured to convoke the assembly of the notables, and proposed to them that they should take a share in the burdens of the state (for the nobles and the clergy paid no taxes), and especially that they should agree to a tax upon the land. This proved his ruin; the notables would make no pecuniary sacrifice, nor give up any privilege; and in order to excuse their conduct, they asserted that their contributions were not necessary, and even accused Calonne of mismanagement and speculation, though it was sufficiently obvious that the affairs of the revenue, when he assumed the management, were in a hopeless state. He was dismissed in disgrace, and consigned to poverty and destitution for his patriotic advice, the courtiers whom he had bountifully supplied with money while it could be had, turning their backs upon him when he fell, as that species of animal (and others, too, indeed) is apt to do on any man who is out of fortune's favour. Calonne, however, was so far fortunate, that the rich widow of a financier in Lorraine, captivated by his talents and manners, took pity on him in his utmost need, and bestowed upon him herself and her fortune. He was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, a bold, ambitious, pragmatical churchman, who talked much, and did little or nothing. In fact, nothing could be done. Many years before, Lord Chesterfield, writing from Paris, had said, that every sign of a great and terrible revolution was visible in France, and the event justified his penetration.

It became necessary to convoke the states-general—that is, to add the representatives of the people to the notables, that since nothing could be done for the nation by others, they might do, if possible, something for themselves; and this was the beginning of the end.

The states-general being assembled, it was obvious that the notables, or privileged orders, were pitted against the Tiers Etat, that their respective interests were inimical, and that the question was, which of them should give way? Feudal privileges, exemptions, and monopolies, on the one hand, and suffering and degradation on the other, had gone to such extremes, that one or both must have been done away with, unless a middle

course could have been found. As usual, the obstinacy of the privileged classes, including the clergy, who are ever the most obstinate in opposing the general good, rendered this middle course impossible. They came to the resolution, that they would contribute *nothing* to the necessities of the state on the one hand, nor give up any of their privileges on the other. It then became both the duty and the interest of the middle classes to force them to submit to the pressure of the times. The first advantage gained by the Tiers Etat was that of procuring the meeting of the three estates in one deliberative body. Formerly, the nobles, the clergy, and the Tiers, met and deliberated in separate bodies, and voted *as* bodies, not as individuals; the consequence of which was, that the last-named estate was always sure of having two votes against their one. The battle on this point was obstinate, but the Tiers had, from the beginning, many of the privileged orders on their side. Mirabeau, La Fayette, Talleyrand the Bishop of Autun, the Bishop of Chartres, a good, but not a great man, the Duke of Orleans, Egalité, and many of the inferior clergy—the working clergy—the only members of that body who were respected by the people. It is the opinion of M. Thiers that matters might have been accommodated, but then, says he, ‘it would have been necessary to meet the difficulty instead of giving way to it, and, above all, to sacrifice numerous pretensions.’* These pretensions, as we have said, the notables refused to sacrifice.† The Tiers Etat persevered; it was obvious that the nation was with them; and the court and nobles endeavoured, as far as it could be done with the least degree of prudence, to put them down. It was evident that the court faction was only temporising until the Maréchal de Broglie could accumulate a sufficient army round Versailles to do that by force which they had attempted in vain by other means. All at once, the whole of Paris, not the mere populace only, burst into a state of insurrection, the public dépôts, the Hospital des Invalides, and others, were plundered of forty or fifty thousand stand of arms, which were distributed among the citizens; the army was found to favour them: once, and once only, the guards of France were induced to fire upon the people; their next step was to attack the German forces under the Prince Lambesc, who had attempted to disperse the multitudes. The soldiery of the Duke de Broglie were found to be of the same mind as their comrades; and from that moment it was evident that the king was in the hands of the people.

It was necessary that we should give this brief and condensed

* Thiers' History of the French Revolution.

† These notables were not unaptly described by La Fayette's punning designation of ‘*not-ables*.’

account of the commencement of this greatest revolution of modern times, in order to prepare the way for a few remarks on the origin and causes of it. We had drawn up, with some little pains, for the behoof of the general reader, the characters of several of the leading men at the commencement of the Revolution, with respect to whom we differ in some particulars from commonly received opinions. We regret to find that our space will not allow us to introduce these notices—we may find another opportunity. We come therefore to the question,—What were the principal causes of the Revolution?

In the first place, one of the predisposing causes may be looked for, in the state of political and moral degradation to which the middle and lower classes in France had always been subjected. They had none of the patriotic feeling which proprietorship and an interest in the state impart to the same classes here. The victories of our kings in France were won principally by the stout hearts and hands of our yeomanry—small proprietors—a race unknown in France, men who carried arms, to the use of which they were daily accustomed from their youth, while the soldiers of the French armies were soldiers only for the time, accustomed, for the occasion only, to wield those arms which their seigneurs dared not entrust to them at other times, lest they should be turned against themselves. The commons were not recognised as an order in the state, except in name. They had no control over the public purse, as in England, or indeed over anything else. Their parliaments, when convened, had nothing to do but to register the edicts of the king. Free agency they had none; they held almost their lives by sufferance. They were trampled on as dirt by the privileged orders; they were not allowed to respect themselves, and they could not respect their tyrants; and this may possibly account for many of the excesses to which they went.

Another grand grievance of the nation and cause of the revolution was, that monstrous system which may be summed up in the few words of the profligate courtiers of the times of the Jacquerie, that 'Jacques Bonhomme should pay for all,'—that is, that none but the common people should bear the burdens of the state. The clergy, who arrogated to themselves the title of the first estate, and the noblesse, were in possession of above two-thirds of all the landed property of the kingdom. In addition to this, they engrossed all preferments of every kind. Everything worth having in the church, all governorships, commands of fortresses, &c., the portfolios of the state, all commissions in the army and navy, all monopolies—and these were many—in short, everything including profit and preferment, was theirs, and theirs only, besides a multitude of antiquated and

grinding feudal privileges. And these men, thus shamelessly endowed, as if in mockery of human misery, claimed, and were allowed, an entire exemption from all taxation, and threw the whole expenses of the state, necessary and unnecessary, of internal government, of foreign wars, and of a swarming and profligate court, on the middle classes and the working population. The people had often before endeavoured to shake off the intolerable yoke by insurrections, of which that of the *Jacquerie* was the most formidable and bloody, but as yet without success. Their time, however, had now arrived.

A third cause may be looked for in the writings and doctrines of the school of the *philosophes*, which certainly had a very considerable effect on the mind of the nation at large, though we are inclined to think not quite to the extent, nor quite in the same way, as is generally supposed. They spoke of the rights of man—and man has his rights. If he is in possession of those rights, to put him in mind of them will only increase his thankfulness and contentment; it is only where he is denied his rights that the mention of them can be dangerous. The soil, in fact, was prepared for these husbandmen beforehand. They did not invent the grievances, they only dared to call attention to them. The great majority of every nation consists of naturally peaceable and well-disposed persons. A nation was never yet driven into insurrection by being reminded of its rights, unless it felt its wrongs. An engineer may lay a train of powder to a castle, and apply the match, but no disruption of the fortress will take place unless a mine has been previously prepared within it. Probably, then, the principal effect that the writings of the philosophers had, in a *political* point of view, was to awaken the perceptions of many *above the lower classes*, to the dangers of the existing state of things, and the necessity of change. As to the infidelity, the religion of nature, or the no-religion which they taught, it would scarcely, if believed in, exert a more baneful effect on the morals of the nation than the no-religion which already existed among them, or that thing with the name of religion which allowed them to live as though there were none. A religion which sanctioned the *dragonnades*, and banishments of Louis XIV., and the disgusting sensualities of the court of Louis XV., where might be seen, during the ascendancy of *Madame du Barry*, the highest dignitaries of the church attending the toilet of the monarch's harlot, and jostling with each other for the honour of presenting her stockings, and handing her slippers. We almost doubt whether open infidelity would not have been some degrees better than such religion. In fact, the profligacy of the clergy in France had long been beyond conception—the working men, the *curés*, only excepted; and the religion which the philosopher endeavoured to destroy—it was not Christianity—was little

better in its practical effects than none. A great part of the atrocities of the Revolution has been attributed to the infidelity or atheism of the people; we shall show presently, from historical facts, that this could not have been the *cause*. Robespierre, even in his hottest career of murder, not only avowed his belief in a Supreme Being, but actually restored his worship—such as it was. If the philosophers had never existed, the Revolution would not have been less certain, (though it might have been deferred,) nor less bloody when it came; and the manner in which they principally promoted it appears to us to be, that they taught men *to think* (whether right or wrong is not just now the question) and to perceive that they had a *right* to think *for themselves*; and nothing can be more inimical to despotism, either civil or religious, than this.

The greatly increasing numbers of the privileged classes might also tend to accelerate the Revolution, not only as they added to the burdens of the people, but as numbers of them, notwithstanding the power and resources of the monarchy, must remain unprovided for, either by employments or sinecures, and who were therefore ready to further any changes by which their fortunes might be mended. Numbers of such men figured in the Revolution.

We have said that the American war produced an effect on the aspect of things in France. It did so in two ways—by greatly increasing the financial difficulties of the state, and by preparing the minds of the soldiery for promoting that state of things at home which they had witnessed and admired abroad. Here again the soil was prepared for the seed which it was destined to receive. La Fayette also had returned to France full of admiration of liberty, and equality, and imagining himself the regenerator of the old world and the new, and he was placed at the head of the army. There is another consideration also, which, it is justly remarked, might have induced the soldiery to join the people—that is, the kind of outlawry to which they, as well as the people, were condemned. Not, of course, that anything could be required of them beyond their service to the king, nor could they be liable to be ground by taxes; but many of them were of respectable families of the middle classes; yet such was the broad line drawn between them and the privileged orders, that it was impossible for any one of them to rise beyond the ranks; whatever their talents, merit, or length of service, they could never hope for promotion. In the reign of Louis XIV., no man who was not noble, by at least four descents, could hold the rank of Captain. Whether *this* precise regulation was in force at the time of which we are writing, we know not; but the rule as to nobility was more strictly enforced than ever, perhaps

for the cause to which we have alluded—the great increase of the privileged classes. It was natural enough, therefore, that the soldiery should be willing to advance a movement, which would throw open to them, as well as to the middle and lower classes generally, a way of rising in the world—the only one that they could ever hope for. Thus it was that an absurd and vicious system of government had united against it every class of society but the two which profited by it, and which were, from their follies and their vices, the least able to uphold it.

The ruinous wars of Louis XIV., and the profligate expenditure of his successor (to say nothing of the Regency), which had entirely exhausted the resources of the kingdom, must also be taken into the account.

So much for the *causes*, remote and proximate, of the Revolution. One of its greatest *errors*, and which entailed upon it the greatest odium under which it labours, was the bringing back of the king and his family from Varennes when they were attempting to leave the kingdom. This was the opinion of Napoleon, which he stated to Mr. O'Meara in after days, who published it in his 'Voice from St. Helena.' What ought they to have done, said the ex-Emperor, when they found the king at Varennes, attempting to escape from France, and within a short distance of the frontiers,—clearly, they should have let him go. They might then have declared the throne vacant by his flight, and have established their republic without attaching to it the odium of royal blood.

French writers of a later date have endeavoured to charge the crimes of the Revolution on the nobles and clergy exclusively, and to exonerate the people; and writers on this side the Channel, in their turn, have accused the people only, and have, moreover, attributed the enormities which they committed to the influence of infidelity and atheism.

On all these points we differ with them. All history shows, as the author of the work before us remarks, and no one acquainted with the history of France can doubt it, that the national character has always been essentially sanguinary, and that clergy, nobles, and people, have in this respect been quite alike. Many are the periods in their history, in which atrocities as great, or greater than those of the Revolution, have been perpetrated by each and all of these orders, showing, as we conceive, that no one part of the nation can be singled out as more blameworthy than the others; and that no one mode of thinking on religious subjects has, more than any other, restrained or stimulated their thirst of blood.

For historical proof of this, we must be satisfied with referring the reader to the accounts of the civil wars of the Jacquerie, in

the reign of King John; and to those of the feuds between the Armagnacs and Burgundians, in the time of Charles VI., in which all orders of the nation were engaged, and in which such crimes were perpetrated, as throw the most glaring atrocities of the Revolution completely into shade. To shew that no modes of thinking, as regards religion, could make the nation at the time of the Revolution worse than it always had been, we merely direct attention to the wholesale extermination of the Protestants by Francis I., who destroyed two whole towns, murdering the greater part of the inhabitants, and sending the survivors to the galleys; to the massacre of St. Bartholomew by Charles IX.; and the dragonnades and proscriptions of Louis XIV.; all of which were perpetrated in the name, not of atheism, but of religion, and by men who professed to glory in the name of Christians.

The best and greatest of the English nation had hailed with joy the commencement of the French Revolution, and the destruction of its despotism; little expecting, of course, what was to follow. Perhaps there was no one kingdom upon earth in which the sudden disruption of existing social ties was likely to be followed by such tremendous consequences. Had things continued as they were at first, and had the first men of the Revolution remained in power, the result might have been different; but when they retired, and their places were seized by noisy, and furious, and unprincipled demagogues, their ruin came apace, and the end was, as in similar cases it generally has been—a military despotism. We are no constitution-makers, like the Abbé Sieyès; but it certainly appears to us, that of all the nations of Europe, the French are the least fitted for a republican form of government. The ‘fiercedemocracy’ of Athens, with all their levity and all their violence, were lambs compared with Frenchmen; nor can we conceive of any government without a dash of despotism in it, that could consolidate or keep in order such materials.

We must now refer to the great events which were passing at this period in India, and to the career of the two extraordinary men by whom our eastern empire was founded and established; we allude, of course, to Clive and Warren Hastings.

To detail the courses of these great men would be to give the history of British India during their administration, which, of course, we cannot do. Of Lord Clive nothing in a public sense is known previous to the capture of Madras in 1746, by the French admiral La Bourdonnaye, where Clive, among others, was taken prisoner. He had been sent out to India as a writer, but the pen was not the weapon which his nature fitted him to wield. He appears to have been born a soldier, and his pugnacious propensities manifested themselves at a very early period.

An abstract love of fighting, however, which may be merely a

matter of taste, does not constitute a general; but Clive had a clearness of head, a firmness of mind, a promptitude and self-confidence in military matters, which made him, as it were by instinct, a great commander. Nor were the good qualities of the heart wanting, of which his kindness and generosity to his family and friends furnish sufficient proof. The principal failings of his youthful character appear to have been 'impatience of control, and an impracticable firmness'—that is, obstinacy—and a haughtiness and pride of soul, which, we fear, were greatly instrumental in bringing about his final catastrophe. He appears to have been subject to a deep degree of constitutional melancholy, and on one occasion made an attempt on his own life. At this time he was quite young, and in no way connected with public affairs, which circumstance ought in fairness to be borne in mind, when looking at the manner of his death, which his enemies did not fail to attribute to the operation of an evil conscience. Being taken prisoner at Madras, he, with others, gave his parole, but the commandant of Pondicherry, Dupleix, having broken the terms which La Bourdonnaye had granted, Clive escaped to Fort St. David. At the attack of Pondicherry (by Admiral Boscawen) he first distinguished himself, and afterwards, more brilliantly, at Arcot. In 1753 he came to England, but returned to India in 1755. After the capture of Gheriah, and other operations, Calcutta was retaken from Suraj-u-Dowlah, of black-hole notoriety, who was forced to make peace; having afterwards quarrelled again with the English, the celebrated battle of Plassey took place, which established the fame of Clive, and from which, when he was raised to the peerage, he took one of his titles. Suraj*-u-Dowlah was afterwards deposed, and Meer Jaffier raised to the Musnud, who, of course, became eventually the mere creature of the Company. It was during the transactions which led to this deposition—for it was effected in a great measure by intrigue—that the affair of Omichund took place, which was afterwards brought forward as one of the charges against Lord Clive. This man was a Hindu seit, banker, or money-lender, immensely rich, and employed by Suraj-u-Dowlah; he had entered into the scheme for dethroning that prince, but a little before it was to have been put in execution, he threatened to disclose the whole plan, unless the English would guarantee to him the sum of thirty lacs of rupees—about £300,000. With this enormous demand it was impossible to comply, yet the disclosure of the plot would have devoted to a cruel and inevitable death all the English within the power of Suraj, as well as most of his own principal officers—for he appears to have been much hated—of whom

* Sir J. Malcolm spells this name '*Sujah*.'

Meer Jaffier, his destined successor, was one. It became necessary, therefore, by some means to silence the old seet; and a fictitious treaty was drawn up, purporting to be that agreed upon with Meer Jaffier, by which the sum demanded by Omichund was secured to him, while the real treaty contained no stipulation of the kind. The sudden discovery of this fraud at the termination of the affair had such an effect on Omichund, that he fell immediately into a fit, and during the two remaining years of his life never recovered the full use of his faculties; before that time he had been remarkable for the acuteness of his intellect. It should be stated that in this transaction Lord Clive had acted with the full consent of Admiral Watson and the council. Soon after he was made Governor of Bengal. Having repulsed Schah Zada, who had invaded the territories of Meer Jaffier, and established the latter in his government, he received from him a jaghire—a grant of lands, or in this instance, of the revenue arising from lands—which were farmed by the Company at Calcutta, amounting in value to £30,000 a year. This grant was afterwards disputed in England, though at that time there was no law to prevent the servants of the Company from receiving presents. In 1760, Clive again returned to England, where he quarrelled with one Sullivan, at that time the leading man at the India House, of whom anon. In 1765, he again assumed the government of Bengal, where he acquired for the Company the Duannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and, unfortunately for himself, reformed the civil service. In 1767, he resigned, and returned finally to England, having secured on firm foundations the interests of the Company, and raised them from a set of merchant adventurers to the dignity of an independent power. For his reward, he was met by a number of charges, which were brought against him by the before-mentioned Mr. Sullivan, whose name will be floated down to posterity by being attached to Clive's, like a barnacle to a man-of-war, and his friends, the Bengal men, as they were termed—friends and dependants, who had been sent to India by Sullivan and others, but who had been prevented from accumulating riches by plundering the country, in consequence of the unsparing reforms which Clive had instituted. The nature of the charges brought against him, and the completeness with which he refuted them, may be judged of by the following specimen. The fourth charge ran as follows:—‘A monopoly of salt, betel, and tobacco, and other commodities; which occasioned the late famine.’ ‘How,’ said Clive, in his first speech in the house, ‘a monopoly of salt, betel, and tobacco, in the years 1765 and 1766, could occasion a want of rain and a scarcity of rice in the year 1770, is past my comprehension.’

The house acquitted him. All that his enemies could obtain

was a vote that he had, at certain times, and from certain persons specified, received sums of money amounting to £234,000: when it was proposed to add to the vote the words, that 'in so doing he did abuse the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public,' the house almost unanimously rejected the motion; and immediately, and almost by acclamation, passed another vote, that 'at the same time he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.*'

The honourable acquittal of this extraordinary man, whom we believe to have been innocent of the crimes so lavishly imputed to him, is doubly grateful when we consider the paltry motives which originated the proceedings against him, namely, private revenge, and mercantile rapacity. He had robbed, they said, and plundered, the native princes of India, and therefore it was fit that he should disgorge the spoil. But was that spoil to be returned to those from whom it had been wrested? O no! by no means; it must be returned to the Company! What had the Company to do with it? If it were indeed obtained by robbery, the former owners were the rightful claimants. If fairly obtained, with the free will of the donors, it was the property of his lordship, and of no one else. Either way, the claim of the Company was a dishonest fiction, and such the house appears to have thought it. The Company took care to keep their share of the plunder, that is, the territory, and have it to this day.

Though his enemies, however, had failed to ruin him in one way, they had done it in another. His high spirit had been wrung and tortured by the suspicions which were cast upon him and the proceedings to which he had been subjected. The whole press, almost, had sided with his accusers; nothing was believed on his side, nothing was disbelieved on theirs. His health had been broken by long exertion of body and mind in a trying climate; his liver was greatly deranged; he was tormented by gall stones, and had been long in the habit of taking large quantities of opium. He went to the Continent, and to other places, but returned worse than he went. At length he was seized with a violent paroxysm of his old complaint; on the second day of the attack, getting worse, he took an unusually large dose of opium, in the hope of allaying his sufferings; it failed of its proper effect, and, of course, increased the misery of his body, and the excitement of his mind; and in this state he terminated his own existence, on the 22nd of November, 1774, at the comparatively early age of forty-nine.

Malice pursued him even in his grave: it was asserted that he

* Sir J. Malcolm, v. iii., pp. 359-60.

destroyed himself from remorse of conscience; and two physicians, who gave it as their opinion that his mind was affected from the state of his bodily health, were absolutely hooted down. Nothing, however, was proved against him; and here we must beg our readers to recal to their recollection our former statement, that once before, in the prime of life, before he entered upon his public course, from sheer constitutional melancholy, he had attempted suicide. Let us not judge him harshly: it will be wiser and worthier to content ourselves with wishing, that *we* may never be subjected to the pressure of such accumulated temptation.

Warren Hastings was descended from a noble, but decayed family, and was born 6th December, 1732. The very commencement of his life took place under somewhat unusual circumstances, for his father had very imprudently married at the age of fifteen, and was no more than seventeen when his son was born, who, like Clive, was committed to the care of an uncle, by whom he was placed at Westminster School, where he distinguished himself; but his uncle dying, left him to the care of a more distant relative, connected with the India House, who sent him out to India as a writer. In the war against Suraj-u-Dowlah, he served as a volunteer. Afterwards, his abilities having recommended him to the notice of his superiors, he was sent to the court of Moorsshedabad, where he conducted many delicate affairs with great discretion. Here he discovered that the grant of their territories to the Company was of such a nature, that their title to them depended on the arbitrary will of the nabob for the time being; and he succeeded in rendering to the Company the important service of procuring for them a new grant in perpetuity. Subsequently he was made a member of the council; and it is said, that he was favourable to the just claims of Meer Cossim, and considered the proceedings against him as highly disgraceful—as beyond all doubt they were. After the rupture with Meer Cossim, Mr. Hastings returned to England in 1764. He had realized a moderate fortune; a good part of which he is stated to have lost by the failure of the persons in India to whom he had intrusted it. He was neither a lover of money, nor, it should seem, a good manager of it. From all these causes his affairs became embarrassed, and he made known his desire of returning to India. At first his application appears to have been unsuccessful; but having been examined before the House of Commons, on the system of government pursued by the Company in India, his 'clear and masterly views drew upon him the regard both of the minister and court of directors,' and he was appointed, in the winter of 1768, to the office of second in council at Fort St. George, (Madras.) In 1769 he returned to India, and it was

on his outward voyage that the strange events occurred which led to his second marriage.

On board the vessel in which he sailed, he found a German family, consisting of the Baron Imhoff, his wife, and two children. The lady being an accomplished and very fascinating woman, Mr. Hastings became strongly attached to her; and the affection proving mutual, a house was provided for the baron's family at Madras, by Mr. Hastings, who became a constant visitor; and a suit for a divorce was immediately instituted by the Baroness in the Franconian courts, the Baron consenting, and Hastings supplying the means. After some years, a favourable decree was obtained, and the Baron returned to Germany with money enough to purchase an estate, leaving his wife to Mr. Hastings, and throwing his two sons into the bargain. The lady became the wife of the Governor-General, and in that capacity, at least, was irreproachable. We consider this as one of the most objectionable passages in the whole career of Hastings, notwithstanding that it meets with the unqualified approbation of the Rev. Mr. Gleig.

The case of Nuncomar, the celebrated Hindu financier, who was hanged for forgery, is one of those that have been most insisted on to the detriment of Hastings. This Nuncomar was his bitter enemy, because he had appointed Mahomed Reza Khan to the post of financier, which Nuncomar had coveted; and under the auspices of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Sir Philip (then Mr.) Francis, who formed the majority of the council, was bringing forward charges of corruption against the Governor, which, if not averted, must have crushed him. In the midst of his proceeding Nuncomar was arrested for the forgery of a deed committed some years before, tried, found guilty, and executed, in spite of the endeavours of the council to save him. Mr. Gleig, who on this, as on all other occasions, would have his hero immaculate, accounts for his non-interference in favour of the culprit, by asserting that the power of pardon lay with the majority of the council, who on all occasions thwarted and opposed the Governor. Now, in the first place, we believe it to be the general conviction that Hastings himself had *originated the proceeding*,* though it was ostensibly brought forward by a native; and secondly, though we are not deep in Indian affairs, we believe that the judge only, who was then independent of the council, could have pardoned the criminal; if the council *could* have done it, we believe, from their known animosity to Hastings, that they would. It was certainly hard, to use the mildest term, to hang a man under English law, for

* He denied it, however, in unqualified terms, at the bar of the House of Commons.

that which in his own country was not a capital crime; and under what, in his individual case, was, moreover, an *ex post facto* law: but nothing less would have saved the Governor. The culpability appears to lie between Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, who was on all occasions his thorough-going friend.

Neither delicacy, difficulty, nor doubt, can attach to the case of the Begums of Oude. From the war in the Carnatic, the defence of Surat and Bombay, and other causes, immense demands were being made upon the Company's resources, which were completely exhausted. But money must be had, the only question was, from whence? The nabob of Oude had been taken under the Company's protection, and of course was greatly in their debt; the screw, therefore, must be put on him: but English rapacity and his own profusion had ruined him; he had no money: no matter, the two Begums, his mother and grandmother, had. He had attempted to plunder them himself, and they had thrown themselves on the English government for protection, which, on certain conditions, which the Begums fulfilled, had guaranteed to them, by solemn treaty, the possession of their property. It was this property, so guaranteed, that Hastings resolved to seize. Pretexts, however, were necessary. Spoliation by the strong hand, merely, would have compromised what Hastings and his coadjutors, in the ardour of an imagination which led them to give to airy nothing an existence and a name, had denominated 'the honour and reputation of the council.' Charges were therefore brought against the poor old ladies, which, in themselves, could not be proved; and which, had they been truth itself, would have formed no justification for the 'honourable and reputable' governor and council. These charges the council proved to their own entire satisfaction: the residence of the Begums was taken—no treasure was discovered—but they found the treasurers, who knew nothing. With them it was resolved to try the effect of *oriental means*; they were accordingly imprisoned, starved, and *tortured*, on the calculation (!) that, if they were as ignorant as they said they were, their mistresses would be so far moved by their sufferings as to give up the treasures of their own accord. This calculation proved to be correct—the Indian princesses had hearts, though Hastings had none; and in the course of twelve months, during which time the process continued, they were plundered of upwards of a million and a quarter sterling; their lands were taken from them, and they themselves, for anything that appears to the contrary, were reduced to poverty.

It is idle to say, that Hastings himself was not implicated in the transaction, though the poor sufferers were made to believe

so; for his own letters to Mr. Middleton, his agent in the business, are extant, in which he accuses him of being 'chicken-hearted, too much moved by the tears of two old women,' &c. There is, as we conceive, but one man in the world who would venture to express his approbation of this transaction—that one is Mr. Gleig. We would not judge harshly of a man who finds himself so harassed by difficulties, that to stand still is impossible, while to retrograde would be utter ruin, and to go on a moral delinquency. We know, also, that the statesman is often unfavourably placed for the observance of the moral duties, and everything with him occasionally gives way to political necessity. So much is this the case, that a different code of morals is virtually, and, perhaps, unconsciously, applied to the practices of public and of private life. Over mere political delinquency the mantle of political morality is stretched, and, to say the truth, it is tolerably elastic, but there are extremes to which, even in political transactions, a statesman cannot go without placing himself beyond the reach of even that large protection; proving that his aberrations are not more the vices of his station than the errors of his heart.

It was doubtless the wish of the ministry to take the patronage and government of India into their own hands; and the appointment of four commissioners, three of whom were totally inimical to Mr. Hastings, and opposed his measures at every point, was the commencement of their plan—the forced resignation of the Governor-General being probably their first object. Of these three malcontents, Sir Philip Francis was the most deserving of notice; indeed, it is impossible to pass him by without some remark, as he was an extraordinary man, and the plausibility of his claim to the authorship of the Letters of Junius has invested him with an additional interest.* His enmity to Hastings appears to have been not only political but personal, and that to an intense degree. The wound which he received in his duel with the Governor-General was the proximate cause of his return to

* As we have no room for saying what we wished on this subject, we will just relate an anecdote, not generally known, but which *we know* to be authentic. At a party at the late Lord Holland's, at which, among many others, Sir Philip Francis, and Mr. Rogers, the poet, were present, Lady Holland requested the latter gentleman to ascertain, if possible, from Sir Philip, whether he really were Junius or not. Mr. R. accordingly, watching his opportunity, addressed him with, 'Will you, Sir Philip, allow me to ask you one question?' Sir Philip drew himself up, placed his hands on his sides, and answered in a somewhat menacing tone, 'At your peril, sir!' 'Well, Mr. Rogers,' said Lady Holland, some time after, 'is Sir Philip Junius?' 'Madam,' replied the poet, 'I can only say, that if he is Junius at all, he must be Junius *Brutus*.'

but he prevented them from plundering their subjects—him they persecuted. Hastings committed all kinds of iniquity in their service; but he enlarged their territory, and filled their purses—him they rewarded. Government made Clive a peer, and prosecuted Hastings, for Pitt supported the charges. Both parties, we suppose, were right upon their own principles, and wrong on those of their opponents. The conduct of both may be accounted for in the same manner as that of the knights of the gold and silver shield—they looked at different sides of the same object.

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- Art. III. 1. *A Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at St. Paul's, on Friday, May 9th, 1843.* By the Lord Bishop of Norwich. London: Hatchard and Son.
2. *Tracts for the Times.* By Members of the University of Oxford. Nos. 4, 5, 10, 11, 15, 17, 29, 54, 74. London: Rivingtons.

WITH the apostolical succession as propounded by the Bishop of Norwich we have no dispute. Claiming for his church the character of an apostolic church, he expressly avers that he does so 'because her system is founded upon those principles and those truths delivered by the apostles, and not because she is to be traced through the often doubtful testimony of contending traditions, on which little or no dependence can be placed.' Whether the church of England be thus built upon the foundation of the apostles or not, we leave, but we readily admit that to this kind of apostolicity we have no objection. Let men imbued with the spirit of the apostles preach the doctrines of the apostles, and they may call themselves, if they will, successors of the apostles. To whatever section of Christ's church they belong, we bid them 'God speed.'

Far different, however, from this is the theory of the succession advocated by the writers of the Oxford school. Supposing their interpretations to be authoritative, most disastrous, as we shall attempt to show, will be the consequences entailed upon the church of God. From their theory, it appears that the Christian ministry is pre-eminently an office requiring a personal transmission in order to its continuance. No title to it can be held valid but such as has descended from the apostles by personal transmission. No matter how learned a man may be, or how virtuous, if he cannot trace up his pedigree lineally to the apostles, he is no minister of Christ. But however unlearned he may be, or however vicious, only let him stand in a certain line of supposed relationship to the apostles, and he is a minister at once. His ecclesiastical performances are all authenticated; at

was, to act with the consent of the supreme council: doing this, they were, in common fairness, to be held blameless; and this *was* the case with Clive. In the deposition of Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the substitution of Meer Jaffier in his place, including the transaction by which the double-dealing villain, Omichund, was over-reached, he acted with the consent of Admiral Watson and the council; and this, we believe, was the most questionable transaction in which his lordship was engaged. Hastings was even more unfortunately circumstanced. With a council that thwarted him on every occasion, he found himself obliged to act on his personal responsibility; nor did he shrink from the risk. Perhaps it was better that he did not; perhaps it was *because* he did not, that events were brought to so early and satisfactory a conclusion: as one head and one will must always be better in an exigency than divided counsels, and consequently nugatory action. There was, however, one grand difference between the two governors-general; Clive was always in favour of peace, and averse from aggression. Hastings was fond of war, and the acquisition of territory; we might have guessed, therefore, which of the two would be likely to lay himself most open to all kinds of imputations, and just so it happened.

In the comparative infancy of the Company's affairs, when Clive assumed the direction of their armies, it was impossible that he should be stationary. The French and the Dutch were disputing with the English the possession of their settlements, and to break their power, and that of the native princes who assisted them, was the only way to consolidate our own. But unfortunately, when this was done, a field was opened for conquest and aggression, which it required some virtue not to occupy. Clive, however, had the moderation to stop short of the boundary to which he might have gone. He considered that an indefinite extent of conquest would neither be justifiable nor beneficial to the Company; and when the whole kingdom of Oude was at his mercy, he acted up to his convictions, and restored it to its native prince: not so Hastings, not so his successors. In fact, the whole of our Indian policy, from the days of Warren Hastings to those of Lord Ellenborough inclusive, has been most wicked and abominable; and, excepting expediency, 'the tyrant's plea,' has been utterly without excuse. Yet there is one consideration in favour of Hastings; with all his getting, he got little for himself. If he dipped his hands in blood, it was for others; though he must have known that the stain would attach itself peculiarly to him. The treatment of the two Governors by the Company and by ministers, is not the least singular part of their adventures. Clive was not the Company's body and soul; he confirmed and extended their authority,

Mr. Gladstone calls attention to the fact, that the question of continued validity in the offices of a clergyman, is not necessarily affected by his perversion of the doctrine of the divine word. He may pervert it, and may teach a whole parish to pervert it also. He may take the doctrine of the atonement, or of the resurrection of the dead, and wrest it to his own destruction, and to the destruction of all entrusted to his care. Nevertheless, he is not *necessarily* disqualified from demanding attention to his teaching, as the teaching of the Holy Ghost. Truly, times are strangely altered since Paul wrote to the Galatians—‘If even an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.’

‘It may be safely maintained,’ says the fifteenth Tract, ‘that all the errors of the middle ages no more interfere with the validity of ordination, received by our bishops from those who lived before the Reformation, than errors of faith and conduct in a priest interfere with the grace of the sacraments received at his hands.’

The Archbishop of Dublin, referring to this dogma of Puseyism, that ‘neither heresy, nor degradation, nor schism, nor the most extreme wickedness, nor anything else, can deprive a person, once made a bishop, of the power of giving true orders,’ very naturally concludes, ‘this is to recognise a fearful power, and that placed in the very worst hands.’

We are much indebted to the archbishop for the manner in which he has spoken out concerning *The Succession* as maintained by the Oxford Tracts. Happily for the cause of truth, the tractarians have put the fact and the order of the succession in such a way, that a case which he brings forward takes them out of court. They say, that the fact of the succession is too notorious to require proof. ‘Every link in the chain is known, from St. Peter to our present metropolitan. There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon, in the church of England at this present time, who cannot trace his own spiritual descent from Peter.’ Now this is intelligible. It is not a thing probable, but a thing certain. ‘Every link is known.’ Every bishop, every priest, every deacon, can trace his descent up, not to one of the apostles, or to another, but specifically to St. Peter. ‘It is too notorious to require proof.’ But let us hear the archbishop: ‘In the memory of persons living, there existed a bishop, concerning whom there was so much of mystery and uncertainty, as to when and where and by whom he had been ordained, that doubts existed in the minds of many persons whether he had ever been ordained at all. And the circumstances of the case were such, as to make manifest the possibility that such an irregularity had really taken place.’ Where is the certainty now? Some of the existing clergy, in tracing their way back to the

'spiritual great-grandsons' of the apostles, must of necessity connect themselves with this bishop. He ordained them. They have nothing but what they received at his hands. But it is not certain that he had anything to give. No matter how probable, inasmuch as it is not absolutely certain that *he* was in the succession, it is not absolutely certain that *they* are in the succession. Though it is in evidence that they are rightly related to him, it is not in evidence that he was rightly related to St. Peter. 'Probably he was,' it may be said. 'Possibly he was not,' it may be retorted. And that being possible, what becomes of the pretension that the personal transmission is demonstrably without a flaw. And then, what becomes of the succession itself? Having asserted its absolute and invariable certainty, the tractarians are refuted by any one instance of uncertainty. That instances of uncertainty exist, an authority of their own church declares.

And if uncertainty has arisen in modern times, how great the probability that it was constantly arising in times more remote. It may be that entries of all ecclesiastical proceedings are now made with due care and by the proper authorities; but was it so through the middle ages? Can it be believed by any man, familiar with the history of the middle ages, that the registration of their ordinations was infallible, that there was no deficiency, no omission, no mistake? Why—so ignorant were the men on whom ecclesiastical registrations depended, that they could not in many cases write their own names; and so unprincipled were they withal, that the insertion or non-insertion of an item in the genealogies depended on a sufficient bribe. Besides, so unsettled, so turbulent, were the times, that 'the personal transmission' must constantly have been endangered, and the requisite knowledge must have been in jeopardy every hour. Hence such men as Prideaux conclude, that for several centuries the boasted genealogies of Puseyism are 'full of confusion,' and 'no certainty is to be had.' Hear Archbishop Whately again: 'There is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree. If a bishop has not been duly consecrated, or had not been previously rightly ordained, his ordinations are null, and so are the ministrations of others ordained by him, and their ordinations onwards without end. The poisonous taint of informality, if it once creep in, will spread the infection of nullity to an indefinite and irremediable extent.' And yet these are 'the only men who have a right to be *quite sure*' that they minister in the name of Christ. Who wonders that the plausible insinuations of the sceptic have been originated by the arrogant pretensions of the priest?

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And if uncertainty has arisen in modern times, how great the probability that it was constantly arising in times more remote. It may be that entries of all ecclesiastical proceedings are now made with due care and by the proper authorities; but was it so through the middle ages? Can it be believed by any man, familiar with the history of the middle ages, that the registration of their ordinations was infallible, that there was no deficiency, no omission, no mistake? Why—so ignorant were the men on whom ecclesiastical registrations depended, that they could not in many cases write their own names; and so unprincipled were they withal, that the insertion or non-insertion of an item in the genealogies depended on a sufficient bribe. Besides, so unsettled, so turbulent, were the times, that 'the personal transmission' must constantly have been endangered, and the requisite knowledge must have been in jeopardy every hour. Hence such men as Prideaux conclude, that for several centuries the boasted genealogies of Puseyism are 'full of confusion,' and 'no certainty is to be had.' Hear Archbishop Whately again: 'There is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree. If a bishop has not been duly consecrated, or had not been previously rightly ordained, his ordinations are null, and so are the ministrations of others ordained by him, and their ordinations onwards without end. The poisonous taint of informality, if it once creep in, will spread the infection of nullity to an indefinite and irremediable extent.' And yet these are 'the only men who have a right to be *quite sure*' that they minister in the name of Christ. Who wonders that the plausible insinuations of the sceptic have been originated by the arrogant pretensions of the priest?

We have alluded to the uncertainty attendant upon the suc-

cession. A case in point has recently occurred, with which we are personally acquainted. A certain clergyman, who has determined to magnify his office up to the vanishing point, was recently engaged upon the matter of his own relationship lineally with 'the blessed apostle, Saint Peter.' That he had been ordained by a living bishop was tolerably clear; that the bishop had received ordination, and that duly through the several gradations of the diaconate, the priesthood, and the episcopate, was clear also. Mr. Gladstone's ill-sustained theory of ordination to the episcopate by three bishops was in the present case acted upon with great care. So far our country clergyman advanced with entire satisfaction. Who could deny, who could doubt, that he was a spiritual great-grandson of the first bishop of Rome? Well, he proceeded again from one progenitor to another, till at length there was occasion for a pause. Illegitimacy was suspected—counsel was taken with those competent to decide. 'Is there not a flaw?' 'It looks like it.' 'Ransack the archives of such an office. The requisite information may be there.' Those archives were ransacked, when, to the utter consternation of the ambitious presbyter, out comes the fact, that his connexion is traced up to a bishop whose ordinations were uncanonical, and so far uncanonical as to be null and void.

Could the testimony of the keepers of our ecclesiastical records be obtained, we believe that a large number of similar cases might be adduced. We happen to know that such examinations are by no means unfrequent, and that they are leading to like results. No men more shrewdly smile at the boasted certainty of the succession than the functionaries in ecclesiastical offices. What then becomes of the assertion that every link is traceable without doubt or uncertainty, and that there is not a clergyman who may not trace his own spiritual descent from Peter? Let every clergyman try.

It must be reckoned amongst the strangest of the phenomena of our day, that men of education and intelligence should reiterate the assertion so obviously destitute of proof, that Peter was the bishop of Rome especially, as with him in this capacity they choose specifically to identify their own claims. If he were not the bishop of Rome, the Puseyites, upon their own showing, are not in the succession after all. But they have not proved, and it is beyond their power to prove, that he was the bishop of that church, wherefore, their whole scheme of 'the personal transmission' breaks down. Not being proved, it is practically disproved.

It may be thought that we are unduly concerned about this boasted succession. It is objected that we have no occasion, even if we have any right, to interfere. Disclaiming it for ourselves, we are told to be satisfied with our disclaimer, and to let the

thing alone. This we cannot do. We reckon ourselves so far related to the guardianship of the public mind, as to be authorized repeatedly to call attention to this most monstrous of all assumptions, and to attempt to put it down. It is more than a theoretical or speculative error. It is an evil and a bitter thing, an active and energetic source of dishonour to God, and of delusion and destruction to mankind. This we shall proceed to show, with a view especially of counteracting the extraordinary notion that the dissenters of this country may quietly leave it to itself.

We have already seen that any man episcopally ordained is a minister of Christ. Whatever his character or his doctrine, only let him stand in the succession, and he is, without controversy, an ambassador for God. This being granted we may look out for startling inferences by which at our peril we must abide. But we are not left to inferences. Avowals are made of the consequences deducible from 'the succession,' at which the ears of every one that heareth them should tingle. The fifth Oxford Tract thus speaks of men episcopally ordained. 'No command of an earthly king, no ordinance of an earthly legislature, could invest us with power over the gifts of the Holy Ghost, for such we may well term the power duly to administer the sacraments which God has ordained. No act of parliament could make any of us a priest, or clothe us with one jot or one tittle of power over the things of the unseen world.' Now, we say that this man is right as far as he goes, but he should go further. Not only could no command of king or of legislature invest him with power over the things of the unseen world, or over the gifts of the Holy Ghost; but no act of any earthly authority whatever could do it. 'Nay,' replies Puseyism, 'the bishop can invest him with it, and really does invest him with it all, when he says, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' These words are not a prayer that he may receive the Holy Ghost; they are the vehicle through which it is actually conveyed.*

The eleventh Tract says, 'the sacraments are in the hands of the clergy: this, few will deny, or that their efficacy is independent of the personal character of the administrator. The ministry of the clergy is an appointed condition of the salvation of the elect, and as we betake ourselves to a dispensary for medi-

* Circumstances sometimes occur in episcopal ordination services which alone are calculated to throw considerable doubt on the validity of the whole affair. There is a bishop now living, who, at the commencement of an ordination service, called loudly for a candle, although it was broad day. His attendants, knowing that he was *non compos mentis*, endeavoured to fix his lordship's attention upon the business in hand. No; he would have a candle before he proceeded. On its being brought to him, he turned it upside down, and holding it in that inverted position, proceeded with the solemn task of conferring on the eye-witnesses of his imbecility, the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

cine, in something of the like manner we are to come to that one society for salvation to which Christ has entrusted the office of stewardship in the distribution of his gifts.' Verily, this is audacious enough. Men are to go for salvation, not to the Saviour, but to the clergyman; not to Christ, but to the church. Salvation perchance may come to them, but it comes only through men successionally ordained.

The twelfth Tract teaches expressly that 'our salvation depends, under God, upon the ministry of those whom Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost have appointed to reconcile men to God,' and that 'their personal failings do not make void their commission.' How monstrous! Men may personally hate Christ, and yet, officially, they may command us to love him. They may fail in everything appertaining to the faith of the Saviour, but they may negotiate, in the name of the Saviour, the salvation of souls, just because they happen to be ordained.

Did the statements of these men refer to subjects less momentous, we should be mightily amused at their oracular assumption of the entire question in debate. Surely they must have been born in the caves of the wilderness, and have lived amidst the darkest monasticism that Puseyism desiderates, before they could imagine that such assurances as the following would be implicitly received. 'The prayer of our Lord recorded in the gospel by Saint John, was not offered for all who *any how* should believe in Christ, but for those only who should believe on him through the word of the apostles, or of persons having apostolical authority. And it seems very doubtful whether any others are included in the meaning of our Saviour's gracious intercession, which is surely a point to be deeply considered.' So, then, it is not true, that whosoever believeth shall be saved. If it come '*any how*,' it is of no avail. It may have come. There may be hearty belief, active belief; so far as the belief is considered intrinsically and absolutely, it may be just the belief which is required by the gospel; but not having come through the men of the succession, it is nothing worth. Happy men, who had Jonathan Swift to your minister! Deluded almost to the certainty of perdition, ye devoutest auditors of Chalmers and Robert Hall.

Again: 'The eucharist, administered without apostolic succession, may, to pious minds, be a very edifying ceremony, but it is not that blessed thing which our Saviour meant it to be. The language of the apostle *proves* this when he says, 'It is the bread that we break, and the cup that we bless, signifying to us that the agency of the apostles in the first instance, and then the agency of their successors, is necessary to assure us that the holy signs really convey the thing signified.' To be sure, we set little

value upon the thing signified, as Puseyism understands it. Nevertheless, to be told that whatever may be signified cometh not to us, and that too upon such a palpable perversion of the language of St. Paul, is more than we can allow to pass. Who are referred to by the apostle when he said 'We, being many, (οἱ πολλοί) are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread?'—the church of God which was at Corinth, with all who in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ. Of this there can be no doubt. And if not, then there can be no doubt that precisely the same parties are referred to when he asks, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?' The whole church—the οἱ πολλοί—were the persons who took the cup of salvation, and called upon the name of the Lord. So much for the apostle's language, *proving* that sacerdotal interposition is necessary to constitute the eucharist, 'that blessed thing' designed by our Lord.

'Let us,' says the writer of the fifty-fourth Tract, 'Let us consider what we owe to that holy succession upon which, as we cannot but know, our all depends—I mean, the true doctrine of the incarnation of our Lord. It may positively be said that, under Providence, we owe our inheritance of this saving doctrine to the chain of rightly ordained bishops. Wheresoever the apostolical succession has been given up, there the doctrine has often been corrupted, and has been always in jeopardy.' Echoing the sentiment of this tractarian, another declares, 'The God-denying apostasy of Unitarianism finds more or less acceptance in proportion as less or more is found of respect for apostolical communion.' Was there ever such an argument *ad ignorantiam*? The veriest tyro in ecclesiastical history might put to silence the presumption of these bold men. The most superficial inquirer into the verities of things would discover that they speak not the truth. True, they are regarded as holy men; it is the fashion on all hands to laud them to the skies as unrivalled specimens of the pure in heart. But where is the holiness of men who, with Du Pin alone before them, can assert that the deniers of the succession as such, have been and are the deniers of the divinity of Christ? Let the history of Arianism in the fourth century be appealed to! Let the Waldensian confessions of faith be consulted! Let the admonitions of the Puritans to parliament be examined! Let the formularies of the church of Scotland be adduced! Let the declaration of the Congregational Union be scrutinized! Let investigation be made into the writings of the nonconformists, from Owen and John Howe, to Wardlaw and Pye Smith, and then, let it be decided, whether to the 'personal transmission' we owe our inheritance of the doctrine that Jesus is the Son of God. It is a glaring untruth, a palpable

slander, in itself sufficient to stigmatize the tractarians as grossly ignorant, or as designing and dishonest men.

In the Tract 74 we read, 'The power of the apostolical ministry raiseth man from the earth, and bringeth God himself from heaven. By blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible graces. It giveth daily the Holy Ghost. It hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world. When it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. Thus the privilege of the visible church of God is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for anything we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep.' Now there need be no mystery about the matter as thus put. All without Noah's ark did perish. 'All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, died.' There were no 'uncovenanted mercies' for them. The ark was not 'generally necessary for salvation.' In it man was saved; out of it man was lost. And so with the church through the power of the apostolic ministry. Unless men are in it, they are lost.

High time is it that this damnatory aspect of the apostolic succession should be regarded and exposed as it deserves. If Puseyism be right, all churches wanting the 'personal transmission,' and all persons belonging to those churches, are under the wrath of God. Guilty before God, men must despair if mercy be not revealed, but it is revealed only through the men of the succession, wherefore the doom of all who disown the succession is already sealed. No wonder, then, at the cry from Littlemore to Mayaveram,* 'I believe in the holy catholic church,'—that is the rock of ages—that is the foundation laid in Zion—that is the only name under heaven given among men whereby they must be saved.

The writer of the fourth Tract says, 'I readily allow that this view of our calling has something in it too high and mysterious to be fully understood by unlearned Christians. But the learned, surely, are just as unequal to it. It is a part of that ineffable mystery called in our creed the communion of saints; and, with all other Christian mysteries, is above the understanding of all alike, yet practically within the reach of all who are willing to embrace it by true faith. Experience shows, at any rate, that it is far from being ill adapted to the minds and feelings of ordinary people. On this point, evidence might be brought from the early part of the seventeenth century. The hold which the propagandists of the 'holy discipline' obtained on the fancies and affections of the people, of whatever rank, age, and sex, de-

* A station in the East Indies, where the Church Missionary Society is reaping the first fruits of its abject subjection to the bench of bishops.

pended very much on their incessant appeals to their *fancied* apostolical succession. They found persons willing and eager to suffer or rebel, as the case might be, for their system, because they had possessed them with the notion that it was the system handed down from the apostles. Why should we despair of obtaining, in time, an influence far more legitimate, and less dangerously exciting, but equally searching and extensive, by the diligent inculcation of our true and scriptural claim? For it is obvious that it would make the relation of pastor and parishioner far more engaging, as well as more awful.' Now let any evangelical Christian mark, learn, and inwardly digest this quotation, and then say whether it is not high time for us to awake out of sleep. The intention is avowed. Puseyism diligently inculcates its claim to the succession, in order to obtain a hold upon the fancies and affections of the people. And what is the ulterior design? Why possess men with the notion that the Anglican clergy are exclusively the ministers of Jesus Christ? Let the answer furnished by the quotation be diligently pondered, and every reflecting mind will perceive the necessity of being on the alert. The ignorant are to be deluded, the credulous to be terrified, the wavering to be cajoled, and the fanatical to be exasperated, in order that the church may hold the state at its mercy, and trample its opponents beneath its feet.

These men are to be admired for their tact. Wiser in their generation than the children of light, they recollect what man is made of, and act accordingly. Is he fearful as he contemplates his relationship to God, or stricken with awe in the prospect of his latter end? Thus do they make the succession tell upon the restoration of his peace of mind. 'Let us well consider this point. There is an humble and fearful member of Christ's flock who desires to strengthen his soul by the body and blood of Christ; but he cannot quiet his own conscience; he requires further comfort and counsel. Surely it is to his comfort that there is a duly commissioned minister of God's word at hand to whom he may come and open his grief, and receive the benefit of the sentence of God's pardon.' In singular harmony with this idea of the value of a duly commissioned minister to a mind in distress is the view thus expressed by Mr. Gladstone. 'Let us suppose that a mind is tempted with rationalizing doubts, questioning whether there be really anything of spiritual grace in the gospel, and seeking advice and counsel from a minister of God—it may be upon the bed of agony, or in the very grasp of death. Grant that the consulted party may have the requisites of Christian character and virtue, as well as competent abilities. Grant

that he may appear to speak, so as we, in our human frailty, should judge suitable to the dispensations of our heavenly Father. Still, when the moral being is rocked from its foundations, and a part of the incumbent trial is to satisfy the turbulent questioner within, then, I ask, is it nothing that the tempest-tost understanding is not left to abstract speculation, but that he who comes to supply its need is able to say, 'That which I speak is said under an awful responsibility. I who speak have been commissioned to carry a message from God to man—the message of Jesus Christ. His commission came to me by no mere fancy of my own, but from the hands of those to whom he entrusted it to be delivered down in perpetual descent, so that not the wit or the will of man, but He, the Holy One, has given me the power and the charge to minister to your soul.' A memorable passage truly! So then, by the apostolic succession, 'the tempest-tost understanding, is to be hushed into quietness, and the turbulent questioner within is to be satisfied by the mention of the perpetual descent. It is not in the character of the spiritual adviser, nor in his talent, nor in his sympathy, nor in his godliness, that the dying man may find satisfaction. Neither may he find it in the sentiments or truths which such a man propounds to him from the oracles of God. Unless he has lineally descended from Peter, his ministrations are of little, if of any avail. Now if, in the case supposed, it should happen that the dying man remembered the uncertainty of the succession—what then? It would agitate him yet more profoundly. 'The perpetual descent' would terrify rather than compose.

However, as Mr. Gladstone has supposed one case, we will venture to suppose another. Let us imagine the individual he has so impressively described, to be visited by one duly commissioned minister to-day, and by another duly commissioned minister to-morrow—a thing very likely, in many cases, to occur. He of to-day will tranquillize his mind by reminding him that he has been baptized; and upon the strength of his apostolical commission, will warrant him to take courage and die in peace. Thus encouraged, the dying man settles down into repose, having duly partaken of the body and of the blood of Christ. But he of to-morrow will try to alarm his conscience by telling him that, though baptized, he may be an unconverted man; and upon the strength of his apostolic commission will bid him arouse from his repose and wrestle with God in prayer that he may be saved.

In vain will the man plead that he was told to be at peace by a successor of the apostles having authority from God. 'Am I not a successor of the apostles?' the alarmist would rejoice.

‘Have not I authority, through the perpetual descent, to speak in the name of God? In his name, then, I tell you, you must be born again, or you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. You are crying peace, peace, when sudden destruction is at hand.’

Now where would ‘the tempest-tost understanding’ find tranquillity in such a case? Which of the two men, equally and alike authorized to instruct him, would be to him the minister of God for good? We leave Puseyism to reply: but how or what it can reply after it has formally excluded succession in everything but in persons, we are at a loss to understand. So far, indeed, from Mr. Gladstone’s theory ministering consolation to a mind in distress, it may, in any given instance, become the occasion of aggravating its distress a thousand fold.

We have now, as we believe, done justice to the subject of the apostolical succession, as far as our present limits will allow. Our hope is, that the dissenters of Great Britain will thoroughly acquaint themselves with its character and tendency. A conflict is beginning in which they must take ground and keep it with intelligence, consistency, and vigour, or they will assuredly lick the dust. They cannot trust the government nor the parliament. What is worse, they cannot yet trust the people. We are not sure they can trust themselves with that steadfast confidence which is imparted by a thorough knowledge of the position they should occupy, and of the means by which it may be best maintained. The thing to be desired from the dissenters is, not the occasional explosion of a speech or of a sermon against the Oxford heresy, but the steady and dignified opposition to it induced by a religious conviction of its repugnance to the will of God. Let Puseyism be thus opposed and all will yet be well. Its assumptions will be effectively silenced, and its attempts to deify the clergy will fall out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel. But if it be let alone, or if it be opposed because it is inexpedient for the present time, its success is certain. It assorts so agreeably with unconverted human nature, and emanates so naturally from the formularies of the established church, that it will be too much for any antagonism which is not based upon ultimate principles, and carried on for the truth’s sake. Let our ministers, therefore, with our preaching brethren, our Sunday-school teachers, our schoolmasters and governesses, and the parents amongst us—let us all gird up the loins of our minds, and as we have opportunity, examine the dogma for ourselves. The Oxford Tracts have not been read half extensively enough yet by evangelical dissenters. We would have them read wherever they can be obtained, and where they are inaccessible, ‘The

Church Principles' of Mr. Gladstone should be read. Withal, Mr. Powell's essay, formerly reviewed by us, should be carefully studied. It is a trustworthy manual and compendium of the whole case, and will go far to satisfy every unprejudiced mind of the falsity of the dogma, and of the fearful consequences to which it leads.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia.* By Ebenezer Prout, of Halstead. Fourth Thousand. London: J. Snow, Paternoster-row. 1843. pp. viii. 618.

WRITERS on Taste have remarked that the great difference between real and pretended grandeur is this: the nearer you approach, and the more closely you examine, real grandeur, the greater does it turn out to be; but the nearer you come to pretended, or merely apparent grandeur, and the more fully you examine its pretensions, the less does it prove to be.

On this showing, there was real greatness in the character of the missionary WILLIAMS. It was seriously apprehended, after all that had been detailed in his apostolic work, 'The Missionary Enterprise,' and after the minute and philosophic examination of his character and life in 'The Martyr of Eromanga,' that very little would be discovered in his history that could make his Life, by Mr. Prout, a work worthy of the reputation and standing of Mr. Williams. This able and lively volume proves that all such apprehensions were groundless—that in the character of Williams there were yet elements of greatness and goodness which had not fully seen the light, and that Mr. Prout had the penetration, sagacity, and adroitness, to detect and disclose them, without interfering in the least with the labours of previous writers.

Ever since the tidings of Williams's melancholy death reached this country, the friends of missions here, and in America, have been in the expectation of seeing his memoirs published, and the reasons why the work has not appeared at an earlier period are given by Mr. Prout in the preface to his volume.

He divides his work into nine sections, which are marked out by definite and turning points in the life of Mr. Williams. I. From his birth until his departure for the South Seas. II. From his departure until the termination of his first year's residence at Raiatea. III. From the commencement of his second year's labours at Raiatea until the close of 1822. IV. From his first until his second missionary voyage to the Hervey Islands. V. From his second voyage to the Hervey Islands until his first

missionary enterprise to Samoa. VI. From his first until his second voyage to Samoa. VII. From his second voyage to Samoa until his departure for England. VIII. From his arrival in England until his return to the South Seas. IX. From his departure in the Camden until his death. Such is the well arranged outline of the work.

The origin of Williams was worthy of his history and character.

'John Williams was the descendant of a pious ancestry. The parents of both his father and mother were servants of God. His maternal grandfather, James Maidmeet, Esq., of the firm of Maidmeet and Neale, St. Paul's Churchyard, was a constant hearer and an intimate friend of the Rev. William Romaine. So close, indeed, was this connexion between those excellent men, that for many years Mr. Romaine paid a weekly visit to Mr. Maidmeet's house, for the purpose of conducting a religious service with his family. At these sacred exercises, Miss Maidmeet, the mother of the subject of these memoirs, was accustomed to be present; but she then discovered no evidences of that sincere piety for which subsequently she became distinguished. On the contrary, her aversion to spiritual religion, although suppressed, was decided; and often, in after years, she confessed with sorrow, that, had it been permitted, when Mr. Romaine paid his accustomed visits to her father's house, she would have gladly escaped from the uncongenial element by which, at these seasons, she was surrounded. But, however unpromising, this period of Miss Maidmeet's life was not without its influence upon her mind and character. Indirectly, yet powerfully, her father's sentiments, and her pastor's ministrations, controlled her subsequent course. Thus early she had learned to distinguish between ethical and evangelical preaching, and to attach higher importance to the full and faithful proclamation of the gospel, than to forms or names, or merely ecclesiastical peculiarities. When, therefore, after her marriage to Mr. Williams, she had removed from her father's house to Oxford, one of her first objects was, to ascertain where she might listen to the same truths which had been so luminously expounded by Mr. Romaine. With this view, Mrs. Williams first visited her parish church; but not finding there the object of her search, she extended her inquiries farther, and thus visited in succession the different churches of the celebrated city in which her habitation had been fixed. Finding that evangelical sentiments were preached by the dissenters, she at length, with reluctance, withdrew from the establishment, and became an attendant on the ministry of the late Mr. Hinton, for many years a valued and successful labourer in that city. And most important were the results of this decision. In a short time, the truths to which she listened were applied by the Holy Spirit with power to her heart, and gave a new form to her character. From hence, therefore, may be dated the commencement of that course of consistent piety, the influence of which upon herself and her son will appear in the following pages.'—pp. 2—4.

We once thought of apologizing for the length of this extract, but when we considered how new the information would be to many of our readers, what an impulse it would give to many holy mothers, and what a proof it afforded that Williams was the child of many prayers, we resolved to let it pass, and defend itself by its simplicity and beauty.

The family which we have been just describing removed from Oxford to Tottenham Cross, and there John Williams was born, June 29, 1796. Of his childhood very little is known. The first school he entered was that of Messrs. Gregory, at Lower Edmonton, where his time was devoted to the acquisition of writing and arithmetic. From the first, his parents had destined him for trade. His mind was active and singularly observant, yet without putting forth any remarkable or striking developments. He was always a 'handy lad,' and so apt and ready was he for the execution of any little domestic commission, that the family could always calculate on John doing it.

The religious education of the boy was superintended by his pious mother. 'Little thought she,' says Mr. Prout, 'when her children were clustering around her knees, and hanging upon her lips, that she was then forming the character of the future apostle of Polynesia, and performing a service for which distant tribes and future generations would reverence her name.' This is a noble and powerful motive to induce mothers to attend to the religious training of their children; for certainly as some 'given to hospitality' have entertained angels unawares, so have parents, who have attended to the discipline and training of their young charge, trained seraphs unawares.

The pastor of the congregational church at Tottenham at this time was Mr. Fowler. On his ministry the family attended, and young Williams appeared for some time to be much impressed by the truths which he heard. From his earliest years he always feared a lie. In the outward observance, also, of private devotions, he was constant and regular. At this early period he composed and wrote out two brief and comprehensive prayers, and two beautiful hymns, of considerable length, each prayer and hymn being intended for morning or evening devotions. They reflect much honour on the intellectual character of the boy, and on his power of versification, as well as on his devotional habits, but are too long to be here inserted.

We have said, that active as his mind was, it put forth no striking development. This was evident in the fact, that he had no predilection for any particular branch of trade or line of commerce. In these circumstances his parents decided for him. This decision was a turning-point in his history. In making arrangements for introducing him to business, his affectionate

and pious mother was resolved to consult, at any and every cost, the religious welfare of her son, and providence guided her to place him as an apprentice to Mr. Tonkin, a furnishing ironmonger, in City Road, London.

John Williams was now nearly fourteen years of age. By his indenture, the boy was exempted from the laborious drudgery and mechanical part of the business, at the forge or the bench: his attention was to be directed solely to the commercial department. So men had contrived and adjusted for him: but the God of heaven had otherwise ordered his course of pursuits. In the arrangements of the parents, it was never thought that they were then engaged in measures which were intended to educate the father of theoretical and practical mechanics in the South Seas, and were about giving the first lessons to the builder of 'The Messenger of Peace.'

The time—the set time—had now arrived for the active and observant mind of which we have been speaking to develop its striking peculiarities. On all convenient seasons, without interfering with the claims of Mr. Tonkin, the young apprentice would visit the forge, and there watch and observe the processes of the workmen; and when they had left,—for instance, at meal hours,—he would proceed to work at some bench or forge, in order to bring his previous observations to the test of experience and practice. 'In this way he taught himself, in a surprisingly short time, to form and finish many of the common articles belonging to the trade.' By a little practice he became a skilful workman, and was able to finish more perfectly than many whose lives had been devoted to the attainment, several of the most complex and difficult processes of the manufacture in metals.' So active and strong was now his desire for exercising his mechanical knowledge, that he never seemed more happy than when he had permission to hang a bell, or execute some similar commission. On these occasions it was amusing to see him 'adjust his working apron, sling a basket of tools across his shoulders, and sally forth with as light a step and as cheerful a countenance as if he had been the happiest being in the world.' These characteristics, as Mr. Prout properly remarks, are the evidence of a superior mind. They are also clear proof of a superintending Providence.

But while the tastes and pursuits of the youth in the forge of the ironmonger tended to prepare the future mechanic, architect, and shipbuilder of the South Seas, there appeared some moral indications that the Christian missionary and religious instructor of the Polynesia was not now being formed. Some of his habits showed that his introduction to London had not been favourable to his religious convictions. The first outward sign of this was

his disregard of the Sabbath, after which followed an unceasing disrelish for social worship and public devotion. Yet, even amid all this, he was preserved from outward and open immorality. At the age of eighteen he had become the associate of several irreligious young men, and in such case, the silken, though powerful restraints of a mother's entreaty, were violently snapped asunder. From the example and persuasions of such companions, his violation of the Sabbath had now become a common practice. Accordingly, he made an assignation for January 30, 1814, to spend the evening with other young men at a tea-garden belonging to a tavern not far from his master's house.

This assignation was another turning-point in the history of Williams. From his early habits, he was punctual, but his giddy companions did not keep their time. Had they been as punctual as he was, the history of Christianity and civilization would be different from what it is. While he was loitering and sauntering about the place of meeting, and feeling mortified at the delay of his companions, Mrs. Tonkin the wife of his master came by, and by the light of the lamp discerning the face of John, asked the reason of his dallying there. He at once avowed the reason, and expressed his mortification at the conduct of his associates. The good lady, who was a member of the church at Tabernacle, pressed him, with Christian gentleness and affection, to accompany her thither. With some reluctance he yielded to her entreaty, but rather from mortification than from a renewed sense of duty. Let Mr. Williams himself describe this hour, so pregnant with interest to himself and to the islanders of the South Sea.

‘It is now twenty-four years ago, since, as a stripling youth, a kind female friend invited me to come into this place of worship. I have the door in my view at this moment, at which I entered, and I have all the circumstances of that important era in my history vividly impressed upon my mind; and I have in my eye at this instant the particular spot on which I took my seat. I have also a distinct impression of the powerful sermon that was that evening preached by the excellent Mr. East, now of Birmingham; and God was pleased, in his gracious providence, to influence my mind at that time so powerfully, that I forsook all my worldly companions.’ ‘From that hour my blind eyes were opened, and I beheld wondrous things out of God's law. I diligently attended the means of grace. I saw that beauty and reality in religion which I had never seen before. My love to it and delight in it increased; and I may add, in the language of the apostle, that I grew in grace and in the knowledge of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’—p. 19.

In September, 1814, he joined the church at Tabernacle, and

was received into its fellowship by that distinguished friend of piety and missions, the Rev. Matthew Wilks. Being now as anxious for information in religion as he had formerly been for intelligence in mechanics, he became a member of a society at Tabernacle, called 'The Youth's Class,' which was designed for the religious improvement of serious young men. This first means of supplying theological instruction to Williams is thus described by the Rev. Mr. Browne, of Limerick, who was received both into the church and into the class at the same time with our missionary:—

'This, I may say, with very few additional advantages, was the college where Williams and several others received those sound and enlarged views of Scripture doctrine and practical Christianity which eminently fitted him to go forth to the heathen as an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Williams was one of our most regular attendants, and it rarely happened that he had not a paper to read on the subject for consideration.'—p. 23.

To a philosopher it is deeply interesting to mark a powerful mind like that of Williams, struggling against ignorance, and making some of its first communings with knowledge; and to the Christian, this interest becomes more deep and glowing, by observing how the Father of knowledge and the God of wisdom leads the blind, by a way that they know not, to that process of discipline and that class of attainments, which prepare his agents for the work to which they have been 'separated by the Holy Ghost.' This was the case with Williams. He was concerned, not for his own religious improvement only; he immediately became a Sabbath school teacher, where he formed some of the habits best preparatory for his missionary work. He also joined societies for relieving the sick, for visiting the poor houses, and for distributing religious tracts. Every such Society was a fine school for training the missionary to sympathy with human wants, and to activity for making mankind better and happier.

We will now proceed to another crisis and turning-point in the life of Williams. In the autumn of 1815, the auxiliary Missionary Society formed at Tabernacle held one of those quarterly meetings which were not only sanctioned, but instituted and fostered by the pastor, the Rev. Matthew Wilks. On this occasion, that man of God, to whose memory no adequate justice has yet been done, presided. This was the period when the claims of the heathen came home for the first time to the bosom and conscience of Williams. His first impression he thus describes:—

'At the time I took but little notice of it; but afterwards, the desire was occasionally very strong for many months. My heart was frequently with the poor heathen. Finding this to be the case, I made

it a subject of serious prayer to God that he would totally eradicate and banish the desire if it was not consistent with his holy mind and will; but that if it was consistent, he would increase my knowledge with the desire. I then examined my motives, and found that a sense of the value of an immortal soul, the thousands that were daily passing from time into eternity destitute of a knowledge of Christ and salvation, and a conviction of the debt of love I owe to God for his goodness in making me savingly acquainted with the things which belong to my everlasting peace, were the considerations by which my desire was created.'—pp. 25, 26.

This state of mind he, of course, made known to his pastor and friend, who having a peculiar tact for 'discerning spirits,' perceived in Williams an instrument 'meet for the Master's use.' He therefore not only kept his eye upon him, but had frequent intercourse with him, conversed with him freely, and did everything in his power, by instruction and advice, to encourage his missionary disposition, and to develop his missionary fitness. This eminent man had a company of religious young men, who contemplated entering the Christian ministry, to meet regularly at his own house, that he might instruct them in the leading doctrines of Christianity, as his illustrious Master had before him instructed his disciples. Among such young men was Williams.

'Most fully aware of his educational deficiencies, he gladly acceded to the proposal of his friend and pastor; and from this time he devoted, with the utmost ardour, all the leisure he could command to the course of reading and other mental exercises which his venerable tutor prescribed. Happily, the nature of his situation, and the kindness of the family with whom he resided, afforded him many facilities for the prosecution of his studies. In a short time, his rapid improvement fully satisfied Mr. Wilks of his capabilities, and induced that excellent man to encourage the early tender of his services to the London Missionary Society.'—p. 27.

In July, 1816, he formally applied to the directors of the London Missionary Society to be admitted as one of their agents, and, after having satisfactorily passed the usual examination, he was cordially and unanimously accepted. At this time he was still an apprentice, but his master, Mr. Tonkin, cheerfully gave up the seven months which were unexpired, to enable him at once to devote himself fully to his studies. On the 30th of September in the same year, his solemn designation to the full work of a missionary to the heathen, took place at Surrey Chapel. Nine young missionaries were set apart to their glorious work on the same evening—five for Africa, of whom Moffat was one, and four for the South Seas, of whom Williams was the youngest.

On this occasion, a copy of the sacred Scriptures was presented to each missionary.

'I shall never forget,' said Mr. Williams, many years after this interesting scene, 'the impression produced upon my mind by the solemn manner in which our beloved brother, Mr. James, of Birmingham, put the Bible into my hand. With all the affection for which he is distinguished, and with all the power and impressiveness of his manner, he said, 'Go, my beloved brother, and with the ability which God has given you, be faithful in season and out of season in proclaiming the precious truths which that volume contains. And then, good Dr. Waugh, with heaven beaming on his benevolent countenance, and the big tear of affection glistening in his intelligent eye, speaking to me upon my youthful appearance, said, 'Go, my dear young brother, and if your tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, let it be with telling poor sinners of the love of Jesus Christ; and if your arms drop from your shoulders, let it be with knocking at men's hearts to gain admittance for him there.'—pp. 35, 36.

In the trying and arduous enterprise to which he had now fully consecrated himself, the next important point was to find a 'help-meet.' This important measure had already entered into his calculation while 'counting the cost' of his missionary labour. The lady whom he had selected as his apostolic fellow-helper in the truth was Miss Mary Chawner, a member of the church at Tabernacle. It is right that our readers should know something of this apostolic and intrepid, though retiring woman, who contributed so much to her husband's success, and who now calls for our sympathies amid the desolation caused by his untimely death. In the church of which she was a member, she was highly esteemed for 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit,' as well as for the sterling excellences which had uniformly appeared in her conduct and character.

'Mr. Williams knew her virtues; and as they were fellow-labourers in the same walks of usefulness, he enjoyed opportunities of observation and intercourse, which satisfied him that beneath her placid manner and apparent timidity there existed a strength of principle and a growing zeal for God which eminently qualified her for the service upon which he was about to enter. This induced him to follow, without hesitation, the impulses of his heart, and the result abundantly confirmed his convictions, and justified his choice. In Christian heroism she proved the equal of her intrepid husband, and in patient endurance, his superior. It is not flattery, but simple justice, to say that she was in all points worthy of the honoured man to whose happiness and success she so largely contributed; and in no part of his life was the kindness of Divine Providence more manifest than in the circumstances which led to their happy union. This was solemnized on the 29th of October, 1816, and it was a day which not only Mr. Williams had reason to remember with gratitude, but also

many thousands of Polynesian females, whom the love and labours of his devoted partner raised from degradation to comfort, from the rudeness and vile indulgences of savage, to the manifold enjoyments of civilized life, and from pagan darkness to evangelical light.'—p. 33.

There was now but one scene more through which he had to pass, before he quitted the shores of his native land, and that was his parting with his pious and endeared mother. The melting tenderness which led him to pity the heathen did not make him forget or cease to feel the sweet charms of kindred and family, but especially the vital sympathies which bound him to his affectionate mother. The thought of leaving her, without the expectation of seeing her again in this world, never entered his mind without anguish and tears.

'But his chief anxiety was on her own account. He knew the depth of her affection; and although she had been constrained by her Christian principles to give up her son to the service of the Saviour, he perceived the struggle between her maternal emotions and higher sentiments, and he was anxiously concerned to prepare her mind for the separation. As the period approached, he devoted his utmost attention to his beloved parents and friends, and had considerably engaged his venerable pastor to remain with them during the day of embarkation. That day was fixed for the 17th of November, 1816; but on its arrival he was rejoiced to find that his mother's faith and firmness were equal to the demand upon them, and that so evidently, as to draw the remark from their kind comforter, Mr. Wilks, that he found she had no need of him.'—pp. 38, 39.

We have now given to our readers, information on the education, habits, and character of Williams, up to the time of his embarkation. We take it for granted that our readers have read, or after this certainly will read, his own apostolic work, the 'Missionary Enterprise.' On this account we do not think it either necessary or expedient to follow Mr. Prout through the chapters which detail Mr. Williams's missionary labours, from the time when he settled at Raiatea to the period of his return to England. Yet in all these chapters there is much that is captivating and thrilling in themselves, and rendered more so by the graphic distinctness, the natural consecutiveness, the transparent style, the devotional unction, of Mr. Prout's method of narration. Had our space permitted, we should have lingered about Williams's first impressions on landing at Eimeo—his settling at Raiatea—his practical method of learning the languages—his erection of the mission-house—his printing press and school—the building of his chapel—his introduction of legislation and trial by jury—his deliverance from native conspiracies—his first preaching in the language of the natives—his formation of a

Christian church after the original apostolical platform—the discouragements which drove him to Sydney—and the joy of the Raiateans upon his return among them. We would gladly have told our readers also about his missionary voyages among several islands—his discovery of Rarotonga with its debased natives—his application for a missionary ship—the spiritual advancement of his converts—the false charges which he had to rebut—but in reference to all these, we must say, ‘buy the book, and read for yourselves.’ Let us entreat our readers to accompany Williams on his second voyage to the Hervey Islands, and witness his hazardous landing in Rarotonga, fourteen years after he had first discovered it—his reception, labours, and influence upon that island, where, if he had been anything but a Christian missionary, he would have been celebrated by every periodical in Europe as the mechanic who built there ‘The Messenger of Peace.’ We cannot even allude to his second voyage to Samoa, where he was so cordially welcomed, nor to his return to Raiatea, where an attempt was made to assassinate him; and we find it impossible to enumerate the many voyages which he made, and the arduous and perilous enterprises which he undertook to bless Polynesia.

Wearied and exhausted by labours more abundant, he determined, for the purpose of recruiting his strength, or refreshing his spirit, and of aiding his mission, to pay a visit to his native country; and ‘on the 12th of June, 1834, after nearly eighteen years’ absence, the white cliffs of his beloved and native land once more greeted and gladdened his eyes.’

Mr. Prout introduces the chapter which narrates Mr. Williams’s sojourn in England, by stating some of the disadvantages under which he commenced his public engagements at missionary anniversaries. Coventry had the honour of having his first missionary speech. ‘Here his statements were heard with deep interest, and his spirit was refreshed by intercourse with the brethren, especially with ‘good old Mr. Jerard,’ one of the missionaries captured in the Duff.’ The next place he visited was Birmingham, where the large chapel in Carr’s-lane was thronged, and the congregation deeply interested by a speech which occupied two hours.

‘He himself was much excited: for his associations with Birmingham were peculiar, and his obligations to its pastors and their people great. He therefore began his address by saying, that ‘had he been privileged to attend but one meeting in England, he should have selected that before which he then appeared in preference to every other. Birmingham,’ he added, ‘has to me attractions and attachments which no other place possesses. From one of its ministers I received my first religious impressions;’ and then, turning to the Rev.

T. East, he proceeded, 'Yes, sir, to you, under God, I am indebted for all that I am, and for all that I have been able to effect! From the beloved minister of this sanctuary I received my Bible, and the solemn charge to preach its glorious revelations to the heathen. And, sir,' turning to Mr. James, 'according to the ability which God has given me, I *have* preached the doctrine of salvation by faith in a crucified Redeemer.'—pp. 410, 411.

Whatever were the difficulties in the way of his success as a public speaker, he surmounted them all. He had facts enough, and he had confidence enough, in the merit of his subject. 'If,' said he, 'I can only gain the ear of the public, I know that I possess facts which *must* interest them.' He *did* 'interest' them, and he gained not their 'ears' only, but their hearts and their contributions also. He had facts enough to relate, he had zeal enough in his grand theme, he had power of arrangement enough to assort his facts in the best manner, and he had simplicity of purpose enough to arrest and to edify every audience.

'The facts he narrated were almost invariably adduced either in illustration of some important statement, in proof of some leading position, or as an incitement to zeal and effort.' 'With rare exceptions, his statements were not incidentally, but immediately applicable to his object. Few men ever spoke more *ad rem*. His practical tact and business habits were, in this way, as evident on the platform and in the pulpit as they had been elsewhere. And the direct relation subsisting between facts and principles, which were invariably connected in his addresses, gave to both a point and a power not usually attained even by the clearest and closest abstract demonstrations.'—p. 415.

After labouring for eighteen months in travelling, and addressing auxiliary societies, he began to think in earnest of publishing an account of his missionary voyages, and eventually produced his 'Missionary Enterprises.' For this purpose he obtained some temporary release from public engagements, as far as the officers of the Society were concerned; but the application of private friendship to procure his services, to which he could scarcely ever say 'no,' so accumulated upon him, that up to the close of 1835, he had done little more than form the plan of his future publication.

'Yet amid these distractions, he began and prosecuted a work now classed among the choicest literary treasures of the church. Excepting a few detached days spent at the house of a friend, nothing but broken fragments, and many of them mere fractions of time, could be secured for his object.'—'No one but an eye-witness can conceive of the trials of temper to which, under these circumstances, he was subjected by inconsiderate intruders; yet no visitor, however unwelcome, was ever met but with a smile. He had not the heart to give intruders

a significant hint that it was time to retire; and often, when they had withdrawn, he has resumed his work with a smiling countenance, and observed, 'Well, I do hope that these good people will allow us to get through *some day*.'—p. 429.

Nevertheless, in these trying circumstances he composed his work in less time than is usually spent on a volume of the same extent. This is accounted for by Mr. Prout.

'In the first place, the materials of the work were already familiar to its author, and many of its facts had been repeatedly used in his public addresses, but this would have availed him little, had not his diligence been remarkable, and the facility with which he could resume his work after interruption, and improve the shortest periods of time, been such as few possess. His journals, also, afforded him assistance; but only a small portion was copied from them; the far greater part was either supplied from memory or entirely re-written.'—p. 430.

It is true that if the 'Missionary Enterprises' had been issued just as he threw off the sheets, they would not have appeared in the attractive and elegant dress which they now wear. He had worked too hard as a faithful missionary, and had been too laboriously employed with barbarous dialects, to allow him time to cultivate the graces of English composition. Conscious, therefore, that the Polynesian offspring of his mind needed some little English discipline and polishing before it appeared in company, he had the good sense to request a friend of adequate taste and ability to revise and trim it. This has led to a strange and foolish report that Williams was not the real, veritable author of the work. Mr. Prout, who knows best the whole affair, gives this account of it.

'Neither time nor previous occupations permitted him to do much beyond throwing off in haste the rough sketch or the unfinished outline. Had he attempted more, it is probable that he would have accomplished less. Yet, although biographical fidelity demands the acknowledgment that assistance was given, it must not be supposed that it was such as to render the question of authorship in the least degree doubtful. In its main features and most essential elements, in fact, in everything which constitutes a claim to such an appropriation, the volume was, what it professes to be, his own. Such a statement would have been withheld, as altogether irrelevant and gratuitous, had it not been called for by rumours which required correction.'—p. 430.

The 'Missionary Enterprises' appeared in April, 1837. Active measures were taken to get the book circulated among the merchants, ship-owners, philosophers, nobles, and statesmen of the country. As the author felt that he was pleading for the world, and for the Saviour of the world, he resolved 'to present a copy

of his work to several of the individuals most distinguished by their station or attainments, accompanied by a letter, calling their attention to the facts contained.' Among these personages were the Duchess of Kent, Her Majesty the Queen, then Princess Victoria, Lord Brougham, the Duke of Devonshire, &c. The result was, that he was invited to many a noble mansion, and pressed to join many a select party, where he fixed and rivetted the attention of large companies, upon the great facts and claims of Christian missions. It would be curious and interesting to know how this devoted missionary, who had spent so many years among savages, conducted himself in courtly circles.

'One distinguished individual, at whose mansion Mr. Williams was invited to meet a large and brilliant party, assured the author, that it was the opinion of himself and others, that, apart from the false forms, he possessed all the finish of the most refined courtesy, and that unconsciously, and without design, he was a perfect gentleman.'—p. 471.

The methods adopted for making the book known obtained for it an unparalleled circulation. From April, 1837, to September, 1838, 7500 copies were sold. After this a new edition was printed in post octavo, which had a sale of 6000. Subsequently a 'People's Edition' was stereotyped, and published unabridged for the sake of the poorer readers, at two shillings and sixpence. Of this edition, which appeared in April, 1840, TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND copies have been sold, making a '*total of the whole*,' of all sizes, in five years, of THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND copies.

But, say our readers, we have seen the young artisan in the ironmonger's shop—we have seen the active and apostolic missionary in official labours—we have seen the graphic writer, and have heard the popular speaker—but what was he at home?

'When at home, Mr. Williams *was* at home; devotedly attached to his most estimable partner and their amiable family, nothing would have drawn him from them but the claims of public duty; and whenever he could consistently release himself from those claims, he hastened to enjoy the luxury, to him as great as it was rare, of spending some hours in their midst. Rarely, when he could command an unbroken evening, did he omit to invite a few of those with whom he was most intimate to join their family circle. These, however, were not set parties, but social meetings. Usually, missionary scenes and occupations became the leading topics of conversation; and it was delightful to trace upon his bright and benevolent countenance the satisfaction which he enjoyed, when he had been successful in gratifying his friends. Very frequently, on these occasions, the curiosities which he had brought from the islands were drawn from their hiding-places, and the various contents of several cases covered the table or the floor. A singular medley of idols, dresses, ornaments, domestic utensils, implements of industry, and weapons of war, formed so many subjects of remark;

and not unfrequently, Mr. Williams arrayed his own portly person in the native tiputa and mat, fixed a spear by his side, and adorned his head with a towering cap of many colours, worn on high days by the chiefs; and as he marched up and down his parlour, he was as happy as any one of the guests, whose cheerful mirth he had thus excited. To this exhibition he would add explanations of each relic; naming, and sometimes describing the island from which he obtained it; the past history and present state of its inhabitants; the use of the object, or the customs connected with it; and various other interesting particulars. In general, these interesting statements were crowned by a donation of some curiosity which had awakened special interest; and that his visitors might taste as well as see the good things of Polynesia, jars of native preserves, either of the banana, or some other Polynesian fruit, were opened for their gratification. How many hours of almost sacred, though now of melancholy interest—seasons which they fondly hoped to renew with their devoted friend on earth—will these brief references recal to those who were among his favoured guests at Bedford Square.’ —p. 479, 480.

Such was Williams ‘at home.’ But dearly as he loved his home—dearly as he loved ‘England with all her faults,’ he still held Polynesia in affectionate remembrance. One of the schemes which he had most at heart was, the obtaining of a missionary ship for the purposes of his mission among the islands of the South Seas. This, through the liberality of the friends of missions, and of the city of London, he succeeded in possessing. The ship was called the ‘Camden,’ and Captain Morgan, the man whom he preferred of all the men he knew, became its commander. The vessel was repaired at a cost of 400*l.* by Joseph Fletcher, Esq., who generously said that ‘he felt much pleasure in *giving it all* to the cause of the Redeemer.’ On the evening of the 4th of April, 1838, a public valedictory service was held at the Tabernacle, a full and accurate report of which is given in the interesting little volume entitled ‘The Missionary Farewell.’ The 11th of April was the day of his departure, when hundreds of the warm friends of Williams and of missions accompanied the missionary family from London Bridge to the ‘Camden.’

‘Shortly after the ‘City of Canterbury’ steamer came alongside the ‘Camden,’ and the missionaries had separated themselves from their friends, all on board the two vessels united in a devotional service.’—‘Then, as in the days of Ezra, many wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy.’ At the conclusion of the hymn, the Rev. T. Jackson, of Stockwell, (now departed,) offered an appropriate prayer, after which, the Rev. Dr. Fletcher, (now also gone to rest,) gave out the psalm, ‘From all that dwell below the skies,’ &c., with which the service closed. The ‘Camden’ then unfurled her sails, and the wind being fair, she commenced her distant and important voyage. The ‘City of Canterbury’ accompanied her for a few miles, and the ex-

pressions of affection were, during this time, repeatedly exchanged by those on board each vessel; nor did they cease, after they had parted, until persons could not be distinguished in the distance, and the fare-well signals no longer discerned.'—p. 509.

We cannot follow him to describe his services and success at the Cape of Good Hope—his gratifying reception at Sydney—his arrival at Tabuila, his voyage along the coast of Upolu, where eventually he resolved to fix his residence. Here he built a dwelling house amid the jealousies and fears of the heathen, whose hostilities were subdued by the influence of his name. He paid another visit to Rarotonga; he made preparations for commencing a missionary college; he made many voyages of mercy, and planted many teachers of salvation, and realized large accessions to the Christian church. His noble heart was for comprehending all the islands of the South Seas. 'For my part,' said he, 'I cannot content myself within the narrow limits of a single reef.' He therefore planned his voyage to the New Hebrides. On the voyage he wrote:

Saturday, Nov. 16th.

'I have just heard dear Captain Morgan say that we are sixty miles off the Hebrides, so that we shall be there early to-morrow morning. This evening we are to have a special prayer-meeting. Oh! how much depends upon the efforts of to-morrow! *Will the savages receive us or not?* Perhaps at this moment you, or some other kind friend, may be wrestling with God for us. I am all anxiety, but desire prudence and faithfulness in the management of the attempt to impart the gospel to these benighted people, and leave the event with God. I brought twelve missionaries with me; two have settled at a beautiful island called Rotuma; the ten I have are for the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. The approaching week is to me the most important of my life.'—p. 566.

At the island of Tanna he was well received, and on the 18th made his last entry in his journal. Here it is.

'Monday morning, 18th.—This is a memorable day, a day which will be transmitted to posterity; and the record of the events which have this day transpired, will exist, after those who have taken part in them have retired into the shades of oblivion; and the results of this day will be——'

Oh! what a 'will be;' what a mysterious communing with the future was this? Mr. Prout successfully shows, from those laws which interpret mind in the process of writing, that this sentence was penned in the evening, though dated, on the morning of the 18th, and says, 'the sentence is so remarkable, viewed in connexion with subsequent events, as to give to the opinion of Dr. Campbell much plausibility, that this 'servant of God wrote, though unconsciously, under a supernatural impression.'

From a journal written by Williams's amanuensis, we have this brief account. 'About one o'clock [on Tuesday, Nov. 19] we set sail [from Tanna] and stood to the northward, for the island of *Erromanga*, and got to its southern side sufficiently early in the evening to run along the coast for the distance of some miles to the westward, till at its becoming dark, and being unable to distinguish the creeks and bays in the land, we put the vessel about to lie-to during the night.'

The next dawn was the morning of that dark and dreadful day, when the earthly course of this apostolic man was closed. On that morning he told a friend 'that he had passed a sleepless night, from the consideration of the magnitude and importance of the work before him; that he was much oppressed by its weight, and feared that he might have undertaken more than he should be able to fulfil; that so extensive were the islands which he had engaged to survey, that many years of anxious toil would be requisite ere he could realize his own designs, or meet the expectations of his friends at home.' Shortly after this conversation he entered the boat, and landed upon the strand upon which he was so soon to sink beneath the assassin's club, and pour out his blood as an oblation in his Divine Master's service.

We feel literally as if an oppressive and crushing burden were removed from our heart, by saying, in the language of Mr. Prout, 'But the dark details of that hour, so sorrowful to survivors, but so glorious for him, will be best described by the circumstantial communications of Captain Morgan and Mr. Cunningham, who stood with him, and saw him fall upon that savage shore.' And for these 'circumstantial communications' we must refer our readers to the work, for we feel that we cannot have the heart to detail them.

So died this messenger of peace! 'Father, forgive them, for they knew not what they did.' 'Where is William?' cried the natives of Tanna. 'Where is Missi William?' cried the native teachers of Samoa, and the multitudes wept as they uttered their pathetic cries, 'Arie, Williamu! arie, Tama!'—'Alas, Williamu! alas, our father!'

'Even the heathen were drawn to the place and joined in these lamentations. All were anxious to see Mrs. Williams, and to administer consolation; but this for many hours she was unable to bear. At length, towards the evening, she yielded to the great importunity of Malietoa, who had hastened from his own settlement, and allowed him to be admitted; and as soon as he entered the room, he burst forth into the most passionate expressions of distress, weeping, beating his breast, and crying, 'Alas, Williamu! Williamu! our father! our father! He has turned his face from us! We shall never see him more! He that brought us the good word of salvation is gone! Oh, cruel heathen!'

They knew not what they did! How great a man they have destroyed! After indulging for some time in these and similar exclamations; he turned to Mrs. Williams, who was lying upon a sofa, and kneeling by her side, he gently took her hand, and while the tears were flowing fast down his cheeks, he said, in the softest and most soothing tones, 'Oh, my mother! do not grieve so much; do not kill yourself with grieving. You, too, will die with sorrow, and be taken away from us, and then, oh! what shall we do? Think of John, and of your very little boy who is with you, and think of that other little one in a far distant land, and do not kill yourself. Do love, pity, and compassionate us.'—p. 587, 588.

Here we close the volume. His works are his name; his works are his character; his works are his monument and renown.

Of Mr. Prout we wish to say a word or two. Every one who reads this volume will feel that he is an admirable biographer. We reckon it the highest perfection of a biographer, so to write as to be perfectly forgotten in the life of his hero. Andrew Fuller, great as he was, never comes to our mind while we are reading his life of Pearce. This is exactly the case with Mr. Prout. Like a master of good writing, and skilful controller of other minds, he contrives to keep our hearts so occupied with Williams that we have no time to think of the biographer. He writes as if he had thought it rude to put in a word or a sentence now and then to remind us that, after all, it is HE who enables us thus to travel with Williams, and talk with him by the way. We think that the reader of biography is never reminded of the biographer but where there is either gross selfishness or decided mannerism. From both these sins, the mortal and the venial, Mr. Prout is completely free. He has succeeded in producing a *LIFE* of Williams. The volume is Williams living, sailing, preaching, and speaking. Here is no fashionable philosophizing on character, no amiable laudations, but a real, living *LIFE* of Williams, as a man, a Christian, and a missionary. Mr. Prout has written the *Life* of Williams in sentences composed by his mighty works and labours.

To the volume is prefixed a good portrait of Williams on board the Camden, in view of an island. It is enough to say that the portrait was drawn and engraved by Baxter. The entire getting up of the volume does great credit to the publisher.

Art. V. *Fasti Hellenici*. Volume Second. By H. F. Clinton, Esq., M.A., Student of Christ Church. Third Edition. 1841.

WE are, perhaps, making a bold experiment in venturing on any more detailed review of this valuable work than has already ap-

peared in our pages. The miscellaneous character of the matter contained in it makes it impossible to give any unity to our remarks upon it. Vague praise would be easily given, and vague censure of so well-known and highly-esteemed a production would only bring discredit upon ourselves. Nor, indeed, can we hope that more than a small portion of our readers will be able to take interest in our lucubrations. Nevertheless, we claim their indulgence for this once, and we give them leave to protest that our erudition is too dry for them to peruse.

It is rather remarkable, in regard both to Greece and Rome, that for the times at which we possess written political orations, we have no contemporaneous or native historians; and the surviving works of the great orators at once furnish valuable materials for history, and most urgently need themselves the illustration of a history. To explain the Roman orators, we have more trustworthy help, it is true, from Dio Cassius, Asconius, and Appian, (not to name minor scholiasts,) than from Diodorus or Plutarch for illustrating the Greek orators; and to speak generally, the Roman chronology, during the times which are to be called historical, involves far fewer difficulties than have long beset that of Greece. The first and most delightful of Greek prose writers, the venerable Herodotus, leaves many chronological doubts on the mind of a reader, even as to the most recent and trustworthy portions of his history; and what may seem more strange, the precise and careful Thucydides—who, during the years of the war which he professes to narrate, follows the systematic form of annals—yet, in regard to events which are beyond that circle, is often obscure enough as to dates with which he must have had the most accurate acquaintance. The later events, when Xenophon's history fails us, are again involved in uncertainty; to say nothing of the difficulties which the interpolations in Xenophon's own narrative, and the probable loss of its opening, have produced. The volume now before us treats just of this central part of Grecian history—from the rise of undoubted chronology, to the era at which the Greek states lose their predominating interest and the history of Rome begins to swallow up that of Greece. Mr. Clinton has limited it thus:—From the first usurpation of Pisistratus, in Athens, (B.C. 560,) to the death of the first successors of Alexander, (nearly B.C. 280.) The *former* date coincides within a year with the accession of Cyrus in Persia, and, as nearly as possible, with the commencement of Greek historical writing in prose. At the *latter*, the Achæan league arose; the Gauls first burst into Greece; the Asiatic monarchies assumed the form which they permanently kept; and the Roman and Greek armies first met, by the invasion of King Pyrrhus. Mr. Clinton has justly selected this era

as a natural division of time ; while by opening his volume with Pisistratus and Cyrus, he excludes mythological narrative and doubtful genealogies.

Mr. Clinton's tables contain not only the events or facts of each year, but to a great extent the authorities for them, *quoted in full from the original writers*, except in the case of the commonest classics, to whom a reference is sufficient. This enables all who have even the most limited library, to verify at pleasure the greatest part of his work. The great bulk of the additional Trcatises, with the ample Notes and Introduction, are on the scale of the ponderous tomes of the old scholars, and refute the opinion of those who fancy that the old-fashioned erudition is quite extinct among us. In another respect, also, we may look on Mr. Clinton as—perhaps the *last*, of the old school ; as certainly he is not the least respectable—viz., that he stands out firmly in defence of the old genealogists, and takes much pains to reduce mythology into history. His excellent sense, indeed, uniformly preserves him from attempting this in any of the extremer cases : still, we are disposed to think that even his *second* volume (with which alone we are concerned) is far less successful when it touches such subjects, than when it deals with more tangible matter ; nor do we think that his excursions into Asiatic chronology are among the most satisfactory parts of his work.

Dry and tedious as the study of chronology may seem, we believe that it gradually assumes to the mind of the student a place similar to that which is sustained by anatomy in the art of drawing. The skeleton must be well set in the first instance, else no beauty of filling up can make the figure living and true. Chronology, joined with geography, gives the skeleton and framework of history ; and it has an interest of its own, which grows upon the diligent investigator. We cannot, however, too strongly express our sense of the importance of accustoming ourselves, in all literary study, to strive after fixed conceptions of time as well as space. No small part of the art of criticism—i.e., of the art or science of believing and disbelieving aright, depends upon this. The intellectual discipline of reading a speech of Demosthenes, or a book of Herodotus, with a perpetual reference to these points, is beyond comparison more beneficial to the mind, than when they are allowed to be neglected ; and at the same time, whatever gives fixedness to these notions exceedingly assists the memory. Independently, therefore, of any intrinsic value involved in a right ascertainment of Greek dates, we feel that a great benefit accrues to every student who, by having access to such a book as Mr. Clinton's, is assisted to acquire the habit of reading accurately.

differently; and instead of giving mutual support, each appears to be undermining the other's argument. The case may be thus briefly stated:—

(1.) The Olympic years, as the years of Athens, begin in midsummer; and the first year of each Olympiad opens in a year *before Christ*, which is a multiple of 4. Thus there were Olympic games at midsummer of the years B.C. 420, 416, 412, &c. This is well known. (2.) Since the writings of Corsini, it is no longer controverted that the Pythian games were in the *third* year of each Olympiad. Thus *between* the midsummers of 418 and 417, also of 414 and 413, &c., a Pythiad was celebrated. For this we have the direct testimony of Pausanias; and it is confirmed by every known case of their occurrence. The Phocians, for instance, were subdued by Philip the Great nearly in midsummer B.C. 346; and *after* this, the next known event is, his presiding at the Pythian games. (3.) It remains to inquire at what time of the year they were celebrated: and here, the great German scholars follow the Italian in declaring that they were *in the spring*, while Arnold will have them about *July*, and Clinton in *autumn*. The analogy of the other Greek feasts forbids us to suppose that the time was changeable from season to season.

Now it appears to us that a view intermediate to that of Clinton and Arnold is conceivable, which shall embrace both, and put an end to their difference. All such feasts were settled by very simple astronomical rules, such as would be intelligible to rude tribes, in spite of the variety of calendar in the several Greek states. For instance, the Olympic festival is believed to have been held on the *first full moon* after the summer solstice: and the simple rule was observed, (which gave a good approximation to the solar year,) of counting between successive Olympiads alternately forty-nine and fifty lunations, ninety-nine of which are within three days of eight solar years. Analogy suggests that some similar rule may have existed for the Pythian games. Now one of Mr. Clinton's arguments in proof that the Pythiad was held in the autumn, is drawn from Plutarch's statement, that after the great battle of Coronea, (B.C. 394,) when Agesilaus went to Delphi to offer the tithe of his spoils to Apollo, *it was the time of the Pythian games*. Both Boeckh and Arnold set this argument aside, by saying that Plutarch is not to be trusted: but we cannot consent to this mode of reasoning, while the question is still pending. Let us suppose, with Mr. Clinton, that Plutarch was right, and consider what follows. The battle was fought on the day of a sufficiently remarkable eclipse of the sun, which astronomers fix on August 13, 22h.,—that is (since their day is counted from noon), two hours before noon of

of value in the different parts of his work. But he has done what he could for us; and his services are real and great. If he has been unduly idolized, it is too bad to flog our idol as soon as we have found out that he is not a god. Mr. Clinton's use of his help appears to be particularly sober and judicious; nor does he fall into ill humour with the worthy old historian when he thinks him to be wrong.

Mr. Clinton's clear insight into the amount of numerical information to be extracted from an ancient writer, is sometimes interesting. One example may illustrate this. We read in Thucydides that at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had 13,000 men capable of serving as heavy armed troops, 1200 horsemen, 1600 bowmen, and 16,000 on garrison duty and watch; these last, consisting of the oldest and youngest citizens, *mixed with* the naturalized aliens. From such data does Mr. Clinton undertake to disentangle the number of the aliens—a problem which might at first seem impossible. His process is as follows (p. 478):—By the *oldest*, the historian means the men above 60; and by the *youngest*, those between 18 and 20; as we learn from other sources; and [omitting the *bowmen*, we do not quite understand why], it seems there were 13,000 + 1200 citizens, or 14,200, between the ages of 20 and 60. But in Great Britain, when the males from 20 to 60 amounted to 4140, the men above 60 were 757, and the youths from 18 to 20 were about 504. Applying these proportions, we find that Athens then had 2596 men above 60, and 1728 youths between 18 and 20; the sum of which being deducted from 16,000, leaves 11,676 for the resident aliens who served as heavy armed troops. Of course this is only intended as a rough computation: but (if only it be certain that the bowmen were all foreigners) we see nothing to object to it as such.

But we shall proceed to comment in detail on a few points, in which it seems to us not impossible to add some fresh light to the subjects treated in the work before us.

One of Mr. Clinton's smaller contributions to our chronological knowledge is, his discussion concerning the time at which the Pythian games were held. The result to which he has arrived appears to us substantially sound, and we believe it has convinced his learned translator Krueger. We are induced to enter somewhat into the question here, because not only is an opposite opinion—that of Corsini—maintained by the highest German authorities, as Boeckh and Müller, but the same view has been followed in the excellent Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, (*Art. Pythian Games*), without any notice that there are strong arguments against it. Moreover, Arnold and Clinton, who on the whole agree, interpret the details of several passages

differently; and instead of giving mutual support, each appears to be undermining the other's argument. The case may be thus briefly stated:—

(1.) The Olympic years, as the years of Athens, begin in midsummer; and the first year of each Olympiad opens in a year *before Christ*, which is a multiple of 4. Thus there were Olympic games at midsummer of the years B.C. 420, 416, 412, &c. This is well known. (2.) Since the writings of Corsini, it is no longer controverted that the Pythian games were in the *third* year of each Olympiad. Thus *between* the midsummers of 418 and 417, also of 414 and 413, &c., a Pythiad was celebrated. For this we have the direct testimony of Pausanias; and it is confirmed by every known case of their occurrence. The Phocians, for instance, were subdued by Philip the Great nearly in midsummer B.C. 346; and *after* this, the next known event is, his presiding at the Pythian games. (3.) It remains to inquire at what time of the year they were celebrated: and here, the great German scholars follow the Italian in declaring that they were *in the spring*, while Arnold will have them about *July*, and Clinton in *autumn*. The analogy of the other Greek feasts forbids us to suppose that the time was changeable from season to season.

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August 14. This eclipse implies that there was, astronomically, a new moon, which, on the evening of the 16th, would become visible. If, now, this was the time of the Pythian games, we find them celebrated, at least on one occasion, at the new moon; and even the analogy of the Olympian games makes it probable that either the full or new moon must have ordinarily marked their celebration. This is a confirmation of Plutarch's statement not to be despised, if there is no counter evidence. As astronomers choose to compute backwards by the Julian, and not by the true solar year, the summer solstice in the year B.C. 394, is found to be on June 28, and the new moon in question was 'the *second* after the solstice.' Let us, for argument sake, suppose this to have been the general law of the Pythiad, and pursue the hypothesis into its results. In the year 382, the second new moon fell on July 31, 20h. of astronomer's time, which, reduced to civil time, (with June 21 for the solstice,) would place the Pythiad that year in the week following July 24. But, according to Aristides, (a rhetorician who lived under Marcus Antoninus,) the Pythian games that year were going on at the time when Phœbidas seized the Cadmea of Thebes. This is made by Dr. Arnold an objection against Mr. Clinton; for, says he, the military operations which followed in the same year, show that the event must have happened 'much earlier than August or September.' He therefore puts it 'about the beginning of our July.' But if we (following out a part of Mr. Clinton's view) are here right, the date falls barely a fortnight or three weeks later than Dr. Arnold claims to have it; and between him and us, it would seem, there can be no controversy. If three weeks could here be of so great importance, we should have to ask, whether the authority of Aristides deserves to be upheld at the expense of Plutarch; and whether the former may not have been wrong, and the latter right. Boeckh, indeed, from the necessity of his hypothesis, holds them *both* to be mistaken: for as it is admitted that the Pythiad fell in the third Olympic year, he would need to delay it in this instance till the spring of B.C. 381; whereas, it is certain that Phœbidas's enterprise was in the summer of 382. So far, then, the case is unfavourable to the German view, and agrees to that of our English scholars. The same result comes out from the Pythiad noticed by Thucydides in the opening of his fifth book, when speaking of the summer of the year 422. His words are:— 'And the following summer, the truce for the year had ended at the Pythian games'—*διελύοντο μέχρι Πυθίων*. Whatever the difference between Arnold and Clinton as to the translation and interpretation of the passage, it seems to us in any case irreconcilable with the idea of Boeckh and Goeller, that the games

did not take place till the spring of *the year after*. We feel persuaded that Arnold's explanation is the true one—viz., the truce had begun in the spring of 423, and ought to have ended in the spring of 422, as it was made only for a year; but, in fact, it lasted a little later—viz., *until* the summer of 422, at the time of the Pythian games. In that year there was a new moon (in astronomical time) on July 25, 0h., and it is possible that this was counted the second new moon after the solstice, since a new moon preceded the solstice by so short a time, that it would probably be counted the first moon of that year.

These three cases put together, strike us as strong in favour of Mr. Clinton's view; but the next argument is rightly called by Dr. Arnold the strongest, and appears to us quite decisive. In his speech on the Crown, Æschines tells us that the Pythian games are to be held *in a few days*; and it is certain from that speech that he had not yet heard of the death of the last Darius, strange as it may seem that Boeckh is not convinced by the evidence. The words of the orator are these:—‘The King of Persia is already driven to contend for the safety of his own person,’ which could not possibly have been said after the news had arrived of his murder. Now it is admitted that Darius was slain in the first month of Aristophon (who was archon B.C. 330—329)—i. e., about July, B.C. 330. More than three months cannot be allowed for the news of so important an event to reach Athens: hence, it is impossible to delay the Pythian games till the spring of the next year, which is nearly nine months. We find that a new moon is fixed by astronomers on July 27d. 0h., or, in our reckoning, about July 21, which, we conjecture, was (what we now venture to call) the *Pythian* moon.

It appears to us that the statement of Xenophon as to the Pythian games which followed the battle of Leuctra, although involving matter of debate between Arnold and Clinton, is again unfavourable to Corsini and Boeckh. The interference of Jason of Pheræ in the autumn of 371, to save the remnant of the Spartan army, his campaign in Phocis on his way back to Thessaly, his preparations in Thessaly, the announcement with a view to the Pythian games, and his assassination before the time arrived, follow one another consecutively in Xenophon, so as to give no idea of *two* winters intervening, which would be the case if the Pythiad fell in the spring of 369. On the other hand, we think Dr. Arnold is justified in writing, ‘It is manifest that Mr. Clinton has completely mistaken the sense of the passage. . . . It is strange that he should still persist in his mistake, even after Boeckh has pointed it out to him.’ Mr. Clinton, however, still perseveres, although his translator, Krüger, is also against him. He concedes that ἐς τὸν χρόνον may mean ‘at the

time,' yet in this passage of Xenophon, interprets it 'until the time. We quite allow to him, that *is*, when the context is favourable, may be fitly interpreted *until*; indeed, his own instances are decisive. But in the present case, even if the immediate words were ambiguous, (which we hardly think they are,) the context is decisively in favour of the sense which Arnold and Boeckh assign to it. '*And as the Pythian games were approaching,*' ἐπιόντων τῶν Πυθίων, says Xenophon, (Hell. vi. 4, 29,) 'he ordered the cities to fatten cows and sheep and goats and swine, and to prepare for sacrifice. . . . And he gave out also to the Thessalians to prepare for marching out at the time (*is τὸν χρόνον*) of the Pythian games.' It is within the power of a general to begin a campaign, and it is at once natural and necessary to give notice to soldiers when to assemble for that purpose; but it is harder to conceive how Jason could give out when his campaign was to end, and rather unlikely in this case, when the games were already at hand. Moreover, it is clear that the campaign had *not* commenced when he was slain, although the Pythiad must have drawn very near. We do not understand why Mr. Clinton should be so unwilling to allow that in the years 370 and 422 the Pythiad fell early enough for a campaign to follow it, since he admits this of the year 382, in which Phœbidas surprised the Cadmea. Finally, we entirely agree with both Arnold and Clinton, that the Pythian games at which Philip presided cannot have been in the spring of B.C. 346, but must have been in the summer or autumn of the preceding year. About the summer solstice of B.C. 346, there were new moons on June 24d. 21h., July 24d. 5h., and August 22d. 13h., astronomer's time. We conjecture the Pythian moon to have been the last, or that the games began about August 18, of our reckoning. This allows Philip six or seven weeks after the submission of the Phocians, and agrees well enough with the history.

In pursuing this question into detail, we have obtained the polite and cordial assistance of a gentleman personally unknown to us, who is practically conversant with the computation of eclipses. As we are painfully conscious of the trouble we have inflicted on him, the hope of making his labours of use to some others besides ourselves, induces us to annex the following table, which he computed for us. It includes the century during which the Metonic cycle was used at Athens, from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war to the era at which Athens ceased to be a leading state. It must be remembered that the time is *astronomical*; and that at the beginning of the table the average summer solstice is June 28th, at the end June 27th:—

B. C.	Olymp. F. M.	Pythian N. M.	B. C.	Olymp. F. M.	Pythian N. M.
	d. h.	d. h.		d. h.	d. h.
432	June 29 14		380	July 24 15	
430	- - -	Aug. 22 0	378	- - -	Aug. 17 5
428	July 16 0		376	July 11 9	
426	- - -	Aug. 7 5	374	- - -	Aug. 2 9
424	July 1 8		372	July 26 9?	
422	- - -	July 25 0?	370	- - -	Aug. 18 16
420	July 17 9		368	July 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *	
418	- - -	Aug. 8 18	366	- - -	Aug. 4 0
416	July 3 2		364	June 28 12?	
414	- - -	July 26 14	362	- - -	Aug. 19 23
412	July 18 13		360	July 14 0*	
410	- - -	Aug. 10 9	358	- - -	Aug. 5 19
408	July 4 21		356	June 30 6	
406	- - -	July 28 0	354	- - -	Aug. 22 7
404	July 19 22		352	July 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *	
402	- - -	Aug. 12 3	350	- - -	Aug. 7 12
400	July 6 14		348	July 1 19	
398	- - -	July 29 9	346	- - -	Aug. 22 13
396	July 21 15		344	July 17 *	
394	- - -	Aug. 13 22	342	- - -	Aug. 9 6
392	July 8 4		340	July 3 6	
390	- - -	July 30 8	338	- - -	July 25 13?
388	July 22 22		336	July 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ *	
386	- - -	Aug. 15 15	334	- - -	Aug. 10 20
384	July 9 16		332	July 4 11	
382	- - -	July 31 20	330	- - -	July 27 0

We have already intimated that no small part of the labour of Mr. Clinton's second volume is employed in illustrating the Greek orators. The length at which we have already written on one point warns us that it is absolutely necessary to limit ourselves narrowly, and we shall confine our remarks henceforth to dates which fall within the public life of Demosthenes.

Bishop Thirlwall has already offered, what appears to us, valid ground for supposing, that the conquest of Sidon and of Egypt by Artaxerxes Ochus have been put five years too high by Diodorus; in whose account Mr. Clinton, in common with other chronologers, acquiesces. Thirlwall's argument (*Hist. Greece*, vol. vi. p. 143) depends on the date, B. C. 346, assigned by Clinton to the *Φιλίππος* of Isocrates, at which time Egypt was not yet re-conquered. That the received date, B. C. 350, cannot be accurate, may likewise be proved from Clinton's own determination of the battle of Tamynæ to that year. For Phocion was the Athenian commander in that battle, which was fought in the opening spring; yet, according to the common chronology,

* The asterisk indicates that the dates to which it is affixed have been determined by interpolation. The note of interrogation is added, when the (new or full) moon is so near to the solstice, as to give rise to a doubt which would be counted the first moon in the new year.

Phocion was in Cyprus during the years 351 and 350, commanding the Carian forces on behalf of the Persians. We may here remark that the date of the battle of Tamynæ itself is fixed by Mr. Clinton, not without some singularly bold conjectural emendations of the text of Dionysius. In the same sentence, he changes Πύλας into Ταμύνας, Θουμήδου into Θεσσαλού, τρισκαδέκατον into ἐνδέκατον, besides introducing the word Ταμύνας, where the common text is defective. Whatever may be thought of the propriety of the last change which we have named, (13th into 11th,) it would seem that Mr. Clinton is substantially right in his desperate remedies for so desperate a case.

Mr. Clinton has placed the three Olynthiac orations of Demosthenes all together in the year 349; and quotes from Dionysius to the effect that they were all spoken while Callimachus was archon. This, however, only shows that the last of them was before midsummer, 348. Since, however, in that which (with Dionysius and Thirlwall) we regard as the second Olynthiac, Demosthenes computes that it is 'three or four years since they heard that Philip was engaged in besieging the fortress of Heræum in Thrace, which was in the month Mæmacterion,' (Dem. p. 29,) we seem to be justified in bringing the second and third Olynthiacs somewhat later. The Mæmacterion in question is confessed to be (about November) in the year 352; if Demosthenes had spoken these words before the year 349 ended, he could scarcely have called it 'three or four years ago.' We should not hesitate to place this Olynthiac as late as April, B.C. 348, and the last of them a month or two later; more especially since Olynthus was not captured until the following spring, according to Clinton. Dr. Leonard Schmitz, we observe, (article *ÆSCHINES*, Dict. Ancient Biogr.) adheres to the opinion that the capture was in 348; and Thirlwall, in order to evade the force of Clinton's reasoning, has adopted the idea that the 'Olympian truce,' spoken of by *Æschines*, (Fals. L. 243,) may have been Philip's own imitation of the Olympic games, (vol. v. p. 333.) But the story which is told about Phrynon, evidently supposes that the truce extended over all Greece; and it appears to us impossible to deny that *Æschines* represents the coquettings for peace between Philip and Athens to have preceded the fall of Olynthus.

We now come to a point on which we are almost afraid of speaking our own mind; especially as we cannot here afford room for adequately justifying our belief, against the weight of authority which opposes us. It is our conviction that all, or nearly all, the documents quoted in the celebrated speech of Demosthenes on the Crown, are spurious; and that Boeckh and Clinton alike are wasting their labour, in trying to extract history

and chronology out of them. Nay, what is worse still, they put forced interpretations on genuine writings, in order to bring them into a so-called harmony with these spurious or doubtful ones. Great liberties of correction are, moreover, taken by both these learned men, in cases of desperation. Thus, Clinton alters Boedromion into Hecatombæon, and Boeckh, 'facili mutatione,' transforms* 'spring' into 'autumn,' to escape the anachronisms of these documents. In fact, in spite of all that Corsini, the last of the great Attic chronologers before Mr. Clinton, has said to set up a theory of his own, as well as to disprove the theories of his predecessors, the false names of archons which disfigure these fragments, are quite enough to condemn them. We seem to ourselves able, over and above, to give proof that the dates of many of them are impossible; that their contents do not answer to the argument founded upon them in the speech; and that they contain numerous marks of a phraseology, which belongs to a more recent Greek—the dialect of Polybius, or even of Diodorus. In regard to some of them we have to ask in vain, why Philip writes to Thebans or Peloponnesians in the Attic dialect; in others, strange errors as to the description of persons have been noted, such as calling Eubulus a *Cyprian* instead of an *Anaphlystian*, and Cottyphus an *Arcadian* instead of a *Pharsalian*. It seems impossible to produce anything but confusion in chronology and history, if we are to regard them as authoritative; and in following them even for a moment, we are liable to run into error. We perceive that the learned Dr. L. Schmitz has ventured to write, on the authority of the first of these documents:—'*Five Athenian ambassadors, but not Demosthenes*, (De Coronâ, p. 235,) set out for Macedonia, the more speedily,' &c. &c. It is true, that the decree to which reference is here made, gives the names of five ambassadors, of whom Demosthenes is not one. But alike from Æschines (F.L. 275, 276, &c.) and from Demosthenes himself, (F.L. 346, 359,) we learn that Demosthenes *was* one of them. The decree which sent them abroad was dated Munychion 3rd, according to Æschines, (F.L. 271,) but Hecatombæon 30th,

* This *facilis mutatio* involves no slight perplexity. It forces him to introduce an irregular meeting of the Amphictyonic council (in the *summer* ?) at Pylæ, although there is not a word to indicate this in the orators themselves, or in any of the documents; and it most inconveniently shortens by half a year the time allowed to Philip for marching from Byzantium through Thrace, across the Danube, and coming back to Macedonia with an army encumbered with spoil. Æschines informs us that Philip was 'far away among the Scythians' at the former of these two meetings, and the latter was held 'long after, when Philip was returned from his Scythian campaign.' In our own view, this 'long after' means *six months*. Boeckh's scheme, we think, would reduce it to *three*.

according to the spurious document. It was when Demosthenes was a member of the senate, according to both orators: it was after he had left the senate, if the document rightly puts it into Hecatombæon. It is clear, also from Demosthenes, (F.L. 359,) that it was between Elaphebolion 19th, and Skirophorion 13th, and soon after the former date; which agrees well enough with Æschines, and again refutes the spurious decree. We will not pretend that we have equally positive disproof of all the other documents; but if half of them be clearly proved spurious, surely the false names of archons are alone amply sufficient to stamp the rest as untrustworthy.

Mr. Clinton's excellent tact has kept him from being set astray by these vexatious documents, to the same extent as we venture to think that Taylor, Corsini, Boeckh, have been, and, lastly, Dr. Leonard Schmitz. In deference to those contained between pp. 280—283, these learned men believe in an additional campaign of Philip in Phocis, before his seizure of Elatea, for which, we think Mr. Clinton most rightly judges that Demosthenes leaves no room. The orator's words in p. 278 are as follows:—'Philip was chosen general of the Amphictyons. After this, immediately having collected a force and gained admittance [through Pylæ] *as if* to march against the country of Cirrha, he bade good-by both to the Cirrhæans and the Locrians, and seized Elatea.' Out of these words, Boeckh (as quoted in Clinton, p. 355, 356) seems to make out that Philip actually entered Cirrhæa, and captured various cities in the course of some months, before seizing Elatea! He pleads, indeed, that we *must* suppose this, because the decrees require it; as if they did not carry on their face the strongest suspicion of unauthenticity.* On the whole, it seems to us that the interminable disputes concerning this year's proceedings, cannot be decided until these documents be altogether rejected; when that has been agreed upon, it is probable that a scheme fundamentally the same as Mr. Clinton's will be acknowledged—viz., 'that Æschines attended the Amphictyonic assembly [at Delphi, Æsch. Ctes.

* Thirlwall says that 'perhaps the letter of Philip, in De Coronâ, p. 280, is not genuine,' (vol. vi. p. 65, note 2.) A special proof of its spuriousness may possibly be found in its making the Athenian Boedromion correspond with the Macedonian Lous; which Clinton proves (against Boeckh) to have been impossible. Now, we also learn from Clinton that, in later times, Lous at Cæsarea was used for the Roman September, and that Boedromion, in many towns of Greece, was the representative of that same Roman month. This will quite account for a more recent forger supposing that Boedromion was Lous; and certainly gives no countenance to Corsini's conjectural *amendment*, of Hecatombæon for Boedromion, which Mr. Clinton strangely defends.

410, &c.] for the first time, in the spring of 339; and that the tumult against the Amphissians followed immediately; that at the autumnal meeting [at Pylæ, *Æsc. Ctes.* 413] they made Cottyphus their general, who soon, to all appearance, subdued the Amphissians; but when his army was dispersed, their exiles returned, and everything that had been done was undone. Hereupon, at the *next* Pylæa, [*De Coron.* 277,] in the spring of 338, Philip, who was by this time returned from Scythia, was chosen general of the Amphictyons.' We feel persuaded that no difficulty attaches to this scheme, if we confine ourselves to the genuine accounts of the orators themselves, and the notices by the early chronicler Philochorus, preserved to us by Dionysius; and that their words yield no other natural meaning. While, as we have said, we feel persuaded that Mr. Clinton is substantially right, we are somewhat surprised that he should not have been staggered as to the authority of the documents, some of which are really so much in his way.

Again, considering the care with which Mr. Clinton has discussed the Pythian games, we are surprised that he did not discern that the opinion concerning them which he opposes, has a stronghold in these documents. Taylor has argued (*Prolegomena De Coronâ*, p. 11, of Dobson) that the Pythia at which Philip presided after the overthrow of the Phocians, (*Dem. F. L.* 380,) were held *later than* the 21st of Mæmacterion; on the authority of the decree, 'Mnesiphilus Archon,' in p. 238, *De Coronâ*. This would be, it seems to us, unanswerable, if the decree were genuine. But a sufficient proof that it is spurious, (in addition to the false archon,) is found in the fact, that the panic which, it says, happened on the 21st of Mæmacterion, Demosthenes himself puts on the 28th of Skirophorion, on the day of the Heraclæa, (*F. L.*, 359 and 368, combined.)

We wish we could strengthen our case by asserting positively that Thirlwall holds these documents to be spurious. He sometimes quotes them doubtfully, with the manner of one who suspects that all is not right. He generally seems to aim at making his history independent of them; and in one passage (*vol. vi. p. 60*) decidedly rejects several of them, and expresses doubt of all. One point more connected with this subject we must touch: the siege of Selymbria, which is imputed to Philip. Concerning this siege an unaccountable silence is observed by nearly all authors. Diodorus and Justin appear to have been wholly ignorant of it; the speeches of Demosthenes make no allusion to it. Even the decree transmitted to us, as passed by the Byzantines and Perinthians, (*p. 256*,) in token of gratitude for the Athenian succour, gives no hint of the danger or deliverance of Selymbria—

a decree, which we will say in passing, appears far more like a genuine document than most of the rest. As far as we are aware, the blockade of Selymbria is named only in an epistle imputed to Philip, which is found in this speech, and in the comment of the scholiast, who goes by the name of Ulpian. As for the latter, it is entirely drawn from the epistle itself, and does not imply any independent sources of knowledge. From Demosthenes we learn, merely, that 'Philip was the aggressor in breaking the peace, by seizing certain Athenian vessels,' (p. 249.) The date of this may be roughly fixed by considering that Aristodemus assaulted Magnesia in 343, and that Demosthenes justified the deed: the seizure of the ships must then have preceded this assault. Again, Demosthenes alludes to six successive decrees passed at Athens with reference to this business—apparently at intervals of time—the fifth of which was moved by Philocrates. Now, Philocrates had gone into banishment before Æschines spoke his speech *De Falsâ Legatione*, (or, as some say, published his memorial,) in 343. We are therefore disposed to believe this seizure of the vessels to have been either late in 344, or early in 343. But that it arose out of a blockade of Selymbria by Philip, as the epistle pretends, it is difficult to believe; for—as we know, from Demosthenes, that that city was in the Byzantine confederacy—such a step would have plunged Philip at once into the war with both Byzantium and Perinthus, which, it is certain, did not begin until several years later. It perhaps, then, is not wonderful that Thirlwall should betray embarrassment concerning this siege of Selymbria.

Another point of some difficulty on which we have not found help from Mr. Clinton, concerns the three successive occasions on which Demosthenes was crowned. The first was on the motion of his cousin Demomeles, during the rejoicings at Athens at the successes of the combined Theban and Athenian forces against Philip, after his seizure of Elatea. This must have been late in Hecatombæon—say, in the first fortnight of our July, B. C. 338. About two or three weeks later, the fatal battle of Chæronea was fought; after which, Demosthenes was for some time unable to show himself; and, when at length he re-appeared, was persecuted by numerous attacks of a more or less formal kind. At length Diondas ventured to impeach Demomeles for having crowned Demosthenes, but was miserably defeated, not getting one-fifth part of the votes. At this crisis (we think) Aristonicus brought forward his decree for crowning the great orator, wishing to take advantage of the turn of tide in his favour. Purposely blinking at the intermediate events, he bestowed this honour on him as a reward for the success of his

policy in Eubœa, in the year 341. The crown was voted to him 'in the archonship of Chærondes, Gamelion 26th,' or the very end of January, B.C. 337, if the decree is genuine;* and was thus (as Demosthenes himself says) the second proclamation which he received," (p. 253.) Either this explanation must be admitted, or we must suppose that the Byzantines sent a first crown to him; but, as Ulpian asks, why does he make no mention of that? We ought not, without necessity, to invent new honours of this sort for him. The statement which we have made is exclusively drawn from the oration itself; and we have only to add, that the third crown was that voted to him by the motion of Ctesiphon, probably *after* midsummer in B.C. 337. (See Æsch. Ctes. p. 376.)

One remark we will venture to make on Mr. Clinton's elaborate and valuable essay on the Attic months and the Metonic cycle. With Corsini, he interprets the words of Geminus (p. 408) to mean, that 'every sixty-third day' was struck out from the whole period of 235 months or 7050 days, in order to reduce the time to nineteen solar years. We propose the inquiry, whether the case does not demand that we should understand Geminus to mean 'every sixty-fourth day.' The Greek preposition *διά* appears to us to leave his statement ambiguous; and the arithmetic computation to countenance our view. This question sensibly affects us, when we endeavour to draw up a table for turning Metonic time into the computation of the Julian year.†

A supplement to this essay contains Mr. Clinton's defence of Ruhnken's opinion concerning the time of the Lenæa, against the new views of Boeckh, which have of late obtained so much currency; more, we imagine, from the high and well-earned fame of the author, than from a very profound perception that he has established his point. This, however, is one of the controversies which appears to us not yet terminated; in endeavouring to decide it ourselves, we become distracted by the diffuse erudition called in, and by the necessity of reasoning from mere fragments of antiquity, many of which need conjectural emendation.

We must be careful, however, not to leave on the reader's

* The double name 'Chærondas Hegemon' is the chief, perhaps the only, argument against the genuineness of *this* decree. It appears as if 'Hegemon' (a fictitious archon) was originally read in the text, and that some one had corrected it to 'Chærondas.' If, however, the document is authentic, the name Chærondas must be genuine, and the date of the decree of Aristonicus is positively fixed.

† Since the above has been in the printer's hands, we have found a diversity of opinion concerning Meton's Calendar between Mr. Clinton and the Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Antt.; which seems to shew that the whole question needs deeper inquiry.

mind the false impression that Mr. Clinton's labours are destined to illustrate any narrow portion of Grecian life. They aim to be commensurate with the whole extant literature of Greece ; embracing poetry and philosophy, as much as history and oratory. The volume before us, we believe we may say, has been more and more extensively known, and more highly appreciated, every five years since it first appeared ; and we believe it is destined long to be a guide and friendly help to hundreds and thousands, who in the study of antiquity shall be learning to understand their own days and their own selves, and to become able followers and teachers of all that is true, and good, and noble.

Art. VI. *The Pastor Chief; or, the Escape of the Vaudois. A Tale of the Seventeenth Century.* Three vols. London : Cunningham and Mortimer.

THE historical associations of the valleys of Piedmont are fraught with deep interest to Protestant Christendom. Secluded by their geographical position, the inhabitants of these valleys were preserved, during many centuries, from the revolutions experienced by other nations, and retained in consequence more of the manners, habits, and faith of their fathers than was common with their neighbours. The massive mountains which encircled their valleys, while they preserved from foreign encroachments, exempted also from the more stealthy inroads made by the dominant faith of Rome in other directions. Their social character, as well as their religious belief and forms of worship, were thus preserved intact—a signal memento of the faith of former times, and an earnest of the spiritual emancipation which yet awaited the European family. It was not to be supposed that such a people, so distinct in their habits and belief from all others, would be permitted to remain undisturbed, and we consequently find that they were exposed, from time to time, to fierce and protracted assaults from their more powerful and despotic neighbours. These assaults, though mainly excited by the bigotry of a superstitious church, were directed against their civil liberties as well as their religious faith. A tyrannical monarch and an intriguing priesthood leagued together against them, and the consequences were both painful and disastrous. Their strongholds were stormed, their villages pillaged, and their wives and children mercilessly butchered. Surrounded by kingdoms over which tyranny, civil and religious, had long extended its sway, they were regarded with apprehension and hatred, and every instru-

ment which craft and power could employ, was brought into operation against them. Their characters were maligned, their religious faith was represented as impiety, their worship as a compound of obscenity and crime, and the highest ecclesiastical authorities of Christendom called upon secular princes to raze their temples to the ground, and to exterminate their very name. Two hundred years ago, Cromwell showed the better features of his character by a prompt and vigorous interposition on their behalf. The pen of Milton advocated their cause, and, backed by the known determination and generous policy of the Protector, was successful in obtaining for them a temporary respite. But the Restoration ensued, and tyranny instantly felt that there was no longer a generous protector to interpose between itself and the innocent people whom it had doomed to destruction. The first open war denounced against the Vaudois was instigated by Pope Innocent VIII., in the fifteenth century, and was followed, at brief intervals, by various others, amounting to nearly forty in number. The atrocities perpetrated in the course of these persecutions are recorded by Perrin, Boyer, Gilles, and Léger, whose truthful narrations fill the reader with horror, while they describe in glowing terms the gallant defence which the poor mountaineers made. This history constitutes, undoubtedly, one of the darkest chapters in the long roll of papal misdeeds, and stands forth to the people of Europe a fearful warning against priestism in any form. Harmless as it may appear in its incipient stages, mild its language, chameleon-like its complexion, it can become, and when allowed to attain maturity, invariably has become, crafty as an assassin, and cruel as a tiger.

The present work relates to that period of Waldensian history when Victor-Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, instigated by Louis XIV., rescinded the privileges of his protestant subjects, and overran their valleys with mercenary and licentious soldiery. The horrors of this war, together with the barbarities practised on such of the Vaudois as were captured by their assailants, are matters of history, and have been related at full length by Boyer.

Such is the scene which the present writer has undertaken to embody in the form of an historical novel; and the nature of the subject, together with the manner of its execution, has induced us to depart from our usual practice, and to give a somewhat extended notice of his work. We took it up with no great expectations, supposing we should meet with violent party views, partaking of the political protestantism of the day, without any of the redeeming qualities which characterize the higher productions of literature. Of the former, however, though the theme was confessedly tempting, we have happily found no trace, whilst

the spirit of the narrative, the graphic force with which its scenes are delineated, the ability shown in the sketching of character, and in the grouping both of incidents and of personages, and, above all, the general truthfulness of the delineations, the *verisimilitude* of the likeness, are indicative of a far higher and more healthful order of talent than is frequently observable in modern fictions.

The scene opens in the neighbourhood of the valley of Angrogna, where the remains of a once proud castle testified that 'the iron hand of time had pressed less heavily on its architecture than that more ruthless one of warlike violence, inflamed by the false doctrines of bigotry and superstition.'

The principal personages of the drama are at once introduced, as constituting the domestic circle of Henri Arnaud, the Vaudois pastor, one of those extraordinary men to whom fiction can give no charm additional to that which history supplies. Simple yet earnest in his piety, realizing the future with unwonted distinctness, yet alive to every claim of the present, capable of exciting the tenderest love of his child, while he ruled, with the omnipotence of a religious passion, the rude mountaineers about him. Fearless of danger and bold in action, yet gifted with singular forbearance and prudence next to foresight, at once a soldier and a pastor, the leader in many a hard struggle, and the friend who whispers words of consolation and hope to the spirit as it parts from its earthly tenement, Henri Arnaud was singularly endowed by Providence for the work he had to perform. His household consisted of Anima, daughter of the last Count of Solara, the sprightly graces and natural loveliness of whose childhood won the strong affection of the venerable man to whom her father had in death consigned her. 'The attractions of Anima were enhanced by the strong contrast afforded by her friend and constant companion, Arnaud's only daughter. Both in the bloom of youth, both lovely and amiable, were yet most different. The dark, beaming eye of her southern origin, true index of the strong feelings within, the elastic gait, the sparkling smile, and more than all, the sprightliness of mind, and poetry of feeling and imagination, characterized the one, while in the other a determination of purpose, and loftiness of character, derived from a sense of the deep injuries of her native land, inspired almost awe while it won admiration.'

Aware of the dangers which began to threaten the inhabitants of his valley, Arnaud was deeply anxious to secure for Anima a protector, in whose fidelity and tenderness he might fully confide. Both qualities were united in Walter Durand, his friend and former pupil, and the aged pastor rejoiced to observe that he was not insensible to the attractions of his ward. Little did

he think that there was another within his house, one still dearer to his heart, whose happiness was for a time to be withered by the attachment of Durand to Anima. But so it was, as the sequel of the narrative too clearly shows.

‘Unacknowledged, even to herself, the still poison had crept into the bosom of his child—his Marie. From infancy she had been the companion of Walter, the sharer of all his thoughts; nor was it till she heard the pastor talk of him as the husband of another, and that other her dearest friend, that she discovered how necessary he had become to herself: nor even then could she analyze the feelings the words of her father had first brought to light.

‘Educated in his earlier life by the pastor, Durand’s mind had been nourished from the best and purest sources of knowledge which the scanty library (the national property confided to the Barbes or pastors) afforded. The means indeed were small, and not calculated to impart much classical lore, yet they were sufficient to refine and elevate a mind which nature had fitted to receive the precious seed.

‘An orphan, whilst yet a child, he enjoyed but little inheritance beside the sword of honour presented to his grandsire by Gustavus Adolphus, the documents of an unstained pedigree, and the memory of virtuous parents.

‘Some years older than Marie, Durand was dearer for this to one whose reflective mind enabled her to sympathize in the deep purposes of manhood, which the state of the country now roused in the breasts of the Vaudois, whose sense of present evil was rendered still more acute by the remembrance of past injuries.’—Vol. i., pp. 11—14.

Such are the parties destined to act a chief part in the narrative contained in these volumes, and we hasten to acquaint our readers with its more prominent events. Rumours of approaching danger had for some time been spreading through the Vaudois valleys, when Walter Durand unexpectedly appeared to a party of peasants, assembled after the labours of the day to try their skill and the range of their rifles, by firing at the target. Having partaken for a moment of their sport, and justified his former reputation as a marksman of the first order, he hastened to retire, whispering to the elder of the group—‘The French are at hand! Bid these youngsters disperse, and retire quietly to your huts, unless you would provoke their insults.’ This was enough. The sounds of merriment ceased, and many a heart, which had never known fear, beat with painful apprehension. A messenger from Savoy speedily arrived with fresh requisitions, demanding additional taxes, ordering their churches to be pulled down, and requiring that their children should be baptized in the communion of the church of Rome. To the first, Arnaud counselled submission; the second, he remarked, had been already carried into effect; and the third, it was resolved, at

every hazard, to refuse. 'Better torture than apostasy; better death here than punishment hereafter!' shouted Durand, and the response passed from lip to lip in answer to that black edict of persecution.

The same messenger who brought these terrible requisitions for the Vaudois, was charged also with an order, backed by the authority of the duke, for the restoration of Anima de Solara to Madame de Saony, her aunt, and a great favourite at the court of Savoy. This order was complied with at a terrible cost of feeling to all parties; and the venerable pastor and his diminished household prepared themselves for the fearful tempest which was about to devastate their valleys. That tempest came with even more than its anticipated violence; but Arnaud, Marie, and Durand, were faithful to their profession. Had all hearts been equally upright and firm as theirs, the troops of Savoy, though aided by those of France, would probably have failed amidst the natural and all but impregnable barriers which encompassed the dwellings of the Vaudois; but treachery was amongst them, and the usual result followed. After every effort which brave men could make in defence of their homes, Arnaud and his heroic daughter were exiles in a strange land, whilst Walter Durand was incarcerated with many of his countrymen in one of those prisons where disease and want were summoned to destroy a hated race. It was a terrible journey, amidst dangers rarely paralleled, by which a small party of the exiles succeeded in finding their way to Switzerland. It was in the spring, when the streets of Geneva were pervaded by an unusual bustle, and the gathering crowd bore witness to the presence of some object of more than ordinary interest:—

'At first, the tumultuous sounds of the eager multitude precluded the possibility of finding the object of their search; but soon a groan of indignation, and a cry of commiseration, made it evident that these were called forth by some act of injustice, some tale of dark distress.

'At length, the crowd dividing, disclosed a group of beings, whose emaciated appearance and looks of anguish scarcely left them a similitude to the well-fed race who had gathered round them.

'Though hanging in tatters, which barely answered the purposes of decency, their clothing yet retained the marks of their national costume, and attested the truth of their assertion. Their number might exceed a dozen, and of these most had sunk exhausted on the steps of the spacious hall, where they demanded admittance.

'Foremost of them was an old man, whose tall figure seemed sinking under the extreme of exhaustion, and a girl by his side, whose tottering frame, and drawn expression of want, revealed the misery she had endured. In hoarse accents the former strove to address the crowd, but his voice failing, his companion took up the tale; and when

the doors opened, and, clad in the official robes in which they had met to transact the public business, the Syndics appeared, she addressed them with an enthusiasm which even then lent beauty to her haggard countenance.

‘Protestants—rulers of a land where the tyrant’s sword dares not strike—the remnant of a people, who, for upwards of two centuries have resisted the persecutions of France and Savoy, now stand before you! Expelled from our native land, driven forth in the season of snow and storm, we have yet, by the help of our God, triumphed over the dangers of our route; and traversing the dark horrors of the mountain district, by a circuitous and hidden path, have come to ask mercy and protection from strangers to us in all but our faith; and as that holy bond teaches us to expect forgiveness in heaven, so let it be a claim on earth, for the famished Vaudois. Behold these sinking frames—these breathing skeletons! and think they were once men of strength and power; ay, and happy like yourselves! Send us not away amid the horrors of the whirlwind and the storm, but take to your sheltering bosom, the fast expiring ray of what was once the light of Christianity.’

‘Collected for that last effort, her whole strength was poured forth in the passionate entreaty; but when she ceased, exhausted by her exertions, Marie fell prostrate at the Syndic’s feet, the arms she had raised in supplication extended upon the ground, her long hair shading the noble proportions of her form.

‘The pitying Syndic raised her in his arms; but a wild cry of alarm burst from the lips of her countrymen, as they saw her lifeless form; and even the kind promises and proffered attentions of the Swiss were vain to pacify them, while they believed their beloved deliverer had expired.

‘At length, the blood began again to steal through her veins, her eyes unclosed, and she gazed on the companions of her toils, sought her father with anxious glances, and rejecting the assistance of the surrounding group, with tottering steps she reached his side. Then came the expression of sympathy in their woes, indignation at their oppressors, and closely urged offers of friendship and protection; and the Vaudois felt the sincerity of their simple friends, who feared not to shelter them, though outlawed and persecuted, friendless and forlorn.’
—*Ib.*, pp. 217—221.

While these events were occurring, a sad change had taken place in the character of Anima. Young and inexperienced, with an imagination greatly preponderant over her judgment, flattered for her beauty, and complimented even by the Grand Monarque himself, in the keeping of a thoroughly worldly relative, who skilfully adapted her measures to the weaker points in the character of her niece, Anima was gradually alienated from the protestant faith of her childhood, and assumed all the outward symbols of popish worship. She was at length inveigled into a matrimonial alliance with the Marquis de

Pianezza, a young man of large possessions and great military renown, but of cold demeanour and stern address, little adapted to secure the love of such a heart as that of Anima. The marriage, as it was contracted without affection on her part, so it utterly failed to enhance the happiness of her life. She felt its bonds a restraint, and inwardly sighed for that freedom and purity of spirit which had marked her earlier days.

In the meantime, the steadfast soul of Marie Arnaud remained true to her early faith and love. No dangers could induce her lofty spirit to abandon the former, and no offers, however splendid, erased from her heart the deep traces of the latter. Walter Durand was reported to have been slain, but with the hopefulness of a woman's heart, she clung to the belief of his being amongst the prisoners at La Tour. By her earnest persuasions, and especially through her influence over the young Count de Grafenried, who felt deeply the force of her attractions, the councillors of Geneva resolved on sending a deputation to Turin to implore the mercy of Victor-Amadeus, in favour of his Alpine subjects. The deputation was accompanied by the Vaudois pastor and his heroic daughter, who became acquainted during her residence at Turin with the apostasy and marriage of her early and beloved friend. Anima was at the time in the city, but shrank from an interview with those whom she yet revered and loved, though she feared, in the consciousness of her guilt, to appear before them. Not so her aunt, Madame de Saony. Her curiosity was aroused by what she had heard of Arnaud and his daughter, and she contrived, with true woman's tact, to awaken a similar feeling on the part of the Duke. It was at length resolved that as foreigners of high rank they should seek an interview with the strangers. This was speedily obtained, and the happiest results followed:—

‘The visitors at length prepared to depart. On taking leave, Victor requested Marie’s acceptance of a ring, not only to be valued in remembrance of that interview, but as a pledge, which in any hour of exigency might redeem the assistance of one, who, though unknown to her, was not uninfluential at the court of Savoy. Nor on such terms could she refuse the proffered gift, but gratefully receiving it, fastened it round her neck with a dear memorial she never laid aside—her mother’s hair! The Duke was deeply affected. Unconscious whom she was addressing, Marie had fearlessly depicted his conduct in its true light, and unveiled its secret springs; and the remorse she had awakened was more poignantly felt as he dwelt on her perfections; she was so different to any of her sex that he had ever seen, so unconscious of her merit, so powerful and deep in her feeling, and yet so gentle and retiring, that her image dwelt on his mind; and when the beauties who thronged his court again met his eyes that evening, they seemed to have lost half of their charms, and ere he slept, a softer feeling of

kindness, a desire even to pardon her countrymen, stole over his stern and self-seeking heart.'—*Ib.*, pp. 269, 270.

In the depth of winter the Vaudois prisoners were restored to liberty, with orders, scarcely less cruel than their incarceration, to depart forthwith from the country. They hastened to comply, but, 'worn with disease and gaunt with hunger,' large numbers perished amidst the snows of the mountains. A small party, headed by Durand, reached Geneva in the spring of 1689, 'a famished and miserable crew, shadows of their former selves, whose appearance told a tale no words were needed to confirm.' It was scarcely possible that such a people should contentedly remain in a strange land, and their yearning after their native valleys was strengthened by the obvious desire of the Genevese to rid themselves of visitors whose presence was likely to draw on the republic the displeasure of the French king. It was therefore resolved to attempt a return, and the chief interest of these volumes is founded on the picture it furnishes of the perils encountered, and the more than human fortitude evinced, by the exiles in the accomplishment of their design. Their first attempt was defeated by the vigilance of the emissaries of Savoy and France, but at length, about two years after the arrival of the prisoners, they commenced their chivalrous journey, determined to re-possess themselves of the valleys of their fathers, or to perish in the effort. They stole away in silence, as their safety depended on their gaining an advance upon their enemies. The perils which surrounded them, and the spirit in which they were met, may be gathered from the following brief extract:—

'They had passed Maglan, the dark and perilous Col de Bonhomme was before them, they knew its steep ascent was fortified with intrenchments, and they feared that, apprised of their expected pass, troops already awaited them in the narrow passage, where bravery would be useless, and strength vain. But they prepared themselves by prayer, and with a high and holy courage, began to descend the mountains of St. Luce. It was night, the route was as if cut through the rock, steep as a ladder, while the dark ravines which lay beside it were hidden by a fog so dense, that sound, not sight, alone could guide them. Wet with drizzling rain, which added to the danger of the slippery road, the whole troop, in single file, wound silently along, sliding rather than stepping from rock to rock, and only preserved from falling over the precipice beneath by grasping the steep points of the rocks above them. The fog, which under any other circumstances would have been an insurmountable impediment, was providential for them, for though it added to the dangers of the route, it effectually concealed them from view, and they marched, protected divinely, through valleys, dark indeed as with the shadows of death.'—*Vol. ii.*, pp. 19, 20.

Other dangers soon present themselves, which to minds less resolved would have seemed fatal to the prosecution of their march. The troops of France surrounded them, and one moment's indecision would have sealed their fate. But the spirit of their aged pastor was equal to the crisis, and the bold energy of Durand overcame the disciplined soldiery of France.

'At such a moment, one wavering movement might lose for them whatever advantages previous exertion had achieved, and at once consign them to hopeless captivity or death, but a bold effort might redeem them from what they most dreaded; and now, when despair stood at hand, one brave heart, one cheering voice, roused them to a fresh and stronger impulse.

'On, Vaudois, on!' shouted Durand, 'the bridge once carried, the day is ours!' and rushing through the canopy of smoke, glowing with enthusiastic hope, the brave young leader dashed on in their front to the bridge.

'To Angrogna! to victory!' repeated the troop, and with the fury of a lioness in defence of her young, the Vaudois followed on the desperate attempt.

'The sudden impetuosity of the movement carried all before it. The French gave way before the unexpected charge, and sought safety in their intrenchments; but even here the little troop pursued them, and rushing up to the very muzzles of their guns, cut down the enemy before they could fire at them, shivering their muskets in pieces with their short, broad sabres, and spreading confusion and death before them. Their eager grasp seized the flying foe, their fleet footsteps trod on their retreating track, and still the word 'Angrogna' rose triumphant to the skies; while, careless of honour and of all but safety, the French, with one dastard exclamation of '*Sauve qui peut*,' fled in disorder before a body of men not amounting to a third of their number.

The struggle lasted for two hours; and when the moon rose, every foe had departed, and the passage was free, but for the sad memorial left by the defeated, in numerous corpses of their companions, which strewed the plain, and tinged the river with a dark crimson tide.'—*Ib.*, pp. 39—41.

A series of subsequent struggles terminated favourably for the Vaudois, until their name became the object of superstitious dread, and one of the ablest generals in the service of Savoy, with a large military force, was appointed to intercept their march, and prevent their further progress. This general was none other than the Marquis de Pianezza, the husband of Anima di Solara, who was compelled most reluctantly to repair to one of her lord's ancient castles in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vaudois territory. The bitterness of her sorrow at this time it is difficult to describe, but her husband was resolved

to separate her from the gaities of the court, and therefore commanded her attendance on his march.

‘Although plunged in dissipation, and foremost in threading its glittering mazes, the judgment of the young Marchioness alone was misled; her heart remained uninjured, and perhaps preserved by the influence of early education; she had only yielded in outward show to the habits of levity which surrounded her, refraining from many an evil, which, though custom excused, her conscience reprobated. Scrupulously faithful to her marriage vows, she had never suffered the crowd of admirers who surrounded her to overstep the boundary she had assigned them; and if any strange observer, who marked her pre-occupied expression, might ascribe it to some unhallowed cause, he was mistaken. It was not that which made her eye so often downcast, her cheek so often pale. Her husband, indeed, suspected it, and unable to fix his suspicions of the cause on any inhabitant of Turin, would sometimes wander back into distant days, into whose history he had no right to pry; and to a certain degree he was right; it was the shadow of the past that flung its gloom over the present, but shadow-like, it passed away, and its influence, though solemn, was dim and uncertain.’—*Ib.*, pp. 62, 63.

Marie Arnaud had in the meantime ascertained that the bright visions and inspiring hopes of her youth were not to be realized. Durand had unwittingly laid bare his whole heart to her, and she saw that while he regarded her as a sister, he still dwelt on the memory of Anima with that peculiar tenderness which precluded the possibility of love to any other. It was a sad and fearful struggle which ensued in the bosom of the Vaudois maiden, and an air of deep melancholy sometimes settled on her. But Marie Arnaud was equal to the conflict, the better elements of her nature triumphed, she loved Durand, and also Anima, and resolved to live for their happiness in the only relation which Providence permitted her to sustain. In the self-sacrificing spirit which she cherished—and there is a true womanly cast about the whole of this portion of her conduct—she undertook a secret mission to the castle in which Anima resided, to warn her of the approach of the Vaudois, and to entreat her to consult her safety in flight. In the execution of this trust she was seized by the Marquis, who however, failed, through her self-possession and undaunted courage, to possess himself of a paper which she had undertaken to deliver to Anima, or to learn anything respecting the future movements of the exiles. Incensed at the firmness with which she refused to commit her friends, he sent her under a strong escort to Turin, where she was speedily arraigned before the council under a charge of high treason. The account of her examination is characteristic, and is given with considerable force. Having denied the truth of the

charges preferred against her, she appealed, with the beseeching earnestness of one who felt the loveliness of life, to the clemency and justice of her judges:—

‘But her audience were all unmoved, and the Cardinal of —, addressing her in a stern tone, exclaimed—

‘Young woman, the tenour of your speech is alike seditious and evasive; and ere we grant the clemency you request, we must have a more satisfactory defence, and fuller disclosures. To pass over yet more important points, what was your object in visiting the castle of Del Tor? Can you plead aught in excuse for the act?’

‘Simply, that it was with no criminal intention,’ answered Marie, with the unhesitating accent of truth.

‘That evasion is vain,’ answered her interrogator. ‘No good purpose could have led you to secrete yourself in walls so inimical to your cause, and as you value your safety and your life, we exhort you to declare the truth.’

‘The colour rose to Marie’s cheek and brow, and the hesitation of deep thought made her pause ere she answered; but then her resolution was taken, and meekly, but decidedly, she said—

‘My lords, I visited the castle of Del Tor for the purpose of renewing the friendship of early years with the Marchioness of Pianezza—of again beholding one who had shared my youth and my religion!’ Her voice strengthened as she proceeded, for she felt she had not yet compromised the safety of those dearer than herself; but a sneer was on the countenance of her persecutor, who continued—

‘That excuse is unavailing; you had a packet with you, the contents of which your fear of discovery alone proves to have been criminal. That paper was unluckily destroyed; but so long as life remains in you, its secret is preserved, and shall therefore be known. Again, we command you, without reservation, to declare to us its contents; and there are means—ay, and at hand—which can unlock the most private counsels of the heart, and drag to light the deepest mysteries. Be wise, therefore, nor force us to adopt an extremity, which it rests with yourself to avoid. Again we repeat our question. Weigh well your answer. What did that paper contain?’

‘There was a silence—an awful silence; but during that moment worlds of thought crowded on Marie’s brain. It was her sentence, she knew it, and believed it to be the sentence of death; for a more horrid alternative had not occurred to her. That, indeed, would sever her from all she loved on earth; but during that agonizing pause, she did not indicate a moment’s doubt on the course she should pursue; and, though conscious of the danger she incurred, she hastened to give her answer, ere the fast coming weakness of human nature should increase its difficulty.

‘My lords, my judges, that paper contained the secret of another. I appeal to your own sense of honour, if the fear of personal risk can induce me to betray it. No,’ she continued, with the bright fire of heroic determination flashing from her eye, and the expression of noble courage triumphing over each lesser sensation; ‘never shall it

be said that a Vaudois could betray her friend, to save her life!' In a milder tone, she added—'I can die; I *will* die, and prefer the alternative; but I will not divulge the secrets you command.'

'Firm, resolute, but meek, she stood before them; but no sense of chivalrous sympathy beat responsive in the hearts of that assembly to her high principles of honour; and, unmoved, the prince resumed.'—*Ib.*, pp. 245—249.

Failing by gentler methods to extort her secret, the cardinal reminded her that the rack was at the command of her judges, and would certainly be employed if her evidence was not freely given. Five minutes were allowed for consideration, at the close of which, 'advancing one step nearer her judges, with unfaltering accents she said, 'My lords, I am ready! The rack—torture—what you will—but I shall not be deserted.' The officers of the Inquisition were speedily in attendance, and an hour's interval, obtained by the merciful interposition of one of the council, was employed by a priest in kindly efforts to induce her to save herself. At length, after inquiring whether she had not one to sue for her to the Duke, he turned to depart:

'A bell, whose sullen sound swung through the air with dread import, declared that the moment had indeed arrived! Marie threw herself yet once again, while she had the power, on her knees beside the rack; not to sue for mercy where none would be extended, but at the source whence it ever flows fresh and inexhaustible.

'Suddenly, something seemed to flash across her mind; a recollection, a thought, the words of that old priest had conjured up. Oh! was it providentially sent to save, to bless, in that dark hour when all earthly hope seemed to have vanished.

'The soldiers had drawn near, and commanding her to rise, had grasped her on either side to lift her on that bed of agony, when she sprang aside, and in a voice hoarse, and yet thrilling with emotion, exclaimed—

'Stop! oh, stop that old man! I *have* a friend yet, a friend at Victor's court, who will rescue me even now—look,' she added, clasping her hands in wild entreaty, 'look, as ye be men—as ye be human beings, look! He who owns this ring can save me in the darkest extremity—sure none can be darker than mine!'

'She held aloft the glittering signet which Victor himself had given her in a former hour, and which she had worn from the moment of her first visiting Turin, until now. She pressed nearer to her executioners, and gazed with that earnest supplication which will not be denied.

'Nevertheless, her impassioned appeal would have been lost on these obdurate hearts, but for the buzz of indignation which sounded through the hall; some even, overcome by curiosity, advanced closer to the inner circle, and braved the drawn swords of the soldiers, who now surrounded her, in their anxiety to behold the symbol which had

lent such sudden energy to the captive—such beaming hope to her expression.

‘The royal signet!’ at length exclaimed one who was acquainted with the device, and had obtained a nearer view. Then followed a general confusion and a stronger feeling in favour of the prisoner’s chance of escape. The officers of the Inquisition paused and doubted, gazed even with interest on the brilliant jewel Marie held aloft!

‘Recal the holy father—send for the Prince—save her!’ were the mingled cries of the multitude.

‘Still they delayed, and still Marie stood with pale and quivering lips, signs of a hope hitherto unknown, and nature’s eagerness for the preservation of life; her uplifted hands imploring with an anxiety, beyond the aid of words, for pity.

‘At length there seemed a change, and the inquisitorial officer raising his hand to enforce silence, demanded a messenger to recal the judges on business of weighty importance, and unwillingly as the concession had been granted, the spectators burst forth in the expression of irrepressible satisfaction. One of the attendant priests speedily undertook the mission, while Marie again threw herself on her knees, in fervent, if incoherent, prayer of gratitude and thanksgiving.

‘The moment had arrived, the folding doors opened, and clad in their robes of office the council entered to hear the case again; but now the duke himself had declared he would be present, and see if mercy might with safety be extended.

‘There was a flourish of bugles, a shout of acclamation from the crowd at this announcement, and an order for silence was with difficulty imposed, during the long period which elapsed ere his highness arrived.

‘The excitement of suspense, the exhaustion of previous mental exertion, lent a feverish hue to Marie’s cheek, an unnatural brilliance to her eye, which added to the beauty of her countenance, restoring all of which hard care and heavy toil had robbed it since that remarkable interview in which Victor-Amadeus had entrusted to her the precious signet on which all her hopes now depended.

‘Had she known, indeed, had she guessed that the duke himself had been the donor, stronger hopes would have risen in her breast, less trying to endure than the sickening suspense, the dreamy doubt which began to render her brain dizzy and confused; but this was concealed from her, and when, at length, the loud trampling of the princely procession, the martial sound of trumpets, and the acclamation of the cheering multitude, announced the arrival of the duke, there was more of fear than hope in Marie’s breast.’—*Ib.* pp. 261—267.

We need not say that Marie was pardoned, but a fresh danger awaited her in the warm and passionate interest she had awakened in her prince. The offer of a private marriage, though sanctioned by the reputed alliance of the French king with Madame de Maintenon, is out of keeping with the character of Victor-Amadeus, and impairs somewhat the historical consistency

of the narrative. This offer was respectfully but firmly declined, for Marie Durand was too faithful to her early, though hopeless, attachment, to be allured by the splendid offers of her royal suitor. While these events were passing at Turin, Durand was forcing his way at the head of his bold mountaineers, towards the valley of Angrogna. He was now opposed by the Marquis di Pianezza, the husband of Anima, whose death speedily followed from a wound received in the fierce struggle described in the following passage :—

‘ Having refreshed their strength by an abundant meal, and rested through the night, they advanced the next morning to Vachère, where their anticipations of danger seemed likely to be realized; for they could perceive from their exalted station the enemies’ encampment, and discover by their movements an evident intention of surrounding them. On this ascent they tarried, in the hope of being overtaken by the slower party from Bobi, but again reduced to extremity by the scantiness of their provisions, were obliged to send out foragers in quest of supplies; but, alas, it was in vain, and the detachment returned from Damian to relate the fruitlessness of their research, a disappointment in some measure counterbalanced by the arrival of two hundred of the expected party! Thus reinforced, they did not hesitate to descend upon the enemy, and seize the position to which they were rapidly ascending, evidently under the conduct of an able leader.

‘ That leader was the Marquis di Pianezza; that well-equipped troop the sanguine band who had sallied with him from Del Tor, certain of success, and eager to meet the foe. But the Vaudois were fortunate in first reaching the post they had fixed upon, and their fire told with deadly precision on the advanced guard. Still, brave and hardened to danger, the main body coolly broke into open order to take up a skirmishing position, and for nearly an hour the struggle seemed equal. Every crag and every stunted tree became a post attacked and defended with equal skill and obstinacy: but the superior coolness and activity of the Vaudois, whose observation had been sharpened by similar dangers, and whose practised aim rarely missed, gave them an advantage which told in detail, and before which, the most daring of their assailants had fallen without gaining a foot of ground. With glowing eye and brandished sword, the Marquis galloped from spot to spot, his presence seeming to multiply with the increasing heat of the action. ‘Down with the heretics! Death to the Barbets! Santa Maria and Savoy!’ he shouted, and inspired his troops with fresh courage by his example. But short was his career—vain the boast of victory which burst from his lips; the unerring eye of an old chamois-hunter had already marked him. One report—one shot rang through the air; and in that instant a ball had pierced the gallant Pianezza in the throat. For a moment he sat motionless in his saddle, then dropped, and the terrified steed dragged him still breathing o’er the plain. To fly to his aid, and raise him in their arms, stunned and shattered, was the last act of his followers on that

bloody spot, ere they fled for refuge among the rocks, leaving the Vaudois masters of a field strewn with a hundred corpses of their foes.

‘Flushed with victory, Durand once more mustered the troop, and crying, ‘On to Angrogna—on while Heaven favours us!’ pressed forwards to Mont Servin, where another detachment awaited them: and there, during seven hours of hard exertion, maintained the conflict. Supported by their zeal, they were mindless of hunger or fatigue, and again repulsed the enemy with considerable loss, while on their own side but four remained to show that there they had conquered and died! Perhaps yet longer, that bloody struggle had continued, but, as if sent in mercy, a thick fog wrapped both the aggressors and the oppressed in a veil of darkness, and they were obliged to desist. This was fortunate for the Vaudois, whose scarcity of ammunition forbade their firing a single shot without certainty of success, and whose want of provision was such, that even bread and water were a luxury.’—Vol. iii. pp. 43—46.

The subsequent events of the narrative follow each other in rapid succession. Anima and Marie met after a separation of years: the interview had been anticipated for some time, and awoke in the hearts of both a strange conflict.

‘The moment came: she heard a step on the stairs, and an instant only elapsed before the two friends were once more clasped in each other’s arms, and Marie started when Anima asked—‘Hast thou—canst thou have forgiven me?’ for conscience whispered that the question might have been hers; and the whole current of emotion turning at the thought, a full flood of tender affection rushed into her heart, and with a fervent sincerity words could not have illustrated, she once more strained her to her heart, with a sister’s fond embrace.

‘‘Marie,’ faltered Anima, ‘I have sinned, and I have wandered from the right path! But—I return, to leave it no more. Again a Vaudois in heart and name, receive me! Let me share your existence—the past all forgotten. I have nothing now to keep me from my original destination, and Providence, in severing me from other ties, has re-united the links which circumstances had broken. A widow, with none to depend on my care, or sweeten my existence, receive me, a lone wanderer, into the fold I have strayed from, to share in whatever fate may befall it. Be it peril or captivity, still let me prove that I feel the severest trials would be but a meet and welcome penalty for the apostasy I can never cease to deplore!’

‘Like a lightning’s flash, a truth broke on Marie’s mind at these words, and the colour fled from her face; this, then, was the crisis of her fate, and her mind at once presaged a future which had appeared impossible. But she was silent, and only pressed Anima’s hand with a kindness, the self-denial of which none but herself knew.’—Ib. pp. 84, 85.

They returned together to the home of their fathers, where ultimately—for the pastor was now dead—the fortunes of Anima

and Durand were united, and Marie, as a beloved sister, who had chastened and subdued her earlier feelings, dwelt with them, a ministering angel, partaking of the tenderness of earth and the purity of heaven.

In closing our notice of these volumes we must do justice to the historical fidelity of the author, in the sketch afforded of the character of the Vaudois. He has not painted them as free from human faults, and has at the same time refrained from those coarse and indiscriminating sketches of their Catholic opponents, with which the English press has been so disgracefully prolific. It would be well if grave disputants in the protestant controversy imitated the example thus honourably set them.

Art. VII. *The Life of William Bedell, D.D., Lord Bishop of Kilmore.* By H. J. MONCK MASON, LL.D., M.R.S.A., Librarian of the King's Inns, Dublin. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1843.

IN their treatment of the inhabitants of Ireland, the English have long imitated the conduct and temper of the ancient Jews towards their Samaritan neighbours. Almost ever since the two countries became connected, it may be said that there has subsisted between them no friendly or charitable intercourse. In the history of nations, as in the lives of individuals, justice and honesty, to say nothing of benevolence, will be found eventually the best policy; and in the present difficulties and dangers which attach themselves to the condition of the sister island, may be seen the natural consequences of the oppression and misrule of past years. If we are justified in supposing that to be a successful and prosperous government which furnishes the best security for the lives and property of its subjects, with the least possible infringement of their personal liberties, our civil policy towards Ireland has remarkably failed. After some years of trial, we are not in a condition to lay aside, but are rather called upon to resume, those vulgar instruments of authority which can only be appropriate in the incipient stages of human society, for the compulsion of the savage, or the taming of the brute. The Irish cannot, it seems, yet be treated like men, but must be retained in obedience to the civil power by multiplied garrisons, soldiery, and cannon. We mean not to pursue the question as to whether the real condition of the inhabitants of Ireland, at the present time, be such as to require the employment of these extreme measures; the very fact that a reply to this question may, at least with some minds, be considered doubtful, seems to us a sufficient proof of the

negligence or incapacity of those to whom the civil administration of this unfortunate country has been committed. Setting aside all party differences, and without fixing on any particular delinquents, it is not misrepresentation or exaggeration to declare that the history of the English government towards Ireland, from its commencement almost to the present time, is one of shameful injustice, venality, and oppression, and one, therefore, of difficulty, failure, and tumult. In accordance with the rapacious desires of Henry II., Pope Adrian IV. impiously granted to the English king a title to take possession of Ireland, a country then entirely independent, and not engaged in hostilities with England—albeit, not perhaps esteemed sufficiently subservient to the will of the Roman pontiff. Since that act of tyranny, committed under the professed sanction of religion, Ireland has been more or less the victim of English oppression—not unfrequently, as in the first instance, under the pretext of pious zeal. It has gradually become in form identified with the British empire. The religious and civil histories of this country, throughout the period of its subjection to British influence, have been closely allied, nor does the former present an aspect more satisfactory and pleasing than that of the latter. Protestantism, so far as it consists in a costly establishment and a numerous hierarchy, has been for many years either the privilege or bane of Ireland, and if they are to be considered partakers of a religion who contribute to its support, the Irish have a very just claim to be regarded as a protestant nation. Whilst, however, so far compelled in practice to be protestants, they have long been Roman catholics in heart, and, as might have been expected, the love of the people for the principles of the Reformation has not been increased with the pecuniary amount which the ascendancy of these principles has by compulsion wrung from them. The money they have been obliged to pay towards the maintenance of protestant forms, has been far from hastening the period of their becoming truly protestant. In this, and in other matters, their religious prejudices have combined with a sense of their oppression, and the conquered retaining, with fierce determination, the impregnable freedom of the human spirit, have refused to love or accept the religious principles of their conquerors. ‘Religious systems,’ remarks M. Guizot, ‘have forgotten the nature of the power to which they apply, and have acted towards the human spirit as if of material force. Hence it has often happened, that they have taken part with absolute power against human liberty, considering it as an enemy, and troubling themselves rather to effect its overthrow than its security. If these religious systems had properly considered their methods of action—if they had not allowed themselves to be drawn aside by

a natural but deceptive inclination, they would have perceived that liberty must be preserved in order to be morally controlled, and that religion can only act by moral means. They would have respected the free will of man in attempting to control it. They have too much overlooked it, and the influence of religion itself has diminished with the decline of freedom.* These just observations have been painfully realized in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Ireland. Protestantism has been associated with an oppressive government, and has had to convert men unaccustomed to civil or spiritual freedom.

To those who are desirous of forming a correct estimate of the present state of Ireland, from a knowledge of its civil and religious condition in past years, we commend the work the title of which appears at the commencement of this article. It is prepared with care, learning, and impartiality; and under the form of biography, presents many important facts and useful reflections in regard to the history of Ireland. Before alluding more particularly to some of these, we venture to place before our readers a brief account of the subject of this memoir.

William Bedell, born in the year 1570, in the county of Essex, was educated in Cambridge, and became a fellow of Emmanuel College. On entering upon public life, the State of Venice, while seeking to restrain the extravagant donations made to the clergy, had created a misunderstanding between themselves and the pope, against whose encroachments, under the direction of Father Paul Sarpi, the celebrated author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, they contended with earnestness and vigour. James I., at this crisis, thought it desirable to send Sir H. Wotton, as English ambassador to the State of Venice, and Mr. Bedell was selected to accompany him as his chaplain. During his stay in that republic, he became exceedingly intimate with Father Paul, who professed, in the words of Sir H. Wotton, 'to have received from him more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had preached in his days.' Mr. Bedell formed also the acquaintance of other learned men, amongst whom he was highly esteemed, especially by Diodati, the translator of the Bible into the Italian language. After a residence of eight years in Venice, during which he appears privately to have taken part in the ecclesiastical strifes of the age, he returned to England, and continued to reside in humble retirement for some time at St. Edmond's Bury, at which place he had been a successful minister of the gospel previously to his travels abroad. In his privacy he employed himself in translating into Latin several of the works of his friend, Father Paul. Some time afterwards he was

* *History of Civilization.* Lect. 6th.

presented to the living of Horningshearth, in Suffolk; and on this occasion afforded an example of that honourable demeanour and strict conscientiousness by which his conduct through life was generally distinguished. We extract an account of the circumstance from the pages of our author:—

‘On his taking out his title to the living, the Bishop of Norwich demanded large fees for his institution and induction; but Mr. Bedell refused to pay more than was sufficient to cover the expenses of writing, wax, and parchment. The bishop asked why he did refuse to pay what was demanded, which others did pay? He said it was simony, and contrary to Christ’s and the apostle’s rule, ‘freely ye have received, freely give.’ And being asked what was simony? he answered, *vendere spiritualia spiritualibus*—to sell spiritual things to spiritual persons; a sin both in the giver and the taker. The practice was, he said, against the primitive rules. Mr. Bedell, therefore, rather than participate in what he considered to be simony, refused the payment of the fees demanded, and returned to his home. The bishop, however, after a few days, sent for him, and gave him his title without requiring the fees. He was consequently inducted.’

At Horningshearth, Mr. Bedell remained twelve years, when, at the desire of Archbishop Usher, by the request of the fellows, and at the command of the king, he was summoned to become the head of Trinity College, Dublin. It was in the year 1591, by letters-patent of the Queen Elizabeth, that the Dublin University was founded, and in the year 1626, Mr. Bedell was chosen lord provost. At the time of his entering on this office, the university had fallen into a state of irregularity and disorder, and needed considerable internal reform. This with great difficulty, and amidst much opposition from various quarters, the new lord provost effected; amending and increasing the statutes, and collecting them into a complete code, which, in substance, now regulates the university. The primary object of Elizabeth, in the establishment of the university, was the propagation of the protestant faith by means of the education of the Irish, and the study of the Irish tongue. To this object, Mr. Bedell successfully devoted his energy and skill. In the fifty-ninth year of his age, having continued provost about two years, he was appointed bishop of the united sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and entered upon his arduous and responsible duties in the exercise of the same humility, energy, and honesty of character, by which he had been hitherto distinguished. In the words of Bishop Burnet, whose valuable memoir of Bedell deserves the perusal of all men entering the ministry of Christ, and especially of those in connexion with that church of which he was a conscientious upholder and distinguished ornament; ‘he considered the bishop’s office made him the shepherd of the

inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese, and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing by which he might advance the interest of religion among them, and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them.'

The state of the established church in Ireland at this period was pitiable in the extreme. Its revenues were exhausted or pillaged; its churches and the houses of the ministers greatly dilapidated; and the clergy themselves were ignorant, negligent of the duties of their office, and often irreligious in their conduct. However firmly we may entertain the opinion that corruption will naturally follow the unholy alliance of Christianity with the civil power, yet we cannot do otherwise than rejoice when the measure of this corruption is diminished, and its progress for a season arrested by the presence and efforts of men so truthful and upright as Bishop Bedell. 'His predecessor, Bishop Moigne, had leased out all the episcopal lands for as long as he possibly could, had taken very great fines, and reserved but inconsiderable rents. He had sold some perpetual advowsons, which ought not to be done, and upon the ruins of these two stripped bishoprics, had founded his family, and purchased a seignory for his son.' These revenues Bishop Bedell in part recovered. Anxious to remove the custom of ecclesiastical pluralities, a great evil in the Irish church, and one which seems naturally to associate itself with a society in which the care of souls is a marketable commodity to be sold to the highest bidder, Bishop Bedell commenced by resigning the see of Ardagh. For some time these two sees continued distinct, but they have since been again united. With one exception, all the clergy of the diocese followed the praiseworthy example of their bishop, and relinquished their pluralities. The bishop proceeded in the discharge of the abundant labours of his office with Christian earnestness and zeal, correcting with fidelity such abuses as were within his reach, encouraging the knowledge of the word of God, and faithfully labouring for the benefit of the souls committed to his peculiar care. Discovering the abuses and venality that existed in the bishop's court of his diocese, he set himself with great boldness to the work of reformation, removed his lay chancellor, and took upon himself to sit as judge. For this extraordinary proceeding, the party who had been suspended instituted a suit against him in the court of chancery, and obtained a decree against the bishop; but ultimately, by another process, Mr. Bedell succeeded in accomplishing his object. In the autumn of 1638, he held a synod of the clergy of his diocese, and passed several canons for the maintenance of discipline and

ecclesiastical government. This proceeding was disapproved, and greatly questioned by parties in power, but the explanation of those who understood the bishop's conduct, together with the advice of Archbishop Usher, availed to prevent any interruption.

The principal work which, during his old age, he undertook, was that of preparing an Irish translation of the Old Testament, the New Testament having been previously published in Irish. He committed the task to two of his converts from the Roman-catholic religion, and it was in a few years completed. He had resolved to publish it immediately in his own house, and at his own cost, when the work was delayed by the captious and evil objections of his enemies, and rendered subsequently impossible by the breaking out of the great rebellion in the year 1641. It was not, however, destined to perish. Some years afterwards, the manuscript, which had been fortunately preserved amidst the violence and tumult of the age, came into the hands of the celebrated Robert Boyle, by whom it was printed in 1685. The storm which now burst forth over Ireland, and which continued for so long and disastrous a period, at first entirely spared the home of a prelate who had faithfully adhered to the inspired precept to overcome evil with good. The presence of many such men might have saved Ireland the guilt and misery of those years, and perhaps even now, many such men might avail to rescue her from impending calamity and sorrow. 'There seemed,' says Bishop Burnet, 'to be a secret guard set about his house, for though there was nothing but fire, bloodshed, and desolation round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks. They seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had on all occasions expressed for them, and they often said 'that he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland.' In such treatment we have a remarkable example of the safety, celebrated by the Roman poet, of the man who is 'just and firm in his holy resolution,' and a still more interesting illustration of truth contained in a diviner ode—

'He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust;
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.
A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand,
But it shall not come nigh thee.'

Being the only Englishman in the county of Cavan allowed

to remain under his own roof, the house of the bishop speedily became a shelter for many English refugees. In the midst of the trial and danger by which he was surrounded, the pious man retained his Christian confidence, and employed himself in relieving the wants, and encouraging, by divine consolations, the hearts, of those trembling sufferers who were around him. At length, however, he was desired to dismiss his company. On refusing so to do, and stating his resolution to continue with them, even to death, the rebels sent him word, 'that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received order from the council of state at Kilkenny that had assumed their government, that if he would not put away the people that had gathered about him, they should take them from him.' To this he said no more than, in the words of David and St. Paul, 'Here am I; the Lord do unto me as seems good to him: the will of the Lord be done.' 'So, on the 18th of December, they came and seized on him, and all that belonged to him, and carried him on horseback, and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, who had married his daughter, on foot, as prisoners to the castle of Lock-oughter.' In this place of confinement, which appears to have been ill protected against the weather, he remained some time, until by an exchange of prisoners he recovered his liberty. The remainder of his life was passed in the house of the Rev. Dennis Sheridan, a convert from popery, who had assisted the bishop in the preparation of his translation of the Bible, and by whom it was preserved. Here, after a short time, he died, his death being occasioned by an ague contracted by the damp and cold of the prison which he had so recently left. On his death-bed, he summoned around him his nearest relatives, to whom in appropriate and scriptural language he bore testimony to the excellency of the faith which he professed, and to the joyful hope which he calmly entertained. By the permission of the popish priest, granted after some hesitation, and while he was in a state of intoxication, the body was interred in the churchyard of the cathedral, and over the grave was placed, as ordered by himself, the simple epitaph, '*Depositum Gulielmi quondam episcopi Kilmorensis.*' At the time of his burial, the Irish discharged a volley of shot, exclaiming, '*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum;*' 'for,' says Burnet, 'they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of English bishops, so he should be the last.' They have had other English bishops since, none perhaps in sincerity, christian love, and zeal, superior to the excellent William Bedell.

It remains for us to call the attention of our readers to some

of those important facts and reflections in regard to Irish character and history, which are combined with this biography. After a few prefatory observations, the author presents his readers with a compendious and interesting dissertation on the state of religion in Ireland previously to Bedell's arrival in the country. He bears testimony to the important fact, that antipathy on the part of the Irish people to the English name did not originate in religious differences, but in the civil treatment which the conquered received from the conqueror prior to the time of the Reformation. Agitators in those early days might reasonably have raised the cry of 'Justice and equality for Ireland.' The English government cherished an unwillingness to grant, and the Irish ecclesiastics an equal indisposition to receive, from English hands, and in English forms, the blessing of equal laws and civil freedom, even according to the scanty measure in which they were administered in that age.

'Such was the state of national feeling in Ireland, when an attempt was made in the sixteenth century to introduce the reformed religion into that country. There is no reason to suppose that a change might not have been effected in the creed of the native inhabitants, notwithstanding the existing prejudices in favour of the Roman-catholic faith, had nothing but these prejudices stood in the way; and had the method of accomplishing it been according to the plan laid down by God himself, for the spreading of the Divine religion of his Son. It is rather probable that the preaching and reading of the gospel would have succeeded, as it did in England, from this fact, which is nowhere denied, that even without it, during a portion of Elizabeth's reign, the Roman-catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland, very generally complied with the enacted Reformation. * * * The movement, had it been assisted with the proper impulse, might have possibly gained ground, and thus have become general as well as constant; but failing of that in its origin and progress, the people quickly responded to the call of their usual agitators. Swarms of Jesuits and priests, educated in the seminaries founded by King Philip II. in Spain and the Netherlands, and by the Cardinal of Lorraine in Champagne, coming over, soon prevailed with an ignorant and credulous people to withdraw from the service of the church. * * * It is useless now to conjecture what might have been the result of the preaching of the gospel, by the peaceful ministers of its Author, had it been sufficiently resorted to; for the experiment was scarcely attempted, and the efforts to inculcate protestantism in Ireland may be asserted to have been associated, from the very commencement, and even most unfortunately blended, with all the circumstances of national jealousy above mentioned. It originated in England, was imported by its government, and was attempted to be forced upon the people by the parliament and by the state, in the usual manner of proud contempt, and without any mediation whatever to reconcile it to their prejudices or to their understandings; and therefore it was that protestantism received, at

its very birth, the mark of Cain upon its forehead, and was avoided with suspicion and with odium.'

Our author then traces, from the earliest and pagan times, that religious veneration which distinguishes the Irish character, and occasioned Ireland, even in idolatrous ages, to be denominated 'the sacred isle.' Receiving with readiness the doctrine of the Christian faith, Ireland afterwards became the centre of true religion, whence her beams were shed forth to distant lands. This was the brightest era in the annals of the unfortunate country. Protected by their distance, and insular position, the Irish and ancient Britons long resisted the innovations and tyranny of the papal see; and it was only on the destruction of its national freedom, that popery gained an ascendancy over the minds of its inhabitants. It deserves to be especially remembered that the doctrines of the Roman-catholic church, as defined by the council of Trent, are not the doctrines of the most remote antiquity, and in regard to Ireland there is peculiar testimony, notwithstanding her present subjection to the papal power, that she once professed a purer and more scriptural faith. Before the time of St. Patrick, and the coming of emissaries from Rome, Tertullian and Chrysostom testify to the fact, that places in the British isles, unapproached by the Romans, were subjected to Christ; and in these places churches were founded, altars erected, and the Scriptures circulated and read. The connexion between the Irish church and the first preachers of the gospel took place, as many curious coincidences declare, on the side of the eastern rather than the western branch. Our author ably traces that connexion, and demonstrates the difference between the early tenets of the Irish church, and the doctrines of the Roman-catholic priesthood. The following are some of his observations on this subject:—

'The introduction of popery into Ireland was altogether gradual, and by almost imperceptible degrees; but certainly in the seventh century it possessed much influence in the island. It then accomplished its first victory in the contest respecting Easter; an unfortunate occasion, for as the Romanists were right upon the particular question, it gave them a great vantage ground in the discussion of others more important, and in which they were in error. Their progress was rapid and substantial; but yet we can observe scintillations issuing from the dying embers of the ancient and purer fire, even in the obscurity of the tenth century; and it was not until the pope and Henry II. combined together to destroy the temporal and spiritual independence of the island, that we can pronounce it exclusively Roman catholic.'

Chap. II. is occupied with the biography, but Chap. III. commences with a sketch of the history of education in Ireland,

in which we have brought under our notice the ancient character of the country as a seminary for the Christian church. Its proficiency in learning is accounted for, by the convenience of its locality, as a seclusion and refuge from persecution; by the devotion of their monastic orders to the work of instruction; and the general discountenancing of learning on the part of the Roman pontiffs. This honourable pre-eminence was destroyed by the Danish inroads of the ninth century, and the later oppressions of the Anglo-Norman barons. Then follows the beginning of a wiser policy, in the efforts of Elizabeth and Edward VI. to promote education in Ireland in connexion with the protestant faith, and by the study of the Irish language. This, as well as everything that was Irish, had hitherto shared the contempt of the proud Englishmen, and whilst they professed their anxiety to make the vanquished receive the religion as well as the laws of their conquerors, even the cost of such instruction was to be paid by the dependent country in the extirpation of its native tongue. A rare instance of the combined folly and tyranny of these times is thus related by our author, on which he eloquently comments:—

‘In the act of uniformity, the stat. 2 Eliz., c. 13, by which the use of the English liturgy and a strict conformity to it are enjoined, a clause is introduced reciting that English ministers are not to be found in Irish churches, that the Irish people did not understand the English tongue, and that the church service cannot be celebrated in Irish, as well for the difficulty of getting it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read it. The wise remedy proposed is, that if the minister of the gospel cannot speak English, he may celebrate the service in the Latin tongue!! and this provision, absurd as it may appear, was passed in a wiser spirit of conciliation, and was even more rational in itself than those of the act of 28 Henry VIII., and of other statutes, which proscribed the use of the Irish language altogether. Augustus, in the plenitude of his power, declared that he could not invent and introduce a new word into general use in his empire, and it would appear that he who confounded Babel, and overruled the evils that might have followed from that miracle, by a second miraculous interference on the day of Pentecost, has not delegated to princes any of his dominion over language. With respect to the weak attempt to extirpate that of the Irish by legislation, a little reflection might have suggested, what a slight degree of experience has proved, that such violence could only serve to endear the proscribed language to the people, and have caused it to twine its tendrils around their hearts;—that such pressure would only serve to strengthen this cement of union among those who cherished it as all that was left to them of their ancient inheritance.’

Dr. Mason, in various parts of his book, dwells largely on the advantages of employing the Irish language as the means of im-

parting religious knowledge to the people generally; a plan which, although commending itself to every impartial judgment, sanctioned by the avowed opinion of the most learned men, adopted by the Roman-catholic priesthood, generally wise in their generation, and found in many cases to be successful for the most important purposes, has been too long neglected, is still looked upon with a degree of suspicion, and is by no means sufficiently practised. From the interesting narrative and opinions of our author, we could wish to make even more numerous selections than those which are already before the reader, but space will not allow us. We cannot forbear, however, adding as the last extract, the following testimony of one who may be considered an impartial and competent observer, respecting the character of the Irish people. It may perhaps serve, in some measure, to allay the fear of those who, from the present distracted state of the country, apprehend rebellion, anarchy, and bloodshed.

'It is remarkable that the natives of the country, although they are so very easily excited to turbulence, are not in the least degree influenced to it by a democratic and disloyal spirit; they have never exhibited the slightest tendency to it in any part of their history, but quite the reverse: all their impulses are of an aristocratic nature; veneration for religion, reverence for antiquity and establishment; respect for family, rank, station; they have no regard for upstarts, and readily condescend to the 'old sort,' as they call them. The insurrection of 1641, black and bloody as it was, gave occasion to the native Irish to exhibit, in the case of Bishop Bedell, those sentiments of veneration and of gratitude to which they are constitutionally inclined, and which greatly contrasted with the atrocities that marked their general conduct. To do justice to the Irish people, and in answer to those who deny them these qualities, it must be remembered that they are reciprocal; and that we might as reasonably expect the reflection of a mirror, without an original object to produce it, as gratitude and veneration to discover themselves in the hearts of those who have never been treated with benevolence and condescending sympathy.'

While we refuse entirely our assent in regard to ecclesiastical or civil government, to the sentiment of Pope, 'that which is best administered is best,' we discover in Bishop Bedell an instance of the good that may be effected by an honest, benevolent, and laborious Christian minister, notwithstanding the difficulties by which he is surrounded. His successful accomplishment of great purposes cannot, however, be pleaded in favour of the ecclesiastical system in Ireland to which he belonged. His character was, and has remained, the exception rather than the rule; and, notwithstanding the presence of an established church, and the political ascendancy of protestantism, the unequal proportion

between papists and protestants in Ireland has more than doubled since the age in which he lived. It seems to us that the greater portion of the difficulties with which in the discharge of his episcopal duties he had to contend, arose out of the unnatural system to which he was allied. His efforts for the reform of abuses, and the conversion of the Roman catholics around him, were those of a strong man labouring in chains. If he lived now, we think he would find those chains pressing still more heavily, and still more effectually impeding his progress. In the elements of matter around us it is a merciful law of a benevolent Creator, that when corruption reaches a certain limit, there at once commences a fermenting and purifying process. We have equal reason, in some measure, to be thankful that that which is evil contains within it a principle of progress, does not stagnate on the surface of society, but by waxing worse and worse prepares for its own removal, and the preservation of the general health.

To such a crisis we conceive the abuses of Ireland have well nigh attained. We cherish, not unattended with fervent solicitude, the hope that in calm and firm subordination to the divine precepts, of righteousness and love, her people may manfully and peacefully realize ere long the blessing of freedom. It is not for us, for we have neither the ability nor the right to sit in judgment on the motives or principles of human action, but eagerly do we desire that all true protestants, in the fear of God and the love of man, girding on the divine armour, and the 'weapons which are not carnal but spiritual, mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds,' would advance to the rescue of Ireland, as well from the hand of its civil as its priestly oppressor. We do not point out to the friends of civil and spiritual freedom the propriety of alliance with any existing party, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, but would place vividly before the eyes of every intelligent Christian in England, the portentous fact that there is danger because there has been guilt. It is a law, the truth of which we tremblingly entertain at this moment, of which history, ancient and modern, furnishes solemn illustration, that popular commotion naturally follows popular injustice. An oppressed people, however long they may slumber, will one day wake to a sense of their wrongs, feel the goad that pierces them, and savage as a beast roused from his lair, may rush forth to take dreadful and indiscriminate vengeance. In such fearful outbreaks, alas, it is more frequently the innocent that suffers than the guilty! It is written oftentimes, in characters of blood, on the pages of history, that the best guarantee for national peace and prosperity, the most effectual remedy for national discontent or disturbance, is, on the part of the rulers of every land, 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God.'

Brief Notices.

Scriptural Communion with God; or, the Holy Bible, arranged in Historical and Chronological order, in such manner that the Books, Chapters, Psalms, Prophecies, &c. &c., may be read as one connected history, in the words of the authorized translation: newly divided into sections, for families and individuals, with Introductions and Prayers, and Notes for the Student and the Inquirer. By the Rev. George Townsend, M.A., Canon of Durham, &c. Part I., containing the sections for the mornings of one month. Rivingtons. 1843. pp. 234.

THIS book is much like an old acquaintance introduced to us with a fresh name, with a long list of titles, and with new and additional habiliments. The book is, in fact, a new edition of the work, by which the author is advantageously known to all Biblical readers, under the name of 'The Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the Holy Bible;' but with this difference, that it is now accompanied with a Commentary. 'The present Commentary,' says the author, is formed on a new plan. The devotional, historical, and critical portions are separated from each other.' Each section consists of five Parts:—1. A Title, informing the reader of the general contents of the section. 2. An Introduction, which comprises the historical and expository matter given in the chief commentaries. 3. The portion of Scripture selected for the section. 4. A Prayer, founded upon the Introduction and the selected portion of Scripture, embodying the devotional reflections of the reader. 5. Notes original and critical, addressed to the student and inquirer.

Of the divisions, contents, and character of these sections, we will give our readers a specimen.

'Section 9, p. 94.

'1. TITLE. The covenant with Adam is renewed to Noah. Noah prepares the ark. The preservation of the animals. Of Noah and his family.

'2. INTRODUCTION.

'3. PORTION OF SCRIPTURE. Genesis vi. 18, to the end, and vii. 1—16.

'4. PRAYER. That as we are now partakers of the covenant of God, and are members of his visible church, we may 'so pass through the waves of this troublesome world, that we finally come to the land of everlasting life.'

'5. NOTES. On Baptism and Baptismal Regeneration. On the appearance of the glory of God at the door of the ark. Confirmation of the truth of the deluge from Egyptian tradition.'

Where the notes are critical or historical, they are generally sound and good; but where they are doctrinal, they are uniformly Puseyitish. Indeed, the entire complexion of the work is Puseyite. The character of the prayer accompanying each section may be learnt from one note

of the author. To a solemn prayer for the blessing of the most High to rest upon the work, he has had the strange taste to attach this note:—

‘I dare not attempt to compile these prayers without keeping constantly in view, not the Scriptures only, but the guiding and teaching of that portion of Christ’s holy catholic church, in which I am an humble and unworthy successor of his apostles and their followers. I adopt, therefore, in every instance when it can be done, the expressions which I find in the prayers of the church. This expression [the one adopted in the prayer] is taken from the baptismal service.’

We think ‘the force of Puseyism could no farther go.’ Here is a divine, a successor of the apostles, sending a prayer to Heaven with this proviso, that he would not send a petition even there, nor wish a prayer of his to be accepted there, but which was in ‘the expressions,’ not of the church of Christ, but of ‘that portion’ of the church which parliament has established, not in Britain, but in England and Ireland. A successor of the apostles saying before God that he ‘DARE NOT’ pray in any other way. Is this apostolical? Would Paul or Peter have used such language about their prayer?

We are really grieved at heart to find a man of Mr. Townsend’s piety, learning, and reputation, holding such guilty dalliance with the witchcraft of Puseyism. It would be instructive, and, if it were not so serious an affair, it would be amusing to know how Mr. Townsend came within the enchanted ring of the apostolic succession. He is the son of an eminent and useful congregational pastor. He received his first theological training in the dissenting college at Wymondley, now Coward College, London. We should like to know whether he was baptized by a priest ‘duly authorized,’ or if not, whether the imposition of episcopal hands had the power to charm him into the hallowed inclosure of the succession in spite of a dissenting baptism; or, indeed, whether a process of anabaptism was passed upon him?

He closes the dedication by using one of the prayers of the Jesuit Alvarez, whom Mr. Townsend mentions as an author ‘*of another communion.*’ Shades of Cranmer and Ridley, would ye have described papists thus? ‘The mother of harlots,’ who has covered and cursed the earth with her abominations, ‘another communion!’ Then, so be it. The church of England is one communion, and the church of Rome ‘another communion.’ But, how came the apostolic succession, and the efficacy of the sacraments to be transferred to one communion from ‘another.’ After all, then, the communion is not *one*: there has been, and there is, a schism, and *who* are the schismatics, we must leave the Pope and Dr. Pusey to settle.

We think that the title, ‘The Holy Bible, with Notes and Prayers,’ would have been more appropriate than the one adopted. We have before us only ‘The First Part,’ and have seen no intimation of the probable number to which these parts will extend. This first part contains selections from Genesis and Job, the book of Job being introduced where, according to the opinions of the author, it ought chronologically to be.

A Record of the Pyramids. A Drama, in ten Scenes. By John Edmund Reade. Saunders and Otley.

Sacred Poems from subjects in the Old Testament. By the same. Saunders and Otley.

The prolific author of these publications has already given to the world 'Cain, the Wanderer,' 'Italy,' in six cantos, 'the Deluge,' 'Cataline,' and 'the Drama of a Life.' Another work, too, is on the slips, to be launched in about a twelvemonth or more, entitled, 'The Confessions of a Pastor,' which Mr. Reade designs as the winding up of his poetical writings! We are no admirers of the dedications to Sir Robert Peel and Sir Robert Inglis; nor of the tone of egotism and dogmatism, and we may also add of mysticism, which pervades too many of this gentleman's pieces. Modesty, calmness, and an avoidance of what we should term *individualism* (for want of a better word) appear to us as the never-failing attendants upon first-rate genius. But that the 'Record of the Pyramids' is a poem of very great merit and power, we must candidly admit. We have perused it with deep and cordial pleasure, and warmly recommend it to our readers as a monument of dramatic genius. We should indeed have much liked to review it at length, which our limits in these brief notices must of course render out of the question. Really Mr. Reade is too good a poet to revive such absurd practices, as those he has fallen into in addressing his chosen patrons. The two Conservative baronets have enough to do without listening to any rapturous aspirations 'to identify our state institutions with the doctrines and discipline of the church of England,' or, in fact, of any other church whatsoever. The Premier will be anything but pleased with a writer who can assure him to his face that he is 'a patriot whose principles and character remain *unchanged and unshaken* through every reverse of fortune!' One might just as well compliment Proteus upon the unalterable *fixity of his features*; nor would any classical Tory in the present day (Mr. Reade alone excepted) object to an application of these lines to the First Lord of the Treasury:—

'Tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum :
Omnia transformant sese in miracula rerum :
Aut acrem flammæ sonitum dabit, atque ita vinelis
Ereidet, aut in agnas termes dilapsus abibit!'

Poems from Eastern Sources. The Steadfast Prince, and other Poems. By Richard Chevenix French. London: Moxon.

This is an elegant little volume of verses, attractive to those persons who happen to have particular tastes for oriental poetry. The second piece, is the best, containing about ninety stanzas on the celebrated Sebastian or Ferdinand of Portugal, who was lost in a crusade against the Barbary Moors. Mr. French represents his hero as dying a sort of sacrifice to Christianity; and the following specimen

will give a fair idea of his descriptive abilities, as well as of the sort of stanza which he has adopted :—

‘ There, lo! with folded palms the martyr lay,
His eyes unclosed—and stood in each a tear,
And round his mouth a sweeter smile did play
Than ever might on mortal lips appear :
No mortal joy could ever have come near
The joy that bred that smile:—with waking eye
He seemed to mark some vision streaming by !’

‘ The Corregan’ and ‘ The Famine’ also possess merit, as displaying imaginative conceptions of no common order ; whilst the other pieces appear to us as rising little above these fugitive fragments which frequently adorn our scrap-books and albums. Not that we are at all disposed to despise such amiable, or at least harmless productions. Whatever contributes towards intellectual cultivation, or the advancement of taste for the moral, the sublime, or the beautiful, is worth something. Poems, like those of Mr. French, are the moths and butterflies, or if he will, the variegated humming-birds of our literary gardens. Their hues glance brightly in the sunbeams, though it be only for a moment; and yet an almighty and all bounteous Providence will not withhold from his creatures even that transitory enjoyment. Peace be with all the genuine children of Parnassus, whether their attractiveness consist in the sweetness of song, the elegance of form, or the brilliancy of plumage. We had rather promote the composition of a pretty paper of verses to please the fair or delight children, than applaud the heroes of a hundred battles in rhapsodies which might consign to immortality the tyrants or destroyers of mankind.

Sermons printed from the MSS. of the late Rev. Benjamin Beddome, A.M. With a Brief Memoir of the Author. London: Ward and Co. 8vo. 467.

These sermons, sixty-seven in number, are by the author of a large number of some of the most beautiful hymns contained in our various selections of devotional poetry. They are evidently not what he preached, from the texts which are placed at their head, but rather the *subject-matter* on which he expatiated more at large. They are, however very beautiful, and eminently instructive. It cannot be said of this book, as of many modern publications, that it contains ‘ a rill of letter-press and a meadow of margin!’ It is a very *honest* volume, and that is no small praise.

The memoir which is prefixed is short and interesting. Mr. Beddome’s life was too retired and uniform to admit of much incident, or any striking events. But it was a very holy and useful life; and no intelligent and pious person can read it without interest and profit. It appropriately closes with the graphic sketch, by the late Rev. Robert Hall, from a preface by that master hand, to a volume of Mr. Beddome’s

Hymns, from which we take the following sentences:—‘ Mr. Beddome was, on many accounts, an extraordinary person; his mind was cast in an original mould; his conceptions on every subject were eminently his own. Favoured with the advantages of a learned education, he continued to the last to cultivate an acquaintance with the best writers of antiquity. As a preacher, he was universally admired for the piety and unction of his sentiments, the felicity of his arrangement, the purity, force, and simplicity of his language, all which were recommended by a delivery perfectly natural and graceful.’ After such a testimony from such a quarter, what more can we say to recommend this volume!

Six Views of Infidelity. By Joseph Fletcher. London: Snow. 1843.

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will give a fair idea of his descriptive abilities, as well as of the sort of stanza which he has adopted :—

‘ There, lo! with folded palms the martyr lay,
His eyes unclosed—and stood in each a tear,
And round his mouth a sweeter smile did play
Than ever might on mortal lips appear :
No mortal joy could ever have come near
The joy that bred that smile:—with waking eye
He seemed to mark some vision streaming by !’

‘ The Corregan’ and ‘ The Famine’ also possess merit, as displaying imaginative conceptions of no common order ; whilst the other pieces appear to us as rising little above those fugitive fragments which frequently adorn our scrap-books and albums. Not that we are at all disposed to despise such amiable, or at least harmless productions. Whatever contributes towards intellectual cultivation, or the advancement of taste for the moral, the sublime, or the beautiful, is worth something. Poems, like those of Mr. French, are the moths and butterflies, or if he will, the variegated humming-birds of our literary gardens. Their hues glance brightly in the sunbeams, though it be only for a moment; and yet an almighty and all bounteous Providence will not withhold from his creatures even that transitory enjoyment. Peace be with all the genuine children of Parnassus, whether their attractiveness consist in the sweetness of song, the elegance of form, or the brilliancy of plumage. We had rather promote the composition of a pretty paper of verses to please the fair or delight children, than applaud the heroes of a hundred battles in rhapsodies which might consign to immortality the tyrants or destroyers of mankind.

Sermons printed from the MSS. of the late Rev. Benjamin Beddome, A.M. With a Brief Memoir of the Author. London: Ward and Co. 8vo. 467.

These sermons, sixty-seven in number, are by the author of a large number of some of the most beautiful hymns contained in our various selections of devotional poetry. They are evidently not what he *preached*, from the texts which are placed at their head, but rather the *subject-matter* on which he expatiated more at large. They are, however very beautiful, and eminently instructive. It cannot be said of this book, as of many modern publications, that it contains ‘ a rill of letter-press and a meadow of margin !’ It is a very *honest* volume, and that is no small praise.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1843.

- Art. I. 1. *The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews: an Inquiry, in which the received Title of the Greek Epistle is vindicated against the Cavils of Objectors, Ancient and Modern, from Origen to Sir J. D. Michaelis, chiefly upon grounds of Internal Evidence hitherto unnoticed; comprising a Comparative Analysis of the Style and Structure of this Epistle, and of the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul, tending to throw light on their interpretation.* By the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D., &c. &c. London.
2. *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Dr. A. Tholuck, Consistorial Counsellor and Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.* Translated from the German by James Hamilton, M.A., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Durham. With an Appendix, comprising two Dissertations, by the same author, translated by J. E. Ryland, Esq. 2 vols. 1842. [Clark's Biblical Cabinet, volumes 38 and 39.]
3. *Opuscula Theologica ad crisin et interpretationem Novi Testamenti pertinentia.* Auctore, Dr. Hermann Olshausen, Theol. Prof. P. O. in Academia Regiomontana. Berolini. 1834. [Opuscc. III. IV., De auctore epistolæ ad Hebræos.]

FRUITLESS as such a wish must be, we doubt not that there have been in every age, excepting perhaps those in which the stream of sacred learning, scanty and impure, ran underground, persons who have desired that there were as direct and summary a method of authenticating the inspired books of our religion, as there is, to those who recognise a written revelation, of establishing the divine authority of its particular doctrines. Let, for instance, the doctrine of vicarious atonement be questioned, and an appeal to Rom. iii. 21, 28, or iv. 25, or 1 Peter ii. 21, 24, or any one of those passages, will be sufficient to convince any man of its divine authority who regards the epistles containing them as an integral part of the authoritative rule of

Christian faith and duty. The inquiry is a simple one. The proper, and indeed sole necessary test of the divine authority of doctrine is the sense of the inspired Scriptures; a sense which, though occasionally difficult to ascertain as respects particular passages, is, in the aggregate, clear, convincing, and satisfactory. To this simple and ready test, therefore, every doctrine for which Christ's authority is claimed, may and must be brought; and however exceptions may be multiplied against particular proofs, the method of proof remains unquestioned and unquestionable. The case is not, however, quite so simple when the authority of a canonical book is disputed. To settle this we must take a position exterior not only to the book excepted against, but to the whole body of the Christian Scriptures; for the argument is not comprised in any testimonies alleged by them, but is a problem, the solution of which, on scientific grounds, invariably requires an accurate investigation of historical facts, and in some instances the careful consideration of the moral bearing of such facts, as increasing or diminishing the probability on either side of the question.

As it may appear to some of our readers that although the principle is admissible and safe that no separate portion of the Christian Scriptures can satisfactorily authenticate itself, it is going too far to maintain that it may not be authenticated by other portions, it will be worth our while, especially as it can be done in very brief space, to show how this matter stands in point of fact. We admit, of course, the general confirmation rendered by all the canonical books of Scripture to each other in the substantial harmony of their doctrinal and other contents; but this is not the question we are now considering. The most express testimonies rendered in any New Testament writing to other writings are, that in Acts i. 1, to a former treatise of the author concerning what Jesus had done and taught until the day in which he was taken up, and that in 2 Peter iii. 15, 16, to certain letters of the Apostle Paul. But it is the merest reference, or nearly so, which is afforded in both cases; and though we have, it is true, a Gospel history, ascribed by succeeding writers to the person to whom they also ascribe the book of 'Acts,' and several epistles bearing the name of Paul, and so far harmonizing with the allusive hints contained in Peter's reference, that they contain statements concerning the end of the world and the judgment, with 'some things hard to be understood, which those that are unlearned and unstable wrest, *as they do the other Scriptures*, to their own destruction,' there is really nothing in either case whereby these writings may be identified; no quotation, nor any descriptive allusion, which would not have served equally well to identify either of the other three Gospels,

had Luke's name—the accredited author of the 'Acts'—been attached to it, or Peter's own first epistle, or James's, had they come down to us as Paul's. There is, then, this most important difference between the authentication of Luke's Gospel by the book of Acts, or that of any of Paul's epistles by the second Epistle of Peter, and the authentication of any doctrine which the book of Acts, or the last-mentioned epistle, may exhibit; that to ascertain what the doctrine is, we need not consult any other document than that in which it is contained; whereas, to discover what writing is referred to, we are driven, of necessity, to an examination not only of the writing, but of all the circumstances, external and internal, which may be advanced in support of its genuineness. These testimonies, therefore, as credentials of other particular writings, amount to nothing, because they are detached from the documents which they attest. Even to Theophilus, the reference in Acts would only serve to authenticate Luke's Gospel, on the supposition that the latter had been conveyed less directly to him than the former, or exhibited in style, or penmanship, or some other inward feature, less decisive evidence of its author. So, even the 'strangers of the dispersion' could not have known exactly what epistles Peter meant, unless they had been in possession of some (addressed to themselves?), and known either that Peter was acquainted with the fact of that possession, or, (which of course implies other communications between them and the Apostle,) that he had previously designated certain of Paul's epistles in the same terms. This proves that even the parties first addressed required some authentication of the writings referred to, besides that afforded in the references; or rather, that they had previously received the writings on their own independent, internal and external pretensions. But in these later times the separation between the writings and the testimonies is so entire, that a much wider circle of independent testimony has to be traversed. Indeed, nothing short of the evidence which would establish the authority of these writings without the references, will suffice to show that they are the writings intended; and even then we receive that identification only as an inference from that evidence, and but a probable one after all, at least in Paul's case, because we cannot be sure that he did not write some other epistle, or epistles, expressly to those dispersed brethren as such, but which, by divine permission, perished, as no longer necessary, with the particular class of primitive believers for whose use they were immediately intended.

We see, then, that the difference between the authentication of doctrine and that of writings by biblical testimonies is clearly established; that the latter is a much more complex process than the former; and that in point of fact we must be in pos-

session of much more evidence than the whole New Testament canon can supply upon the subject, in order to ascertain the genuineness and authority of any single writing of that canon. But let not any thing which we have said respecting the indirectness or complexity of the evidence required lead any of our readers to imagine that it is insecure or unsatisfactory. The very contrary is the case, as we hope to show. Nay, we think that it will not be difficult to prove that, in the methods to which we are obliged to have recourse to authenticate the inspired documents of our religion, we see another, added to the many previous proofs, of the wisdom and the goodness of its Author.

The evidence which is required to authenticate the sacred books of Christianity is substantially the same as that which other writings require for the same end. Professedly the production of men supernaturally inspired, and whose possession of extraordinary powers is attested by the voice of even profane history, the principal question after all respects their genuineness; and this, to use the language of Paley, (whose statements, though relating principally to the gospels, are applicable, as far as we shall apply them, to the New Testament scriptures in general,) is made up 'by citations from them in writing belonging to a period immediately contiguous to that in which they were published; by the distinguished regard paid by early Christians to their authority, (which regard was manifested by their collecting of them into a volume, appropriating to that volume titles of peculiar respect, translating them into various languages [*], writing commentaries upon them, and still more conspicuously, by the reading of them in their public assemblies in all parts of the world); by an universal agreement with respect to [nearly all] these books, whilst doubts were entertained concerning some [few]; by contending sects appealing to them [†]; by many

* Dr. Paley, from whose admirable recapitulation ('Evidences,' Pt. I, prop. i, ch. 10,) we have taken the above condensed view of the *external* proofs of genuineness, having, in subserviency to the historical argument of his work, the Gospels principally in view, has very properly noticed some marks of respect paid to them which do not apply to the other books. Thus, where the brackets occur to which the present note is attached, he has mentioned the 'digesting of the Gospels into harmonies,' and the following note respects another instance of the same kind.

† Paley here inserts: 'By the early adversaries of the religion not disputing their genuineness, but, on the contrary, treating them as the depositaries of the history upon which the religion was founded.' This remark of course applies particularly to the gospels, which are referred to by CELSUS [circa A.D. 180] in numerous passages of his work, *Ἀληθὴς λόγος*; as quoted by Origen in his work 'contra Celsum,' libb. i. §§ 28, 40, 67; ii. §§ 13, 16, 24, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 49, 59, 74; v. § 52; vi. §§ 16, 34, 36, 37; vii. §§ 18, 25, 58, 70; viii. §§ 2, 7; and by PORPHYRY [born A.D. 233, dec. A.D. 270] as represented by Jerome, Quæst. in Gen. i. 10; in Matt. iii. 3; ix. 9; and contr.

formal catalogues of them, as of certain and authoritative writings, published in different and distant parts of the Christian world; lastly, by the absence or defect of the above cited topics of evidence, when applied to any other writings.' Dr. Paley justly adds: 'These are strong arguments to prove that the books actually proceeded from the authors whose names they bear.'

Powerful, however, as this kind of argument is, it is not all. The fulness of evidence is then only realized when the relation of the writing to its reputed author, his history, 'peculiarities of character or authorship, and the circumstances of his age and connections, has been duly investigated, and the requisite agreement ascertained. Many successful and instructive instances of such investigation occur in Paley's other well known work, the *Horæ Paulinæ*; although the object of it was not so much to establish the genuineness of the apostle's writings as the truth of the scripture account of him. A most distinguished specimen of this species of argument is also exhibited in Prof. Heinrich Planck's defence of the genuineness of Paul's 1st Epistle to Timothy, against the subtle but arbitrary exceptions of Schleiermacher. And we may refer to the same class the work of Mr. Forster, whose title is given at the head of this article, and in which the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is vindicated at great length, chiefly on literary grounds:—the evidence of identity of diction, style, manner, and quotation, in it and those epistles to which Paul's name is prefixed.

While, however, as above observed, internal evidence comes powerfully in aid of external testimony, it can seldom be regarded as satisfactory alone. If the genuineness of a work be investigated at any considerable interval after the alleged date of its composition, external testimonies are the surest vouchers by which it can be traced up to its professed era. It is not so easy to interpolate quotations from it into the writings of a later age, as it is to forge a work which shall possess many of the features

Pelag. lib. ii. § 17. But the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and probably the Apocalypse, are treated in a similar way by the adversaries of the Christian religion, as the following references will show. By CELSUS, Origen, *op. cit. libb. v. 64; vi. 12; viii. 24*; by PORPHYRY in Jerome's *Com. in Joel, ii. 28; Isa. liii. 12; and Proem. in Gal.* So also Chrysostom, says Dr Flatt, (quoting Hom. 6, in Ep. i. ad Cor.,) appeals to Celsus and Porphyry for the antiquity of the New Testament Scriptures.' See Storr and Flatt's *Bible Theology*, translated by Schumcker, Book I. part i. § 1, in which work, and in Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, Fosdick's Translation, pp. 31, et seq., some of the above-mentioned instances are illustrated. Some valuable additions to the instances given in Paley's *Evidences* in support of his assertion respecting the use made of the sacred books by contending sects will also be found in Hug's Introduction, pp. 33—64.

of a former age, and even many of the peculiarities of a particular writer. It was, doubtless, this consideration which caused Paley to lay such stress upon the absence of design in the coincidences between the Book of Acts and Paul's Epistles, which forms the principle of his argument in the *Horæ Paulinæ*.

By the searching investigation, therefore, of external testimonies and internal indications conjointly, the genuineness of every professedly inspired writing must be decided; and we do not hesitate to say, that there is no other mode of proof which is so available, so satisfactory, or accompanied with so much accessory benefit to the inquirer as this. No other, indeed, is possible, without a perpetual repetition of miracles, the necessary result of which would be to detract from the value of inspiration as the *distinguishing* excellence of a written revelation, far more than would be added to it in the way of evidence. For suppose that the divine authority of *every* New Testament scripture were attested by vision, or in any other miraculous way, to *every* inquirer, (and if not a universal attestation, then some, or one, at least, must receive them on the authority of his fellow-men), is there any reason to believe that such miracles would in reality be more effectual of themselves to convince gainsayers, than the miracles of our Lord and his apostles were to convince the enemies of the truth in their day who resisted evidence which they durst not deny*? We raise no question, though we think one might very fairly be raised, respecting the strong antecedent improbability of the very idea of inspiration, *as mere fact*, being vouched for by inspiration. But would not such a form of evidence immediately and necessarily make inspiration cheap? Would it not, in so doing, depreciate the most distinguishing credential of revelation? And parried and resisted, as of course it would be, by the multifarious obliquities and gross darkness of the carnal mind, would its direct bearing on Christian apologetics be aught other than to change the form of the controversy? The cavils of our Lord's age would be incessantly renewed in ours, by the assertion of a Satanic inspiration, while every unrenewed man would find in his own bosom and in his own life the strongest inducements to falsify the evidence afforded him, by obliterating all distinction between the works of the devil and the power of God.

The mischief, however, would not end here. If men were the

* 'And the Scribes which came down from Jerusalem said: 'He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils.' Mark iii. 31. 'What shall we do to these men, for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. But that it spread no further among the people, let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name.' 16, 17.

subjects of a special revelation, on this matter, which they need not verify to others by personal miracles, what should hinder them, under such circumstances, from asserting a special revelation upon other topics? The great safeguard being withdrawn, a door is open to every monstrosity; every man might, without fear of human conviction, be a new *avatar* of Simon Magus; and, the deceivableness of unrighteousness, which has rolled in a pretty full stream in the subterranean channels of papal Rome, would, long ere this, without some special but undiscovered method of suppression on the part of providence, have swamped the entire church of the Redeemer in one terrific deluge.

We have thus attempted, at a length which some may consider unnecessary, to exhibit and justify the mode of authenticating revelation to future ages, which it has been the will of Providence to adopt, as it stands opposed to another mode which timid ignorance, inconsiderate zeal, or an enthusiastic fancy, might have preferred. We have been thus full, on account of the bearing which our argument has on the great question of the volumes which are now on our table. Mr. Forster has justly characterised the controversy respecting the authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, as 'the most important open question connected with the canon of the New Testament.' By many critics it is also considered, perhaps with equal correctness, that it is one of the most difficult. It is, certainly, difficult enough to have occasioned great diversity of sentiment, and that in various ages of the church. Some exposition, therefore, and justification of the process of investigation to which it is necessary strictly to adhere, cannot be out of place. We shall only observe in addition, before passing to our more immediate subject, that it is at least natural that we should have the same method of authenticating inspired authorship as that which is not inspired; that the experience which is obtained in investigations of the latter class, tells powerfully in questions of the former; and that the incidental benefit connected with the study and understanding of the inspired scriptures, which accrues from the present natural method of investigating their authority, is absolutely incalculable.

The inquiries which it has been found necessary to institute concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, differ, in some important respects, from those affecting the other canonical epistles. With the single exception of the first Epistle of John, all the epistles advanced for themselves their claim to be received as the production of some one or other of the inspired apostles; who were either expressly named in them, as is the case in thirteen Epistles of Paul, one of James, two of Peter, and one of Jude, or designated by a suitable and well-known appellative, as in the

two private epistles of John. In John's first epistle, however, and in that to the Hebrews, no author's name is given, and there is no passage which can be said to indicate, in any other way than by probable allusion, who the author was. The authority of these epistles therefore is not, like that of the others, dependent on their being shewn to have been written by some one particular person named or designated in them; and the investigation of their authorship does not involve, as in the case of the others, the question of their being forgeries. It might be shown that they were not written, respectively, by John or Paul, or any one inspired writer in particular, and yet that they were probably the productions of some such writer, and properly inserted into the sacred canon. Respecting John's epistle, which, having come down to us without a shadow of doubt respecting its author, suffered indeed a partial and momentary eclipse in our own times, it is beside our present purpose to speak. The argument respecting the canonical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, as independent of the question of Paul's authorship, has also been discussed in this journal (Third Series, vol. iii. pp. 412—414) at a length which renders it unnecessary that we should resume it here. We shall, therefore, limit our inquiries on this occasion to the authorship of the epistle, and introduce such matter from the works whose titles we have given, as will serve at once to illustrate that subject, and characterise the volumes whence they may be respectively taken.

We shall direct our attention, in the first instance, to the **EXTERNAL EVIDENCE** concerning the epistle; not staying, however, to discuss at any length the testimony alleged from 2 Peter, iii. 15, or the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. The latter was noticed by Eusebius, as proving that the epistle to the Hebrews was not a late production; we think that it proves, also, the apostolic character of the epistle, in which case it implies a strong probability that Paul was its author. For though Paul's name is not once mentioned in connexion with any quotation from it, or any allusion to it, Clement's practice, in this respect, was uniform. He quotes nothing of Paul's as his, except, and that once only, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, a letter addressed to the church to which he is himself writing. Dr. Tholuck, therefore, justly asks—'How came Clement, if the epistle be not Paul's, to make so rich a use of it, while the ecclesiastical writers—as we shall see in reference to the epistle to the Hebrews itself, was the case with Tertullian, and in the West generally—seldom or never quote the non-apostolical writings? Not without reason have those who support Paul's authorship laid great stress upon this fact.' We are unwilling, however, to force any part of the evidence, and accept Clement's testimony

as shewing that the epistle was known to him as an authoritative christian document before the year 96, or perhaps even before the year 70, the date ascribed by Dodwell and Le Clerc to his letter.

The alleged reference in 2 Peter iii. 15 we shall also pass with brief notice; not because the canonical authority of that epistle is sustained by a smaller body of evidence than that which can be produced in favour of the epistle we are now considering; nor, on the other hand, from the idea that the reference deserves no notice in this connexion; but partly on account of the complex exhibition of alleged parallels, and many and minute explanations requisite to make the reference probable; and partly on account of the great uncertainty which invariably attends such comparisons and explanations. So much in arguments of this kind depends upon what is merely accidental in the feelings of the inquirer, or the course of the inquiry, that we lay very little stress on them in ordinary cases. In the present instance, Peter's second epistle refers to one of Paul's, addressed to the strangers of the dispersion in the various provinces of Asia Minor. These were converts from Judaism—so were those to whom the epistle now under consideration was addressed, which, being anonymous, may be the one referred to. But if so, it contains a declaration to the effect that the 'long-suffering of the Lord is salvation;' perhaps, also, it should contain—so at least some think, judging from Peter's context—hints of the new heavens and new earth. The latter hints, as it seems to us, the Epistle to the Hebrews does contain, in chap. xii., v. 26—28. The former seems more questionable. Let that, however, be established, and the propriety of *πρὸς ἑβραίους* as an inscription to the strangers of the dispersion, be conceded, and a fair case is made out; though even then, the question is relevant and perplexing:—did not Paul address the strangers of the dispersion in Asia Minor, though not distinctively as such, in the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians? We just add, from Tholuck, who thinks that Peter's reference cannot be traced in the Hebrews, that Paulus and Mynster considered that they found it in ch. x. 25. Mr. Forster, who has devoted a whole section of his work to the subject, (Sect. xiv. pp. 625—644,) relies principally on ch. vi. 12, iv. 15, 16, ii. 17, 18, and xii. 24, but attempts to make out a number of other coincidences between Peter's two epistles and that to the Hebrews, in evidence of Peter's knowledge of the epistle. This is *de trop*. To such an argument we should oppose the fact that Peter was informed by the same Spirit as Paul, and for the same objects. Surely nothing further can be necessary to account for the coincidences which occur.

Passing, therefore, these scanty and doubtful testimonies of the first century, let us examine those of the second and third.

The eastern testimonies, properly so called, (i. e. those of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine) are soon stated, being summed up in Jerome's assertion (Epist. ad Dardanum) : 'nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi.' If this statement should appear to require any qualification as respects the Greek writers, though it is virtually true of them, as we shall see, we must remember Jerome's peculiar opportunities of knowing the state of opinion in the East. His account is, moreover, confirmed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, lib. III. cap. iii., when he says : 'Of Paul there are fourteen [epistles] manifest and well known—*πρόβηλοι καὶ σαφείς*.' For though he adds, 'But yet there are some (i. e., some persons, *τινές*) who reject that to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans, as not being Paul's,' it is evident that the objectors of whom he speaks were particular writers standing in a nearer connexion with Rome. If these collective testimonies are late, we must remember not only that they are altogether uncontradicted by contrary evidence, but that the little independent evidence which has come down to us is to the same effect. The letter of the synod convened at Antioch in the year 265, against Paul of Samosata, recognizes the Pauline authorship of the epistle.* And Lardner (Principal Facts, vol. v. p. 258) has pointed out two passages to the same effect in the writings of Methodius of Tyre,† (circa 290.) Per-

* This letter is given in Mansi, Collect. Concil. Tom. i. p. 1038 ; to which we have not access. Dr. Tholuck says respecting it, 'The second testimony, from the writing of the Synod, is equally unquestionable. And from it Bleek also draws this conclusion : *This proves, certainly, that, in Antioch, the Epistle was then generally regarded as written by Paul, so much so, that even from its enemies contradiction had ceased to be apprehended.*' Thol. vol. i. p. 12. In one point, however, Bleek's admission is open to remark. It implies that Paul's authorship had been doubted at Antioch, and had found enemies in the Syrian churches, of which there is not a vestige of proof. On this point we shall be more explicit when we review the oriental testimonies collectively. We regret that we are accidentally prevented from making an independent use of Bleek's work, which is not now in our possession. Our extracts from it are taken either from Tholuck or Olshausen.

† 'In the piece entituled *Convivium Decem Virg.* Orat 10, apud Combesis, p. 96, there occurs this passage : *ἐὶ ὁ νόμος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀποστολὸν πνευματικὸς, τὰς εἰκόνας ἐμπεριέχων τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν*, [if the law, according to the Apostle, be spiritual, containing the image of good things to come,] and in the same work, p. 116, *μυρίον γὰρ ἔξετε κλέος, εἰαν ἀφέλητε νικῆσαι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σιφάνους ἑπτα, δι' οὓς ὁ ἄγων ἡμῖν πρόκειται καὶ ἡ πάλη κατὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον Παῦλον*. [For ye shall obtain infinite glory, if, having gained the victory, ye take from her the seven crowns which struggle for which things are placed before us by

haps, also, with these testimonies in our view, it is right to consider the reception of the epistle into the Peshito version (circa 150) as a testimony to the same purpose; for, granting that this reception implies, as on the principles before expressed in our notice of Clement's quotations, the recognition of its apostolical authority, we may presume that it was received as a writing of the same apostle, to whom we find it afterwards explicitly ascribed. At the close of the third century, as Hug states, but probably a little later, the writer of the epistle is characterized by James of Nisibis, under whom Ephraem the Syrian studied, as 'the apostle,' or 'the blessed apostle;' and the former of these designations is that under which he is spoken of by Ephraem himself, who was deacon at Edessa in the year 378.

We conceive, then, that the collective testimony of the East, until the time of Eusebius (circa 331) and Jerome (circa 394) is decidedly in favour of the Pauline authorship, there being not a vestige of proof that it was ever questioned in those parts. This was not the case, however, in the West. Its apostolical character was denied at Rome as early as the close of the second century; and even in Alexandria, according to Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* III. xiv. it was asserted by Clement, about the same time, that the epistle, as we have it, was translated by Luke from the Hebrew original of Paul. These are the earliest traces of any disbelief that Paul wrote the Greek epistle which has come down to us; and in estimating the bearing of the different testimonies of Alexandrian and Roman writers, it is of the very highest importance to ascertain whether the doubts which were expressed by any of them had their origin in critical or doctrinal reasons, or were to any extent the result of an earlier tradition to the same effect.

We shall first consider the Alexandrian testimonies—which commence with those of Clement, and of an earlier writer, (supposed to be Pantænus), quoted by him under the designation of the Blessed Presbyter. Both are given by Eusebius in the following terms: 'And he says, that the epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language; and that Luke having carefully translated it, published it for the use of the Greeks; which is the reason of that

our teacher Paul.] The former passage Lardner conceives to be an allusion to Heb. x. 1; the latter to xii. 1. With Bleek, we feel constrained to admit this, as respects the latter, though the former, perhaps, is more questionable. The assumption that the writer had in view the Epistle to the Hebrews is supported by the fact of that Father having in other passages undoubtedly made use of it, without formally adding the name of Paul.' *Theol.* vol. i. pp. 11, 12. This, it will be observed, is evidence of the same kind as that alleged in Mr. Forster's fourteenth section lately referred to, only more decided and convincing.

uniformity of style which is found in this epistle and the Acts of the Apostles: but that he did not make use of that inscription, 'Paul the Apostle,' of which he assigns this reason: For, says he, writing to the Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him, and were suspicious of him, he wisely declined uttering his name at the beginning, lest he should offend them. And afterwards he says: Now, as the blessed Presbyter said: Forasmuch as the Lord was sent as the apostle of Almighty God to the Hebrews, Paul, out of modesty, as being sent to the Gentiles, does not style himself the Apostle of the Hebrews; both out of respect to the Lord, and that, being the preacher and apostle of the Gentiles, he over and above wrote to the Hebrews.' Clement's works contain several other references to this epistle as Paul's; two of which, extracted from his 'Stromata,' lib. ii. and vi., may be found in 'Lardner's Credibility,' Part II. ch. xxii.

Origen habitually ascribes the epistle to Paul, as is abundantly proved by Lardner—'Cred.,' Part II. ch. iii.; but his most important testimony, as given in his 'Homilies on the Epistle,' is preserved by Eusebius, 'Eccl. Hist.,' Book VI., ch. xxv. 'Finally, of the Epistle [inscribed] to the Hebrews, in his homilies upon it, he gives his opinion in this manner: 'The style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the Apostle's rudeness of speech, who has confessed himself rude in speech, that is in language, 2 Cor. xi. 6. But this epistle, as to the texture of the style, is elegant Greek; as every one will allow, who is able to judge of the difference of styles.' Again, he says: 'The sentiments of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. This will be assented to by every one who reads the writings of the Apostle with attention.' Afterwards he adds: 'If I was to speak my opinion, I should say, that the sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition of some one who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and, as it were, reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master. If, therefore, any church receives this epistle as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that account, for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's; but who wrote this epistle God only knows, certainly. But the account come down to us is various; some saying that Clement, who was Bishop of Rome, wrote this epistle; others, that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.'*

* In the several extracts from Eusebius, we have thought it best on the whole to use the version given by Lardner in his great work. The accessibility and the reputation of the work induced us to do this, although his bias against the Pauline origin of the Epistle has rendered his version, in one or two particulars, less favourable to the Epistle than it might with truth have been. It is, however, usually very fair, and far more literal than Mr. Hamil-

Postponing the remarks we have to offer on these testimonies, we pass to those of the Roman Church. Here, also, Eusebius comes to our aid. In Book VI. ch. xx., he writes: 'There is also come into our hands a dialogue [or disputation] of Caius, a most eloquent man, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, with Proculus, a patron of the Cataphrygian heresy; in which, also, reproving the rashness and audaciousness of his adversaries in composing new writings [or Scriptures], he makes mention of but thirteen epistles of the holy Apostle, not reckoning that to the Hebrews with the rest. And indeed to this very time, by some of the Romans, this epistle is not thought to be the Apostle's.' Jerome, also, (*De Viris Illustr.*, cap. 59) has a similar testimony which Lardner has extracted in the same chapter.

In a catalogue of the received New Testament Scriptures, which bears internal evidence of its belonging to the close of the second, or the commencement of the third century, and which having been discovered by Muratori at Milan, is given in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 854; not only is the Pauline origin of the epistle denied, but the author describes it as '*apud Alexandrinos Pauli nomine fictam ad hæresin Marcionis.*' It is needless to remark on the absurdity of this assertion, respecting a writing spoken of by Alexandrian writers, as we have seen this epistle to be. It is more to our present purpose to observe, that it was included in the ancient *Itala*, before the time of Caius or this Catalogue, as a canonical book. Now, though this does not prove it to be Paul's, it is certainly important, in relation to the question whether the objections of Caius and the author of the Catalogue resulted from doctrinal prejudices, or were based on earlier tradition.

All that it is necessary to add to the preceding testimonies is, that Irenæus, who died at Lyons in the year 202, but was brought up under Papias, in Asia Minor, and is believed to have been the teacher of Caius, quoted the epistle in his book *περὶ διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, but has avoided the use of it almost entirely in his treatise '*Adversus Hæreses*;' that Tertullian (circa. A.D. 200) in his book *De Pudicitia*, cap. xx., quotes it as the work of Barnabas; but that after the decree of the council of Carthage, which, at the commencement of the fifth century, under Augustine's influence, recognized '*Pauli epistolas tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos unam,*' it gradually acquired authority throughout the Roman and African churches.

To estimate these various testimonies rightly, and ascertain

ton's translations, appended as foot notes to the extracts in Tholuck's text. That in which Origen's views are stated would be too free, were there no question depending on the terms of the original. As the matter stands, such a version is almost useless.

their proper bearing on the subject to which they relate, we must investigate their sources, and, as before hinted, discover how far they represent an earlier tradition, or merely express the critical principles or doctrinal prepossessions of their respective authors. On this point there is great diversity of opinion among modern critics; the most distinguished of whom, as Hug, Bleek, and Tholuck, arrive at conclusions differing in several respects from those of the others. Hug, usually a very fair and candid investigator, strains every nerve to shew that there was no historical basis for the opinions of Clement and Origen respecting a Hebrew original of the epistle; and that the objections of Caius, and the Roman and African writers, proceeded entirely from doctrinal difficulties attending its reception. Bleek, on the other hand, always unbiassed by party feeling, but now, as on some other occasions, betrayed by the too obvious objectiveness of his own candour, will have it, that the preponderance of previous tradition, even in the Alexandrian church, was very decidedly adverse to the Pauline authorship. Tholuck, again, with his all-observing, but, too frequently, not all-penetrating intellect, vindicates the view of Hug upon the Alexandrian tradition against the exceptions of Bleek, but disapproves of his position, that the Roman objections are traceable, exclusively, to a doctrinal bias. After some patient consideration of the evidences, we think that Hug, though he mistakes a few particular points, as, e. g., in his treatment of Tertullian's reference to the epistle, is right in the main. We believe, with him and Tholuck, that in the Alexandrian church tradition was in favour of Paul's authorship; that the account to which Origen refers as having come down to him was, probably, not of older date than Clement, and intended little, if anything, more than the different opinions which had been occasioned by the style of the epistle; and that the opposition of Irenæus, Caius, and the Roman and African writers generally to the epistle, was occasioned by the advantages which the cause of the Montanists derived from such passages as Heb. vi. 4, 5, as understood by all the Christian teachers of those times. We think there is great truth in the following representation, from Tholuck's introduction, of the balance of tradition and opinion in the Alexandrian church.

'Bleek's opinion, that only a community here and there received the Epistle as of Paul, while the general tradition of its reception was in the highest degree unfavourable, is, as we conceive, completely proved to be erroneous by two other passages of Origen, in which he speaks of doubts entertained as to its composition by the Apostle. In Matt. xxiii. 27, he makes use of this expression: *pone aliquem abdicare* Epistolam ad Hebræos quasi non Pauli; and in the Epistle, ad Afric. c. 9, he says,

ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως (by Heb. xi. 37, confirming the apocryphal fact of Isaiah's being sawn asunder) συγχρησασθαι τῷ βουλήματι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην, πρὸς δὲ ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρῆζομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν*. Can any one persuade himself that Origen would have so spoken concerning the doubts of Paul being its author, had these doubts been founded on historical grounds, and spread through all the congregations? Do not these passages very distinctly indicate the doubts as those of individuals, springing, as they did, in the mind of Origen himself, from internal difficulties which they were unable to explain†.

* We obtain the same conclusion from the sentence ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία κ.τ.λ. If some of the sceptics here mentioned regarded Luke, and others, Clement of Rome, as the writer, their very hypotheses clearly show that the character of its style induced the doubts entertained concerning its author.

† In confirmation of our assertion, that no communities, and still less the majority of the communities, regarded the Epistle as not of Paul, we have the testimony of Eusebius, who (Hist. Eccl. l. 3, c. 3) speaks only of individuals (and even then with an appeal to the Western Church) who had raised doubts *ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἠθιγέκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν†*. How could he, indeed, have spoken so confidently of its production by Paul, if, in the time of Origen, its authorship was questioned in the majority of the congregations?

‡ In the evidence of Eusebius [Origen] we have still to estimate the value of the important words, *οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι*, which Bertholdt and Schulz, as we have seen, most unjustifiably omit, and which Eichhorn and others have not deemed worthy of any closer examination. Bleek naturally weighs them with more minute attention. The question is, how far back the expression *ἀρχαῖοι*, in Origen, carries us? Bleek observes, he can easily conceive that Origen, in this expression, had only Clement (who died about thirty years before him) and Pantaenus in view; and, indeed, it is in this way alone that the meaning attached by Bleek to *εἰ τις ἐκκλησία κ.τ.λ.* can be reconciled with the opinion of Origen. But can *ἀρχαῖοι* really refer to men of whom the one died twenty, perhaps only ten years before Origen wrote? Can he have introduced these two Alexandrian teachers with so general and indefinite a predicate? Must not the word *ἀρχαῖος* be taken in the same sense in which Eusebius employs it in the formula,

* But it is probable that a person, being pressed by the proofs adduced on this point, will adopt the opinion of those who reject the Epistle as not written by Paul; in reply to such a one, it will be necessary to employ other and independent arguments in proof of the Epistle being the work of that Apostle.

† The Introductions which have appeared since the time of Bleek have been more correctly expressed on this point; De Wette, Schott. The former only says: 'Origen, although he quotes the Epistle as Pauline, yet is aware of doubts concerning it.'

‡ It should be known, however, that *some* reject it as such, (the work of Paul), and say that the Epistle was not regarded by the Roman Church as a certain and genuine Epistle of Paul.

ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ιστορίας εἰρήσθω, and διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων παραθέσεως (Hist. Eccl. ii. 1; iii. 24)*? Now, if we explain the phrase of Origen by that of Eusebius, we are carried back, to use the language of Hug, 'to men who stand close upon the apostolic age;' and†, in accordance with that expression, we lay it down as a fact, that, *not long after the apostolic times, our Epistle was regarded as written by Paul*, and that it enjoyed this distinction in the East, where the proximity of Palestine facilitated the spread of the earliest knowledge of its author.

'From this unprejudiced examination of the historical evidence, throughout the whole of which we have endeavoured to avert our view from the result which we were desirous to obtain, it follows that, in the time of Origen, some doubts certainly existed concerning its composition by Paul; but that the general opinion, supported by ancient tradition, was in its favour: and, even if Origen himself decide that only the *νοήματα* must be ascribed to Paul, but not its composition, we are so far from regarding this, with Eichhorn and others, as an expedient in favor of his subjective view, and, in opposition to tradition, to vindicate, by *whatever means, its origin from Paul*, that, on the contrary, we perceive in it, with Storr, (Intro. § 4), a means of reconciling *his subjective critical opinion with the force of the objective historical tradition*.‡ And, to us, the facts appear to speak so clearly in favour of this view of the passage, that, from so candid an inquirer as Bleek, when he shall reconsider the subject, we venture to hope for assent to it.

'After the time of Origen, we find the Epistle generally acknowledged, in the Alexandrian Church, as proceeding from Paul; and, in the third century, by Dionysius the Bishop, by Peter the Bishop, and by Hierax the Heretic. (See Bleek, p. 131 et seq.) This, certainly, can the less be attributed to the authority of that Father alone, as it happened, to a certain degree, in contradiction of it.'—*Tholuck* i. pp. 7—10.

We cannot deny that there is some force in what Tholuck has said respecting Hug's position, that the rejection of the epistle in the Roman church, was occasioned by the advantage which it yielded to the Montanists. Tholuck observes, (p. 18,) 'that suspicion is awakened against the whole hypothesis, from the total absence of proof that it was the practice of the church to give up an acknowledged book of the New Testament, whenever that measure afforded a hope of wresting the weapons from the hands of heretical opponents:' again, that Heb. vi. 4, 5, 'was, indeed, employed by the followers of Novatian in support of their doctrine, but that neither Novatian himself, nor

* But these things I have found in the muniments of the ancients, &c.

† In Eusebius, indeed, Irenæus is designated as one τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρεσβυτέρων, (Hist. Eccl. v. 8); still Irenæus preceded him by nearly a century and a half.

‡ So Hug, also: 'The remark was early made (in Alexandria) that the style of the Epistle was strikingly distinguished from that of the Apostle. *Although the difference was perceived, and seemed to point directly to another author, still no one dared to deny it to be his.*'

Tertullian, the head of the Montanist party, has done so; and, (p. 19) that it is still less to be assumed under the circumstances, 'that the Montanists and Novatians should have forced the western church to give up the opinions, until that time current, respecting the author of the epistle.' On one point of fact, however, Tholuck is in error. Tertullian did quote Heb. vi. 4, 5, as his principal *dictum probans* in the treatise De Pudicitia; and, on the whole, when we consider the date of the epistle in the Roman church, we think that Hug is right. For how, otherwise, is it to be accounted for that an epistle, publicly recognised as that to the Hebrews was, towards the close of the first century, by Clement, then bishop, and incorporated, as an apostolical writing at least, in the Old Itala version, probably about the middle of the second century, should, simultaneously, or nearly so, towards the close of that century, be rejected by a Roman presbyter in a disputation at Rome against the Montanists, and be described in a public ecclesiastical document as 'forged by some Alexandrian in the name of Paul to support the heresy of Marcion?' Does not the *impossible* idea that it was forged in Alexandria, shew that the objection rests on no historical basis? Tholuck's other observations have also less force than at first appears; as respects his observation, 'that we have no proof that it was the practice of the church in controversy, to give up an acknowledged book of the New Testament, whenever that measure afforded a hope of wresting the weapons from the hands of heretical opponents,' who would suspect the early church of a practice so suicidal? We are sure that internal considerations must have weighed, then as now, in the reception or rejection of canonical writings, and among such, doctrinal considerations would, naturally, find a place. We know they did so in producing forgeries and charges of forgery. But it is natural that this should not be avowed; their influence would exert itself principally in quickening sagacity to detect other grounds of objection; and it is a very remarkable and unusual circumstance, that a doctrinal bias should appear in a catalogue, as we have seen to be the case in the Roman one which has been noticed. This instance, however, is peculiar on two accounts; in the first place, the writing rejected was anonymous; in the second, it contained passages supposed to exhibit views which, being distasteful at Rome, were not exhibited in any other book of the New Testament canon. That Novatian did not cite the Hebrews in support of his peculiar tenets is not wonderful. He was a Roman presbyter, *after* the time that the epistle was rejected at Rome and excluded from the Roman canon. As he had aimed at the Roman episcopate, and had a Roman party, it was natural that he should yield in this respect to the general opinion, or even

partake of it, and that he should rather seek to support his peculiarities by straining other passages, than by appealing to a writing which he certainly knew was rejected, and which, if the view of Spanheim, Wetstein, and Hug, is correct, had been rejected principally on account of the countenance it had afforded to his views when maintained at an earlier period by the Marcionites.*

There is another opinion of Dr. Tholuck's which is entitled to some notice. We have already observed that Irenæus refers to the epistle in one work only; and that in his most distinguished production, '*Adversus Hæreses*' there is not one quotation from it. This circumstance evidently has great weight with Tholuck, who says, '*Irenæus perhaps, among the fathers, may be regarded as the person on whom the most ancient opinion of the East retained its hold.*' It is impossible, we admit, for us to say with certainty what induced Irenæus to neglect, at one time, and when it would have been useful to him, a work which he had previously referred to. But as he was in frequent intercourse with Rome, and was even the bearer of a letter of recommendation on the part of the Montanists to the Bishop Eleutherius, we cannot but believe that when he used the epistle he was acting in conformity with the very early tradition which he had such peculiar advantages for knowing, and that in his subsequent neglect of it he was somehow influenced by Roman connexion, and perhaps an unworthy fear of countenancing the Montanist error, by giving prominence to their favourite writing.

We shall conclude what we have to say on the external evidence concerning the epistle with one or two passages from the *Opuscula* of Olshausen, a work, small in compass, but replete with candid and sagacious criticism. In the former section, which is chiefly occupied with an examination of Bleek's treatment of the Oriental and Alexandrian testimonies, the excellent, (but we regret to add, deceased) author, thus stated the result of his investigation into the eastern tradition on the subject of our epistle:—

'*Illud jam vehementer sententiam nobis commendare videtur, ecclesiam orientalem historica traditione permotam Paulo epistolam ad Hebræos tribuisse, quod inter patres Græcos ne unus quidem nominatur, neque in Ægypto, neque in Syria, Palæstina, Asia, Græcia, qui sententiam oppugnaverit, epistolam ab Apostolo Paulo esse profectam; imo ne vestigium quidem deprehenditur epistolam secundum traditionem historicam ab alio quodam auctore esse derivandam; quod profecto vix alia ratione potent explicari, quam si*

* But though the epistle is not cited by him in any one of his extant writings, it is not improbable that he relied on this passage: for Jerome, Lib. II. adv. Jovinian. seems to state that he had done so.

ponamus, antiquissimam in oriente propagatam fuisse traditionem quæ Paulum epistolæ auctorem esse nominaret, cujus vestigia passim quoque apparent, cum in ipsa epistola fere nihil reperiatur, quod animum lectoris ad Paulum apostolum advertere possit.'—*Opusc.*, p. 95.

'Denique ne disputationis nostræ fines satis angustos transgrediamur, hoc unum adhuc lectoribus proponimus. Omnium veterum scriptorum dubitationes de auctore epistolæ excitantur discrimine sermonis, and paucissimis aliis argumentis a forma externa desumptis; *nunquam* dubitationes *historicæ* moventur: qua re profecto mirum in modum opinio firmatur, sententiam ecclesiæ orientalis de auctore epistolæ traditione historica niti.'—p. 104.

We should have gladly extracted what Olshausen has said respecting Hug's hypothesis on the occasion of the Roman rejection of the epistle, but it is too meagre to satisfy our readers. Convinced that Hug wrote with a strong determination to support the Pauline authorship, (which is indeed the case) he considers that Bleek has succeeded in showing that the former had perverted the facts, and put them in a false light. On the other hand, he contends that Bleek, equally with Hug, missed the independent and true import of the facts, by pressing them into the service of a critical theory. 'Rectius autem egisset vir doctus,' says he, 'si ostendisset *Hugium* . . . dissonantiam inter occidentem et orientem, quod adtinet ad traditionem de auctore epistolæ, perperam ex factis historicis derivare voluisse, quæ sententiam occidentis de origine epistolæ apostolica mutassent, cum rectius *ex ratione, quæ inter Paulum apostolum et scriptorem epistolæ intercederet, possit explicari*.'—p. 117. Olshausen, therefore, maintains that the earliest Roman evidence is unfavourable to the Pauline authorship, and accounts for the contrary tradition in the East, by supposing that the epistle was written by some companion or friend of Paul, and with his sanction and assistance. Our readers will, of course, judge for themselves respecting the probability of this. We adhere to the opinion we have already expressed respecting the rejection of the epistle in the Roman church, as being on the whole the most natural and probable which we can form.

The INTERNAL criteria of authorship are, first, passages having personal reference to the author; secondly, the doctrinal character of the epistle; and, thirdly, its peculiarities of style and language. Under the first class, five passages have received particular attention: ch. ii. 3, which seems to reduce the author to the rank (according to the received text,) of those to whom the truth had been confirmed by our Lord's immediate disciples; ch. x. 34, where the writer refers to his imprisonment; ch. xiii. 18, where he entreates the prayers of the Hebrews that he might be restored to them the sooner; verse 23,

where he describes Timothy as his brother, and states his intention to visit them in his company; and verse 24, where he conveys to them a salutation from some Christians of Italy. It is generally acknowledged that the three last passages favour Paul's being the author; they are so regarded by Tholuck, to whose first volume, pp. 20—24, our readers may refer. The first passage has, on the other hand, been always regarded as interposing a serious difficulty in the way of that conclusion, one so serious as not only to have confirmed the doubts of speculative modern critics, but to have decided the judgment of Luther, and even that of Calvin, against the authorship of Paul. We are certainly not surprised that, with such passages as 2 Cor. xi. 5, Gal. i. 1, 11, 16, ii. 6, in his mind, Calvin should consider the passage under consideration as inconsistent with Paul's apostolic claims; but we are surprised that his almost unrivalled acuteness and discrimination should have failed to discover what, with all due respect, we consider an adequate solution of the difficulty. The apostolic character of the author, was not a matter of so much moment in this epistle, by whomsoever written, as the Hebrews are, in ch. xiii. 7—17, referred to the apostles resident in Palestine as their ecclesiastical guides; in consistency with which reference there is no inscription at the head of the epistle claiming for its author any ecclesiastical superiority to those to whom he writes. Granting, therefore, which we do without hesitation, that his apostolic character might have been disputed in Palestine as well as in Galatia, we see, in the circumstances of the two epistles, sufficient difference to account for the different style of address adopted, supposing Paul to have been the author of both. In Galatia, the cause of the gospel, as the great charter of redemption and rule of Christian liberty, depended on the overthrow of the adverse party, by whom Paul's apostolic character and evangelical doctrine had been depreciated; he wrote, therefore, as one commissioned for the propagation, and set for the defence of the gospel. In Palestine, the church was under the direction of the 'apostles of the circumcision,' who were especially commissioned by their Lord to watch over his Hebrew fold. Now, though Paul knew, as well as any functionary, how to magnify his office when its objects were in danger, and its duties were urgent, he cared very little for the show of office or authority; and the epistle to the Hebrews, while it bears the stamp of an apostle throughout, in the powerful, though unaffected, and unassuming tone of its moral admonitions, and contains some passages (e. g. ch. xiii. 20, 21, 25,) which reveal the station of the writer, is evidently to be viewed as a labour of love, not necessarily required by any official connexion of the author with the Hebrews, (ch. xiii. 7, 17), but commended to their attention on such

grounds as the subject, the brevity of the communication, (v. 22) and their feeling for the author (v. 18), would naturally suggest to them. The interest on which the writer actually relied, we believe to have been the services which he had rendered to the Hebrews, to which we think there is a tacit reference in v. 19, and it will be observed that the whole bearing of the argument—i. e., on perseverance under difficulty, persecution, the scattering of families, and the spoiling of goods, (see especially chapter x. 32, 33, and xi. ad finem,) is in unison with the state of feeling which would naturally be called out in one who had previously gathered contributions from the Gentile churches for his persecuted brethren in Judea, and would be strictly justifiable from one, though not officially connected with them, to whom the Hebrews had been accustomed to look for such assistance, and who had, for a season, been prevented from doing anything for their relief. This view is capable of being represented in a very copious light of allusions, but our limits forbid expansion. We merely add, in reference to the objection derived from ch. ii. 3, that, fairly considered, the passage no more describes the writer as exclusively indebted to the apostles for his knowledge of Christ, than it implies his consciousness that he was (with the Hebrews) under special inward temptation to apostatise from Christianity. It is a passage of the same class as Rom. xiii. 11—14, and both are examples of a well known rhetorical figure.

We must pass very briefly over the second branch of the internal evidence, that we may leave sufficient room for a general description of Mr. Forster's work. The chief objection to the Pauline authorship connected with this branch, is derived from the signification of *Πιστις*, which is alleged to be peculiar to this epistle, and on which Hug may be consulted. Meanwhile, the doctrinal coincidences (blended with coincidences in the form or mould of doctrine) are very remarkable. Compare the allegorical parts of this epistle with 1 Cor. x. 1—5; 2 Cor. iii. 13—18; and Gal. iv. 21—31. Hug has noticed a few particular examples, all referring to one subject only,—Christian instruction. 'With Paul, God's word is a sword, (Eph. vi. 17,) so in Heb. iv. 12. Instruction for beginners and weakminded persons is milk; for those well-grounded in the faith, it is *βρῶμα* and *στερεὰ τροφή*, strong meat, (Heb. v. 13, 1 Cor. iii. 2.) The first are *νήπιοι* (1 Cor. iii. 1, Heb. v. 13); the subjects of instruction suitable for them are *στοιχία* (Gal. iv. 9, Heb. v. 12.) The well-grounded, on the other hand, are *τέλειοι* (Heb. v. 14, 1 Cor. xiv. 20); and their condition is *τελειότης* (Col. iii. 14, Heb. vi. 1.)' Well, therefore, might Origen say—'the sentiments are the Apostle's,' and even Bleek admits that 'in respect of the ideas and the whole circle of thought, our epistle has an affinity with no other

writings in the New Testament so great as with those of Paul.' Of course we do not press this species of evidence as conclusive in itself; it is chiefly valuable as it affects the argument that the epistle cannot be Paul's because its doctrinal character is different from that of his professed writings.

The last branch of the internal evidence,—style and language, is one on which we can only touch, and that only as it is exhibited in Mr. Forster's elaborate work. The questions which may be raised under this head are nearly innumerable; and the forms in which arguments may be put, almost equally various. Professor Stuart, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Epistle*, had handled this branch of the subject with untiring diligence, as well as great learning and admirable effect, and Mr. Forster has since produced a volume of nearly seven hundred pages upon it. The two authors coincide very closely in their results, and in some of their details; though we have Mr. Forster's own authority (page 25) for saying that he had not perused Professor Stuart's work when he published his own. Mr. Forster indeed goes into his investigations as if he were ignorant that any similar investigations had been made before: and we suspect that he was ignorant of most of them. Stuart, on the contrary, had Bertholdt, Schulz, and the most determined impugnors of the epistle constantly in view; and if this circumstance had the effect, which we do not know that it had, of impairing, in any degree, the Professor's well-known and exemplary impartiality, it certainly rendered his discussion of the question more interesting and more valuable to the student. Many of his refutations are really triumphant, and the exposure which his work afforded of the haste, partiality, intemperance, assumption, and low conceptions of truth and of the Christian religion, which lie even upon the surface of some of the most current productions of modern German theology, was a most important service rendered to our Christian youth. Mr. Forster's work, however, dealing with no objections of a later date than the introduction of J. D. Michaelis, and analyzing the epistle as if it had never been analyzed before, and perhaps we ought to say to an extent to which it never was analyzed before, proceeds quietly and steadily on, from one investigation to another, and presents table after table, with synopses of results, and indexes in such abundance and variety, that there is hardly any linguistic point affecting the epistle, on which the student may desire information, respecting which he might not there obtain it, stated in the clearest and most satisfactory manner.

The course of Mr. Forster's main argument will be best understood from a synoptical view, which we regret that he did not himself give, (thus depriving his own volume of an advan-

tage which he has, with utmost pains, afforded to the epistle under discussion,) of the subjects successively handled in the first fourteen sections of his work. These are :—

Sect. I. Identity of manner between the epistle to the Hebrews, and St. Paul's undisputed epistles, in the use of particular words; pp. 41—68, the words instanced are—*ἄγών*—*ἀθλησις*, *ἀθλέω*, *συναθλέω*—*ἀπικδέχομαι*—*ἀφιλάργυρος*—*δουλεία*—*ἐνδυναμόω*—*εὐτυγχάνω*—*εὐάρεστος*, *εὐαρεστέω*, *εὐαρέστως*—*θαρρέω*—*λατρεία*—*λειτουργέω*, *λειτουργία*, *λειτουργός*—*μεσίτης*—*μιμητής*—*ὀλοθρευτής*, *ὀλοθρένω*—*ὁμολογία*—*ὀνειδισμός*—*περιποίησις*—*συνείδησις*—*τιμωρέω*, *τιμωρία*—*φιλοξενία*—*φράττω*—and a few phrases.

Sect. II. Identity, &c., in the use of the word *καταργίω*, pp. 69—76.

Sect. III. TABLES of New Testament words, peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of St. Paul; with their parallel verbal dependencies. pp. 77—189.

Sect. IV. TABLES of words peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of Paul; found elsewhere, neither in the New Testament, the Septuagint, nor the Apocrypha; with their parallel verbal dependencies. pp. 190—233.

Sect. V. TABLES of words, occasionally occurring elsewhere in the New Testament; but in the manner, or the frequency, of their occurrence, peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of Paul. pp. 234—344.

Sect. VI. Examination of some leading parallel passages, from the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of St. Paul. pp. 345—374. The passages instanced, are :—

Heb. i. 1 . . = Acts, xiii. 32. Eph. iii. 4, 5. 2 Cor. vi. 8.

Heb. ii. 2 . . = Gal. iii. 19, &c.

Heb. iii. 1, 2 . = 1 Tim. vi. 12, 13.

Heb. iii. 2—6 . = 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.

Heb. iii. 7—19 = 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

Heb. iv. 3, &c. = Eph. v. 6. Rom. ii. 17. 2 Thess. i. 7.

Heb. iv. 12 . = Eph. vi. 17.

Heb. iv. 16 . = 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2.

- { Heb. vi. 9—12 . = 1 Thess. i. 2—7. 2 Thess. i. 3—5.
- { Heb. vi. 10 . . = Col. i. 3, 4.
- Heb. vi. 18—20 = Phil. iii. 12—14.
- { Heb. vii. 2 . . = Rom. xiv. 17.
- { Heb. vii. 3 . . = Rom. vi. 5.
- Heb. vii. 11, 12 = Rom. ix. 4. xv. 12, 16.
- Heb. vii. 19 . . = Gal. iv. 9. Tit. iii. 9.
- Heb. vii. 21 . . = Rom. xi. 29.
- Heb. vii. 23, 24. = Phil. i. 24, 25.
- Heb. vii. 25 . . = Rom. viii. 34.
- Heb. viii. 2 . . = Rom. xv. 16.
- Heb. viii. 3 . . = Eph. v. 2.
- Heb. viii. 10 . . = 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.
- Heb. ix. 15 . . = Gal. iii. 18—20.
- Heb. ix. 16, 20 . = 1 Cor. xi. 25, 26.
- Heb. ix. 24 . . = 2 Cor. v. 1.
- Heb. x. 1 . . . = Col. ii. 17.
- Heb. x. 4 . . . = Rom. viii. 7.
- Heb. x. 12 . . = Eph. i. 20. Col. iii. 1.
- Heb. xii. 18—25 = Eph. i. 7—10. Col. i. 14—28, &c. &c.
- Sect. VII. Identity, &c., in the use of favourite words. pp. 375—378; exemplified in the use of *πλοῦτος*.
- Sect. VIII. Identity, &c., in the habit of going off at a word. pp. 379—389.
- Sect. IX. Identity, &c., in the use of the Paranomasia, or play upon words. pp. 390—395.
- Sect. X. Identity, &c., in modes of quotation from the Old Testament. pp. 396—403.
- Sect. XI. Identity, &c., in the use of key-texts. pp. 404—451.
- Sect. XII. Harmony of parallel passages between the epistle to the Hebrews and the undisputed epistles of Paul [in a tabular form]. pp. 452—540.

It is, of course, impossible that we should speak particularly on all or any one of the topics of internal evidence thus opened in Mr. Forster's work. It is sufficient to say, that while some of his very numerous instances amount in our view to mere casual coincidences, which could be paralleled, had one of Peter's epistles been selected for comparison, others are remarkably striking; and no student of Scripture could follow out the investigations in this volume without making important additions to his biblical knowledge. We do not agree with Mr. Forster, that this internal evidence, in the merely linguistic portion of it at any rate, is of higher amount than the external, in relation to the authorship of the epistle. Still, the linguistic evidence must always demand attention, from the peculiarities which are observable in the style, and from their evident effect in modifying

the judgments of the Alexandrian school, and even of Eusebius, respecting the actual authorship of the epistle. Every succeeding investigation, however, satisfies us more and more that there are no peculiarities of style or manner sufficient to justify the suspicion that Paul did not write it, or which are not in general accounted for by the circumstances under which he wrote, the nature of his subject, and the condition and prejudices of the people whom he addressed.

As the subject of Mr. Forster's eleventh section will not be intelligible without some explanation, and as that section develops, in his view, an important as well as *original* argument in support of Paul's authorship of the epistle, we shall extract from the preface to his volume a passage relating to his theory.

'To the adoption of this plan [that of critically analyzing the epistle] I was originally led, by the nature of the Inquiry itself, and by the course pursued, alike, by the supporters and the opposers of Saint Paul's claim to the authorship of the disputed epistle: who, however at variance in other respects, are unanimously agreed, as to the mode of investigation essential to any final settlement of the question. Convinced that this mode had not hitherto been done justice to by either party, I began, accordingly, by a complete analysis of the verbal peculiarities of style, common to Saint Paul and Hebrews: and advancing, gradually, from the consideration of words, to the comparison of contexts, ended in the discovery of a peculiar law of composition, affecting the general scheme and structure, which had wholly escaped the commentators; and which, being common to the whole of Saint Paul's undisputed writings and to the Epistle to the Hebrews, furnished, in support of the received title of this Epistle, a new argument, as comprehensive, as the verbal argument was minute. This law consists in the regular recurrence in Hebrews, and (with the exception of the short letter to Philemon) in *all* Saint Paul's unquestioned Epistles, of certain words and phrases, at certain intervals, marking the return of the same ideas, and standing as keys, both to the subordinate topics, and to the main theme or subject of each letter. Upon first observing and verifying this phenomenon, I was struck with its interpretative bearings: and, upon examination, found, to my great satisfaction, that my first impression was fully borne out: in those Epistles, upon whose general subjects all commentators are agreed, the key-texts invariably coinciding with the subjects; whence it followed, by parity of reasoning, that, in those Epistles whose themes are still matter of controversy, the subjects must coincide with the key-texts: as, in the one case, the key was found to fit the lock; so in the other, the lock would be sure to fit the key. This *experimentum crucis*, further, invariably issued, not in abstract or dogmatic, but in practical and experimental views of Christianity.'—*Pref.* pp. iv. v.

In the lengthened discussions of the section devoted to this subject, and in which the *key-texts* of several of Paul's epistles

are investigated, it might be anticipated that various important topics would occur. We find it so, in fact. We find, also, many things in the section from which we dissent; and we do not think that the principle of the section is so clear as Mr. Forster considers it to be; we admit, however, that we have not yet given this part of his work all the attention which it deserves; and we can safely assure our readers that, though unnecessarily prolix, it treats ingeniously several points which will well reward attention. It would have gratified us to have given an extract from the section, but this would hardly be doing justice to it, and for the same reason we can give no example of the tables which form so important a feature of this book. We shall therefore select from the thirteenth Section, (which is devoted to a re-examination of part of the external evidences, the testimonies of the apostolical fathers, and of the Alexandrian writers,) a passage which will afford a favourable specimen of Mr. Forster's manner.

' Having been already led to mention S. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, I am induced, for a particular reason, to select this short letter, as the first to pass under review. My motive for departing, in so doing, from the order of time, is, that I observe, in this epistle, a passage, wholly unnoticed by Jortin and Lardner, and without any note of reference in the margin of Cotelerius, which yet contains, in my apprehension, in the fullest sense of the phrase, 'an undoubted reference' to the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the reader may feel assured I put no strain on the expression, I shall first submit a received example of 'undoubted reference,' taken from this very epistle of S. Polycarp,—being the single instance contained in it of reference to the Acts of the Apostles.

' Acts ii. 24.
'ὄν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησεν,
λύσας τὰς ᾠδῖνας τοῦ Σαύδρου.

S. Polyc. Ep. ad. Phil. I.
ὅν ἡγάμεν ὁ Θεός,
λύσας τὰς ᾠδῖνας τοῦ ᾄδου.

' This solitary coincidence Dr. Lardner pronounces, in my opinion most justly, 'a reference which may be reckoned undoubted.*' 'The following (observes Archdeacon Paley, remarking on the same passage)

* He might have observed a reference, little less strong, to *Hebrews*, in the clause immediately preceding:

' Heb. xii. 2.
ὅς...ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν,
αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας.

S. Polyc. Ep. ad. Phil. I.
ὅς ὑπέμεινεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν
ἡμῶν,
ἕως θανάτου κατανήσας.

There is no second example, in the New Testament, of this turn of expression, in connexion with our Lord. The probability of reference, in the place of S. Polycarp, to Heb. xii. 2, becomes greatly heightened, when taken in connexion with the more decisive example of reference, produced in my text, to the close of the same chapter.

is a *decisive*, though what we call a tacit, reference, to S. Peter's speech in the Acts of the Apostles: 'Whom God hath raised, having loosed the pains of death' [hell]. With this example of undoubted reference in his view, the reader will consider the following coincidence.

<p>' Heb. xii. 28. ' λατρεύωμεν* ἐναρέστως τῷ Θεῷ, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας.</p>	<p>S. Polyc. Ep. ad. Phil. VI. δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ [τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ,] μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας.</p>
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' With similar verbal variations, after the manner of the apostolic Fathers, from the sacred text, this coincidence is, in every respect, equally clear and close with the preceding example. It is remarkable, also, in this further respect, that, with the exception of the place in Hebrews, the sentiment is expressed in the same form, in one instance more only, throughout both Testaments. This instance is, Psalm ii. 11, δουλέσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ. Grotius is the only commentator with whom I am acquainted, who refers Heb. xii. 28, to this passage of the second Psalm, its undoubted source: that it is so, we have sufficient evidence in the passages themselves; were not the designed reference rendered unquestionable by the additional fact, that, Heb. i. 5, we meet a formal quotation of the seventh verse of the same Psalm.

' Now the presumption that, in the passage of S. Polycarp under consideration, we possess an undoubted reference to Heb. xii. 28, or rather a tacit quotation of that text, derives fresh corroboration from the further circumstance, that we find him, in an earlier part of his letter (cap. II.), tacitly citing the *ipsissima verba*, in the lxx. version, of the corresponding passage of the second Psalm. Nor is this all: for, on comparing together the whole of the passages, it would appear, that, while quoting the very words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, this apostolic Father had his eye, at the same time, on the lxx. version of the Psalm.

<p>' Psalm ii. 11. δουλέσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ. Heb. xii. 28. ' λατρεύωμεν ἐναρέστως τῷ Θεῷ, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας.</p>	<p>S. Polyc. II. δουλέσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. S. Polyc. VI. δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ, μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας.</p>
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' The whole of the first passage from S. Polycarp, and the words in the second passage which vary from Heb. xii. 28, are taken, it appears, with studious exactness, from the lxx. version of the original Psalm.

' The reader is now furnished with materials to judge for himself, whether, upon Dr. Lardner's ground, the internal marks, in the preceding passages, be not sufficient to authorise the inference of 'an undoubted reference,' by Polycarp, to the Epistle to the Hebrews.'—pp. 546—549.

The commentary of Dr. Tholuck, the introduction to which

* ὡς πάση πνοῇ λατρεύει.—S. Polyc. Cap. II.

has come under consideration in this paper, is distinguished for the prominent excellences of the author. Though written in haste, and not free from the errors into which haste invariably leads, it abounds in admirable elucidations, frequently deep, usually comprehensive, and almost invariably strikingly instructive. We may say this with confidence, from a familiar acquaintance with the original work, though unable to go into further detail at present. Mr. Hamilton's translation has been carefully made, and is well expressed. It reads well as English. Mr. Ryland has, in his translation of the appendix, fallen short of the merit of his former translations. The subject of the first appendix is confessedly difficult, and was handled by Dr. Tholuck in a very obscure and unsatisfactory manner, but the translation has missed the sense in several places. Should we be mistaken in conjecturing that the translator of the Commentary shrunk from the difficulty of the appendix, and that his coadjutor accepted the task at the eleventh hour, with time too limited to do justice to it? We know not how to account otherwise for the difference between this and Mr. Ryland's excellent translation of Guido and Julius, in which he showed a thorough competency to the rendering of Tholuck's cast of thought. The appendix, however, any way translated, could not add much to the value of the volumes. But they are well worth possessing for the commentary's sake, and we could wish that they were correctly printed.

Art. II. *The Life of Joseph Addison.* By Lucy Aikin. In 2 Vols. London: 1843. Longman and Co.

WE received these delightful volumes, on a very wet day, at an old manor-house in the country. It was at just such a place the author of *Sir Roger de Coverley* himself resided, when he had made the purchase of Bilton, near Rugby, in Warwickshire. A thousand intellectual associations therefore at once revived in our minds connected with Swift, Pope, Steele, the Tatler, *Guardian*, *Spectator*, Harley, Bolingbroke, and, above all, the gentle Addison,—an individual easily overrated as a politician, but certainly not so as an elegant writer. It may now be within the compass of a myriad pens to pour forth, for a book-making age, pages and publications replete with tolerable English; yet we must always remember, that a hundred and fifty years ago the graces of a correct style were exceedingly rare, and whoever contributed towards making them more common has deserved large

acknowledgments from posterity. The beautiful is never to be despised. There was no *Arbiter elegantiarum* until the reign of Queen Anne, who could be compared with the subject of this article in imparting an external polish to our language; or who so diligently laboured to employ the influence which literature and social position afforded him on behalf of mere moral excellence. He wrote specifically and cordially to render his contemporaries less coarse in their habits, less foolish in their prejudices, and less vulgar in their modes of expression; and in all these respects, to a certain extent, he marvellously succeeded. On such grounds alone he merited a distinct memoir. Miss Aikin has only expatiated on what must have occurred to multitudes; namely, wonder, that 'while the lives of Pope and Swift had been written and rewritten with unwearied research and distinguished ability; while Dryden had in recent times been made the object of a detailed and interesting biography,' both few and rare were the accounts of a contemporary upon a par with them all in fame, and so superior to most of them in the amenity and purity of his productions. Doctor Johnson honoured him, indeed, with a prefatory notice in his *Lives of the Poets*; but with more of the critic about him than the biographer, at least on this occasion, there was, as our authoress has remarked, no chance whatever that the judicial scales would be held with an impartial hand when the character, 'whether personal or literary, of a decided Whig was placed in the balance.' Miss Aikin has been enabled to correct the impertinences and errors—though probably they deserve a worse name—known to have been preserved in manuscript by Spence, upon which the learned Doctor of Toryism seems mainly to have relied. She has explored, with meritorious care, the correspondence of her hero, and applied it to illustrate his career. There are various letters in her volumes which have never before appeared in print. Valuable memorials, still extant in the Tickell family, were confided to her survey. The State Paper Office was thrown open to her researches. Nor must we omit the beautiful portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the possession of Lord Northwick, of which the noble owner permitted an engraving to be taken for the first time, that as a frontispiece to these volumes the poet, moralist, and statesman, might look out upon us from his flowing curls, and make us fancy that his intelligent eyes and double chin were still rife with delicate humour, and eloquent imaginings, for the enrichment of some popular periodical.

He was born at Milston, on Mayday, 1672; borrowing, most probably, his christian name from Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the Secretaries of State, and who had proved an invaluable patron to the family. The only anecdote of his childhood, which

has come down to us, betrays that constitutional sensitiveness which clung about him to the last, vibrating often between bashfulness and indecision, and materially interfering with his subsequent official usefulness. Having, whilst at school in the neighbourhood, committed some slight misdemeanor, the dread of punishment or disgrace so affected his imagination, that he escaped into the fields and forests, living upon fruits for perhaps six-and-thirty hours, and lodging 'in a hollow tree, until discovered and brought back to his parents.' A pretty woodcut is given of the parsonage, within whose humble walls he first saw the light; and of whose thatched roof and latticed windows he must often have thought in brighter days; long after the fears of flagellation, or the horrors of a pedagogue, had haunted his mind. After some preliminary education, his ultimate seminary was the Charter-house; where, as the son of an ecclesiastical dignitary (for to that rank his sire had now risen,) he entered not on the foundation, but in the character of a private pupil. His favourite play-fellow here was Richard Steele; and the two youths laid the foundation of a curious friendship, destined, however, to evaporate afterwards, amidst the ebullitions of party contention. Addison, nevertheless, had always the upper hand. His character already began to develop the better sort of elements—judgment, self-control, tastes for the learned languages, industry, and a general desire for both mental and moral improvement. Richard had seen more summers than Joseph, and evinced greater gaiety as well as cordiality in his disposition; so that the Dean of Litchfield seems formally to have pronounced a benediction upon the lads, trusting that their mutual affection might endure for many years, which, in truth, it did, although not for life. They were at Oxford together, until Addison left that university in 1699. Meanwhile, Alma Mater smiled upon the future essayists; more especially on the one who was destined to be most celebrated. He had entered at Queen's, and diligently applied to the composition of Latin verses. An accidental sight of some of these, by his Provost, led to his appointment, or rather election, as a Demy of Magdalene College, ten years before his withdrawal from the banks of the Cherwell,—to a secluded walk along the banks of which he bequeathed his name. There, amidst the rows of trees, not a few of which he is said to have planted, he shunned all boisterous society, and conversed with the classic muse. He was always accounted a great student, reported to be very nervous, known to be very sober, and no doubt there were innumerable practical jokes played off upon a young man, who could dream of preferring books to port wine, or Greek and Natural History to the gambling table and mistresses. Oxford was as profligate

then as she is prejudiced now; yet so long as the unobtrusive recluse held his tongue, and told no tales, she tolerated his oddities, for the sake of a little decency and character. He became Fellow in due course; and after dipping into the art of criticism and the study of metaphysics, he was very nearly plunging into scholastic theology, and taking orders. Poetry and the Belles Lettres, nevertheless, too frequently absorbed his attention to allow such a scheme to ripen into maturity. His earliest extant attempt in English versification, is a short eulogium addressed to Dryden, in which he congratulates that veteran of Parnassus, on 'his having heightened the majesty of Virgil, given new charms to Horace, smoother numbers to Persius, and a new edge to the satires of Juvenal!' The elder bard condescended to receive all this flattery with no little complaisance; and after lauding a translation of the fourth* Georgic by Addison in return, he permitted him to supply the arguments for the twelve books of the *Æneid*, as also a critical essay upon the Georgics, generally, which he prefixed to his own paraphrase. *Laudari a laudato viro laus est*; and the young collegian not only deemed the ancient correct, who uttered this aphorism, but he resolved to act in the spirit of it. His juvenile pieces are at least fraught with modesty; nor is it long before we find him in full correspondence with Jonson the bookseller, about the arduous task of presenting Herodotus to the public in a British dress. A portion of this undertaking he completed; although what became of it fails to appear. Three books of Ovid he not only rendered into rhyme, but let them obtain a place in a volume of the Miscellany Poems. The notes, which he appended to them, exceed in real worth the text they were designed to explain; since in them will be discovered, by an attentive reader, 'the first draught of that system of pure taste, which he reproduced in its finished state in his admirable Spectator, on true and false wit.' These were followed by his 'Account of the greatest English Poets, from Chaucer to Dryden,'—an epistle addressed to his academical companion, Henry Sacheverel, to whose sister, it is conceived by some, he might have been at the time honourably engaged. After the royal success of William the Third at Namur, we have him following the example of others, and tormenting his Majesty with a paper of verses. Miss Aikin makes these judicious remarks upon all such attempts:—

'Victories and peace-makings, royal accessions, and births and marriages, so long as they continue topics for the Gazette, have always

* Miss Aikin by mistake calls it the *second*, and thereby spoils a pretty bon-mot of Dryden on the subject. We cannot help alluding to this, as a specimen of the very numerous minor inaccuracies into which our authoress has fallen.

about them too much of vulgar notoriety, too much of the everyday notions and phrases of every man, not to be the scorn and disgust of the muses. *Their sacred flame, we might say, is never kindled at the parish bonfire.* Yet these are precisely the topics on which poems are wont to be commanded, or *likely to be rewarded, by the rulers of the state.*' —Vol. i., p. 45.

It was for the very reason last mentioned, that Addison could not afford to forego any means of access to the ladder of preferment. His allowance from home was scanty for the son of a dean; and what was more, he had for some reason or other come to differ with his father touching both high-church and tory principles. There is no information on record as to how this change was brought about; whilst at the same time, it must be borne in recollection that whigs a century and half ago chiefly quarrelled with their opponents with regard to names and persons, rather than the nature of genuine liberalism and popular institutions. What we mean is, that both sections of public men were equally guiltless of aiming at the emancipation from political thralldom of the mighty masses of their fellow creatures. Still, —in the parlance of that period, the young aspirant at Oxford, —already a poet in inclination, and a marked man at Magdalene, proclaimed himself before the monarch of the Revolution an adherent to Lord Somers. As it was an age of Macænasæ, his lordship, when addressed in a series of passable couplets, requested an interview with their writer. From that moment, Somers adopted Addison as the choicest amongst his disciples. The relationship of patron and client continued until death dissolved it. The treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, again awakened the fervour of poetic numbers. Addison, on this occasion, endeavoured to charm his sovereign in Roman hexameters; which at least pleased Charles Montague, and secured another protector at court for opening genius. The latter statesman, better known as Lord Halifax, had probably the principal hand in detaching Addison from all ideas of ordination. His father pressed it on his conscience, though with no slight admixture, we fear, of secular arguments on its side. His son, also, we are told, 'continued to defer that irrevocable step, *like one waiting upon fortune.*' Such are among the religious, or, as we ought to say, the irreligious results of connecting any denomination of the church of Christ with the state. Here was an amiable moralist, as yet irreproachable as to external virtue, evidently hesitating whether he should avow himself 'moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of a minister to souls,' or whether it would *better answer his purpose* to strike, for human fame and advancement, into another path. The system is what we denounce, without pretending to pry into the privacy of human conviction; although our fair biographer seems to scout

the suggestions of Tickell, that his gifted friend really had so remarkable a share of seriousness and modesty, that he conceived 'the duties of the priesthood might be too weighty for him.' We beg to assure Miss Aikin, that had such scruples really existed, they would have betrayed 'no abjectness of spirit' in the object of her admiration; but in our humble opinion, just the reverse. He was now twenty-five years of age, finding neither his fellowship nor the resource of pupils sufficient for his expenses. Debt and perplexity stared him in the face: until his patrons decided the matter for him, by an offer from the crown of 300*l.* per annum, to enable him to complete the circle of his accomplishments by foreign travel. Queen Elizabeth had set a precedent of this kind; which an embarrassed scholar must have ~~seen~~ followed, on his own behalf, with no trifling share of self-gratulation. Before setting out on his journey, he procured from the Sheldon Press the publication of a Sequel to the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, in which eight Latin pieces from his own pen were included; so that it might serve as a suitable introduction for him to the learned wits throughout the continent of Europe.

Boileau accepted this credential, according to Dr. Johnson, with civility rather than approbation; nor have we any doubt in our own minds, but that the noble auspices, under which Addison was enabled to present himself at Paris, were of far more real service to him than any printed duodecimo in the world. Feeling that he must perfect himself in the French language, before he could converse with his new associates upon advantageous terms, he resolved to reside at Blois for a twelvemonth. Here we are told, he rose about two or three in the morning in the summer, and kept himself warm in bed, during the winter, even till eleven or twelve o'clock in the day; a report which will be considered probable enough by any one personally acquainted with the comfortless habits of continental country towns, when the thermometer verges towards zero. That he made good use of his time is pretty evident; since he acquired freedom and fluency in that tongue, which would render him at home with the courtiers of Louis XIV.; besides devoting entire hours and days, in succession, to the furtherance of his classical studies. A commencement was also made of his tragedy of Cato. He wrote frequently to his patrons and friends in England, taking care to keep up a proper interest in their good graces; lest, being out of their sight, he might possibly drop out of their minds. Descriptions of what he had seen in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, furnished him with ample topics for correspondence; nor are we sorry to perceive in his then unfashionable preference for Fontainebleau above the splendors of Versailles, an early earnest, that nature, rather than artificiality, would become the sovereign of his

intellectual affections. The following sentences we just venture to transcribe, (though without adhering to their orthography,) from a letter addressed to Congreve, after alluding to the Windsor of France :—‘ It is situated among rocks and woods, that give you a fine variety of savage prospects. The king has humoured the genius of the place, and only made use of so much art as is necessary to help and regulate nature, without reforming her too much. The cascades seem to break through the clefts and crags covered over with moss, and look as if they were piled upon one another by accident. There is an artificial wildness in the meadows, walks, and canals; and the garden, instead of a wall, is fenced on the lower end by a natural mound of rock work, that strikes the eye very agreeably. For my part, I think there is something more charming in these rude heaps of stone, *than in so many statues*; and I would sooner see a river winding through woods and valleys, than when it is tossed up in such a variety of figures, as at Versailles.’ Here we see the real taste of the future Spectator, sharpening its quills as a literary porcupine, to be shot unceasingly against folly, tinsel, and affectation, wherever opportunity might afterwards serve for waging the not inglorious warfare. His keen eye already detected the false and hollow principles, which domineered, in the name of fashion, over the common sense of the day. Men, women, palaces, institutions, hospitals, theatres, habits, and manners, passed before his observation, and contributed to his accumulating magazine of quiet humour. Without being at present talkative himself, he listened to all, watched all, and remembered all. Hogarth is said to have frequented large assemblies, more particularly mobs, that he might gather materials for the grotesque, and make mirth the mistress of good morals. He would come home, sometimes, with the finger nails of his left hand covered with the pencilled outlines of singular features, odd noses, queer-looking mouths, rugged foreheads, or lanthorn jaws. Thus moved our ingenious traveller over the stage of human life. In studying other languages, he also polished his own; putting an edge, moreover, to his general style, not as yet arrived at its peculiar temper, nor always even quite grammatical. Thus he tells his friend Abraham Stanyan, secretary of the *ambassy* at Paris, ‘ I should have *went* to Italy before now,’ instead of ‘ gone:’ with other similar inaccuracies, which were soon to be banished for ever, not only from his personal correspondence, but mainly through his own efforts and example, from the universal parlance of his countrymen. Meanwhile, having formed an acquaintance with the husband of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, they proceeded together through the saloons of a gay capital, in company with Malebranche . . . all the literary stars which



France could then boast of; until, in the ensuing autumn, Marseilles and Italy attracted them southwards. From Genoa, he pressed forward, through Milan, Venice, Ravenna, and Loretto to Rome; thence to Naples by land, back to the Tiber by sea, and homewards through Florence, Bologna, and Turin, to Geneva; which he reached exactly two years and a half after his departure from England. An account of these journeys and voyages, subsequently published, exhibits his progress 'in that difficult art of painting landscapes by words, in which he was certainly one of the very earliest English proficient; much as we are now tempted to regard a feeling for the picturesque, and skill in describing it, in the light of a national endowment.' We could easily demonstrate this by extracts, did our limits allow it: but as, in all excellent things, there must and will be growth, so we can hardly be surprised to find still lingering about the mind of Addison some senseless prejudices against gothic architecture, as well as an extraordinary insensibility to the grandeur of Alpine scenery. In fact, the last was too much for him, as the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland were for Charles Lamb. It must be remembered, too, that the month in which he crossed from Turin into Switzerland was December, when 'modern roads and modern accommodations were as yet undreamed of amidst these frowning solitudes.' The peril, moreover, of what he pourtrays as 'giddy precipices and eternal snows,' was then no mere bugbear of the imagination: which he glances at, in declaring that 'the sight of a plain was as agreeable to him after the passage of Mount Cenis, as that of a shore was a year before,' when he reached Genoa after a dreadful tempest. That the terrors of the sublime in nature had awakened his poetic powers, is manifest from his being then fully employed in the composition of his 'Epistle to Lord Halifax from Italy.' He even presumes to insinuate that he believed himself 'the first person who ever thought of Parnassus' under such circumstances; and that a man might as well attempt to 'write an epic poem in a hackney coach!' But these expressions may probably be understood as the last rags of that foppery and finesse which his genius was destined to annihilate in the world of letters. They always hung about him most impertinently when coquetting with lords and ladies: whilst at this very moment his better muse was kindling more genial aspirations. She thus breaks out before his patron:

'Fired with a thousand raptures I survey
Eridanus through flowery meadows stray,
The king of floods! that rolling o'er the plains,
Yon towering Alps of half their moisture drains,
And proudly full with a whole winter's snows,
Distributes wealth and plenty as he flows.'

It was now the Christmas of 1701, when he received advice from his friends that 'he was pitched upon to attend Prince Eugene, who had just begun the war in Italy, as secretary from his majesty.' How the noise and bustle of camps would have suited so nervous and sensitive a poet there was not an opportunity of judging, since the death of King William speedily extinguished all immediate hopes and prospects. His pension also dried up, through the same catastrophe; his friends withdrew from power at home; certain pecuniary obligations at Oxford recurred more forcibly than ever to his memory; his fellowship and allowance afforded but scanty supplies for expensive travels; nor can we at all quarrel with him, if what Swift intimated were correct; namely, that he became 'tutor to a squire.' How painfully must the prejudices of aristocracy be interwoven into the very web and texture of our national mind, to render apologies and palliatives welcome, or at least apparently proper, in laying plain statements of this sort before the public. We venture to admire a young man who disdains to press upon the bounty of others; and who had rather undertake the office of tuition or guardianship than eat the bread or wear the livery of idle dependence. His executors and admirers have deemed it right to throw a veil over Addison in his adversity; so that we can merely infer, from indirect sources of information, that his spirits neither permanently sank, nor would he relinquish the plan of enlarging his knowledge of mankind. We find him telling his lively acquaintance, Mr. Dashwood, who had sent him the present of a snuff box, that, notwithstanding his disappointments, he 'could no more accept of it without returning his acknowledgments, than he could venture upon its contents without sneezing afterwards.' Switzerland and Germany, too, attracted him to turn away, from what could not be helped, towards that which might be improved. He visited every one of the Swiss cantons, and thence laid up stores of historical information. His love of lake and wood, and even glacier, grew more fervent and genuine, as narrow means forced him to tear away the conventionalisms from the realities of life. His wit seemed to play upon the objects around, just as we have witnessed the summer lightning in those countries flashing through the gloom of an evening sky, and rendering the very darkness beautiful. In most places he found or formed fresh friendships. Before reaching Vienna he had prepared the greatest portion of his 'Dialogues upon Medals.' Prague, Dresden, and the majority of the petty protestant Courts beyond the Rhine, came in for their share in his political, literary, or classical investigation. Of Bohemia, he could say little more than that, 'in January, it abounds very much in snow. If it has any other beauties in it, this is not a time of year to look


for them, when almost every thing we see is of the same colour; scarce any thing we meet with, *except our sheets and napkins*, not being white!' There are some jocular allusions to Bacchus, which must not be scanned with too much severity; for although we wish they would not occur, we feel satisfied they are nothing more than an unbecoming concurrence with the prevalent habits of expression amongst honourable and right honourable sots and semi-savages. Nothing whatever appears to have impaired his morals, or lowered his self-respect. Whilst in Holland, the offer was transmitted him, through Jonson, of the tutorship to Lord Hertford, eldest son of that Duke of Somerset, known in our peerage as the Proud! His grace, extravagant to the utmost degree of profuseness in all other respects, held out the magnificent remuneration of one hundred guineas per annum; which Addison expressed his willingness to accept, mean and inadequate as it was, provided the appointment were to open some door of promotion through the Duke's well known interest at court. All this was intimated to the haughty magnate in an admirable letter for the purpose; but of which the politeness failed to do any thing beyond conveying the deepest offence, since its respectful tone had no alliance either with servility or flattery. Our young traveller might have made the discovery then, had he never made it before, that the natural heart of an aristocracy has all the hardness of adamant, without one gleam of its beauty. The melancholy tidings awaited him at Amsterdam that his father had departed; so that filial duty summoned him at once to his native shores. It is but justice to our authoress that we should favour our readers with a specimen of her style and tact in so agreeably blending biography and history together. •

' Almost immediately on his return from the continent, Addison had the honour of being elected a member of the celebrated Kitcat Club; that distinguished assemblage, in which the great nobility and landed gentry, composing the strength of the whig party, mingled with the more celebrated of the wits and men of letters, who supported the same principles with their pens. What might be the feelings of his grace the Duke of Somerset, on first meeting in such a society him whose services he had thought proper to estimate at so mean a rate, we do not find; but, amidst all these social distinctions, no substantial improvement had yet taken place in the condition of Addison. Without a profession, and unprovided as yet of [with] any public appointment, he still found himself in his thirty-third year dependent on a diligent pen for the means of a scanty and precarious subsistence. The prospects of his party, however, and consequently his own, were now so evidently heightening, that whatever anxieties might press upon him, it was by no means a time to throw up the game of ambition in despair.

' In the first months of the reign of Anne, the discomfiture of the whigs had been complete. Hastening without reflection to the full

gratification of her tory predilections, the queen had given her political confidence chiefly to her relative the Earl of Rochester; and the management of ecclesiastical affairs, together with the direction of her own conscience, to Sharp, Archbishop of York, a leader of the high-church party. But the essential contrariety between the principles of Anne and her position; a very real, though an obscure and seldom mentioned source of the unceasing struggles of contending factions which raged around her to her dying hour,—had now begun to make itself felt. The war, which she had declared against Louis XIV., on his proclaiming the Pretender king of England, could by possibility appear, even to her dim intellect, in no other light, than as that of a contest for her own crown and the Protestant succession, against the claims of her brother and the principle of right divine; and the obvious inference could scarcely escape her, that in such a quarrel, the champions of revolution principles were the only supporters on whom she could place a secure reliance. Nor was there wanting one about her, by whom suggestions of this nature would be zealously and effectually enforced. It is now matter of history, that the wife of Marlborough had already begun to exert in favour of whig ascendancy the absolute sway, which she at this time held over the mind of her mistress, as well as her powerful interest with her husband, and his ally, Godolphin.'—Vol. i. pp. 163—6.

These circumstances, together with the successes of Marlborough, for some years put toryism out of countenance at court. The battle of Blenheim threw an unenlightened nation into such ecstasies, that even cabinet councillors demanded memorials more permanent than a gazette for their blood-stained laurels. Godolphin met Lord Halifax, and inquired for a bard; when his lordship, reproaching the treasurer with his neglect of literary merit in general, directed him to Joseph Addison. The latter then lived in a very small apartment, up three pair of stairs, over a little shop in the Haymarket; where he was surprised next morning by a personal visit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who acquainted him that the prime minister had 'already made him one of the commissioners of appeal in the Excise, but intreated him to look upon that post as an earnest only of something more considerable.' From this moment his fortunes mounted up. He immediately began his famous 'Campaign,' without descending from his garret; where, with a conception rather felicitous than poetical, he composed all the verses, down to the simile of the angel, and then sent them to his new patrons. Lord Godolphin, although devoted to the turf at Newmarket, felt considerable interest in his recent nomination; and was anxious that the idea of his being what Tickell calls, 'a fine judge of poetry,' should suffer no damage. Hence it was with immense gratification that he found his favourite general, on the field of conflict, and amidst his triumphs over the French, thus illustrated:—



' So when an angel, by Divine command,
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
 Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
 Calm and serene he drives the furious blast ;
 And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
 Rides on the whirlwind, and directs the storm.'

The sale of this work produced solid pudding as well as empty praise to its author, who conscientiously applied all his first pecuniary receipts to the liquidation of his debts at college. Fair interest was also added. And when we compare his conduct, in these respects, with that of Coleridge, and some other modern men of genius, it can hardly fail, we think, to elevate him in our esteem. His *Travels in Italy* were now also published 'in a small and modest volume.' The name of Lord Somers headed the dedication; and if some have complained, that at first the book was 'indifferently relished,' we are only the better pleased to perceive that Addison could raise the level of public taste so soon as he did; for, before a second edition appeared, such an augmented demand sprang up for it, that the price actually quintupled in the literary market. Le Clerc, as a critic, diffused Addison's fame over the Continent, whilst at the same time he corrected his mistakes with the judgment and consideration of a watchful friend. At the noblest tables none could be more courted or admired. Swift, Gay, and Lady Mary Wortley Montague, bear their united testimony to the unparalleled charms of his conversation. Steele, who perhaps knew him to the very core of his inner man, recalls with rapture the smiling mirth and genteel raillery which for years had enlivened their happy hours of companionship. 'He was above all men in that talent we call humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who possessed all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any beside could ever exhibit.' Pope, who sneered at his bashfulness in mixed company, admits that where this was once put aside, Addison had no equal amongst his familiar friends. Even the presence of a single stranger would indeed often throw him 'upon preserving his dignity by a stiff silence.' Yet, as Young observes, no sooner did he really begin to talk, or, as he would himself term it, 'think aloud,' than he became full of vivacity, and would go on 'in a noble stream of thought and language, so as to chain the attention of every one to him.' Such remarks remind us of what we once read at Naples, on a monument, to another late classical traveller, John Chetewood Eustace,—*Qui semel auditor semper amicus erat.* The prince of

our lighter Essay won the hearts of most among those who heard him; nor had any eminent individual in his day either more friends or fewer enemies. Early in 1706, by the recommendation of Lord Godolphin, he was appointed Under Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges; the last being soon superseded by the Earl of Sunderland. Halifax also took him, in his suite, to Hanover, when sent thither from Anne, with the Order of the Garter for her successor. No emolument attended this journey, although, of course, each fresh opportunity of inspecting and analyzing any portion of European society must have afforded its peculiar advantages. He now composed his opera of *Rosamond*; assisted Tickell with his friendship, as a reward for his poetical eulogy upon that drama, and also helped Steele in the comedy of the *Tender Husband*. But there lay a happier destiny in store for him than could be ever furnished from any second-rate associations with the theatre. About the same period we discover the earlier traces of his connexion with the Warwick family.

It produces, as may well be conceived, no blush upon our cheeks, to admit the correctness of what has always been the current report, that Addison, wanting a pupil, and the last earl of the line of Rich wanting a tutor, the parties came together accordingly in these respective capacities. What was there to be ashamed of, we must again ask, in a relationship thus mutually honourable? The young noble, and his mother, whom Addison afterwards married, could have fallen in with no one better calculated to win the passions over, towards at least harmlessness of life, than the writer of the two following authentic letters, first given to the world by Curll:—

'My Dear Lord.—I have employed the whole neighbourhood in looking after birds' nests, and not altogether without success. My man found one last night, but it proved to be that of a hen, with fifteen eggs in it, covered with an old broody duck, which may satisfy your lordship's curiosity a little, though I am afraid the eggs will be of small use to us. This morning I have news brought me of a nest, which has abundance of little eggs, streaked with red and blue veins, that, by the description they give me, must make a very beautiful figure on a string. My neighbours are very much divided in their opinions upon them: some say they belong to a skylark, others will have them to be a canary bird's, but I am much mistaken in the turn and colour of the eggs, if they are not full of tomtits. If your lordship does not make haste, I am afraid they will be birds before you see them: for, if the account they give me of them be true, they cannot have above two days more to reckon.

'Since I am so near your lordship, methinks, after having passed the day among more severe studies, you may often take a trip hither, and

relax yourself with the little curiosities of nature. I assure you, no less a man than Cicero commends the two great friends of his age, Scipio and Lælius, for entertaining themselves at their country-houses, which stood on the sea-shore, with picking up cockle-shells, and looking after birds' nests. For which reason I shall conclude this learned letter with a saying of the same author, in his treatise on Friendship:—'*Absint autem tristitia, et in omni re severitas: habent illa quidem gravitatem; sed amicitia debet esse lenior et remissior, et ad omnem suavitatem facilitatemque morum proclivior.*' If your lordship understands the elegance and sweetness of these words, you may assure yourself you are no ordinary Latinist: but if they have force enough to bring you to Sandy End, I shall be very much pleased.—I am, my dear lord, your most affectionate and humble servant, J. ADDISON.—May 20, 1708.'

'My dearest Lord,—I cannot forbear being troublesome to your lordship whilst I am in your neighbourhood. The business of this is to invite you to a concert of music, which I have found out in an adjacent wood. It begins precisely at six in the evening, and consists of a black-bird, a thrush, a robinredbreast, and a bullfinch. There is a lark, too, that by way of overture sings and mounts till she is almost out of hearing; and afterwards, falling down, leisurely drops to the ground, as soon as she has ended her song. The whole is concluded by a nightingale, that has a much better voice than Mrs. Tofts, and something of the Italian manner in her divisions. If your lordship will honour me with your company, I will promise to entertain you with much better music, and more agreeable scenes, than ever you met with at the opera; and will conclude with a charming description of a nightingale out of our friend Virgil—'*Qualis populeâ,*' &c.—J. ADDISON—May 27, 1708.'

The under-secretary was, at this time, passing his evenings out of town, in hired country lodgings at Sandy End, a hamlet of Fulham; where, putting all matters together, our authoress seems rightly 'reduced to the conclusion, that the mediocrity of his official emoluments, and still more, perhaps, his continual apprehension of losing them, persuaded Addison, to submit to such sacrifice of his official dignity as might be involved in accepting, as a kind of family friend, the general direction, or superintendence only, of the education of a nobleman. The letters themselves are beautiful models of the style of an accomplished man condescending to the inclinations of a child whom he loved, and whose improvement he was anxious to promote.' Doubtless, too, he had already set his affections upon the Countess; to whose heart there could be no nearer avenue discovered, than so charming a manifestation of cordial interest in her offspring.

Before, however, the statesman might aspire to such an alliance, there were many vicissitudes to intervene. Sarah, the haughty wife of Marlborough, had introduced into the royal closet a supplanter of her own ascendancy. The duchess counted too far upon the sorcery of a strong mind over a weak one; not

our lighter Essay won the hearts of most among those who heard him; nor had any eminent individual in his day either more friends or fewer enemies. Early in 1706, by the recommendation of Lord Godolphin, he was appointed Under Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges; the last being soon superseded by the Earl of Sunderland. Halifax also took him, in his suite, to Hanover, when sent thither from Anne, with the Order of the Garter for her successor. No emolument attended this journey, although, of course, each fresh opportunity of inspecting and analyzing any portion of European society must have afforded its peculiar advantages. He now composed his opera of *Rosamond*; assisted Tickell with his friendship, as a reward for his poetical eulogy upon that drama, and also helped Steele in the comedy of the *Tender Husband*. But there lay a happier destiny in store for him than could be ever furnished from any second-rate associations with the theatre. About the same period we discover the earlier traces of his connexion with the Warwick family.

It produces, as may well be conceived, no blush upon our cheeks, to admit the correctness of what has always been the current report, that Addison, wanting a pupil, and the last earl of the line of Rich wanting a tutor, the parties came together accordingly in these respective capacities. What was there to be ashamed of, we must again ask, in a relationship thus mutually honourable? The young noble, and his mother, whom Addison afterwards married, could have fallen in with no one better calculated to win the passions over, towards at least harmlessness of life, than the writer of the two following authentic letters, first given to the world by Curll:—

'My Dear Lord,—I have employed the whole neighbourhood in looking after birds' nests, and not altogether without success. My man found one last night, but it proved to be that of a hen, with fifteen eggs in it, covered with an old broody duck, which may satisfy your lordship's curiosity a little, though I am afraid the eggs will be of small use to us. This morning I have news brought me of a nest, which has abundance of little eggs, streaked with red and blue veins, that, by the description they give me, must make a very beautiful figure on a string. My neighbours are very much divided in their opinions upon them: some say they belong to a skylark, others will have them to be a canary bird's; but I am much mistaken in the turn and colour of the eggs, if they are not full of tomtits. If your lordship does not make haste, I am afraid they will be birds before you see them; for, if the account they give me of them be true, they cannot have above two days more to reckon.

'Since I am so near your lordship, methinks, after having passed the day among more severe studies, you may often take a trip hither, and

relax yourself with the little curiosities of nature. I assure you, no less a man than Cicero commends the two great friends of his age, Scipio and Lælius, for entertaining themselves at their country-houses, which stood on the sea-shore, with picking up cockle-shells, and looking after birds' nests. For which reason I shall conclude this learned letter with a saying of the same author, in his treatise on Friendship:—'*Absint autem tristitia, et in omni re severitas: habent illa quidem gravitatem; sed amicitia debet esse lenior et remissior, et ad omnem suavitatem facilitatemque morum proclivior.*' If your lordship understands the elegance and sweetness of these words, you may assure yourself you are no ordinary Latinist: but if they have force enough to bring you to Sandy End, I shall be very much pleased.—I am, my dear lord, your most affectionate and humble servant, J. ADDISON.—May 20, 1708.'

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remembering, that other persons exist in this sublunary scene, beside sovereigns and some single favourite. The queen, who could be humbled at the feet of one bedchamber woman, might choose, at any given moment, to rest an aching and empty head upon the lap of another. So it proved at the present crisis; for Mrs. Masham was interposing her apron between the court of St. James and the camps of the Allies. Providence appears often to humble both individual and national pride, by the insignificance of the instrument, which may be permitted to produce mighty changes. A goose is said to have rescued the Roman capitol from the Gauls; and a base female parasite accelerated the Peace of Utrecht. Harley and Bolingbroke were already at the door plotting for the total discomfiture of all the whigs. The result is well known. Addison in vain put forth his pamphlets on the 'State of the war, and the necessity of an augmentation of forces.' In vain Cowper held fast the seal, with Sunderland, Somers, Orford, and Godolphin around him. Toryism urged its sovereign, from the assailable quarter of her old prejudices, to complete without delay her entire emancipation; by which was meant, precisely what was intended two summers ago, in a similar demand made by Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, that the queen should hand over to their exclusive custody the sweet hive of office, with all the honey in it! When Sunderland, in 1708, had to give way to Lord Dartmouth, the Under Secretary, dismissed together with his principal, found refuge under the Earl of Wharton, then appointed Lieutenant of Ireland. This magnate had hewn out a way to power, by expending no less a sum than 80,000*l.* in maintaining his parliamentary interest, which at one important juncture enabled him to nominate thirty members to the House of Commons! Let the idolaters of the Revolution of 1688 pause, and ponder over the period of their complacency thus faithfully illustrated. The viceroys were a profligate libertine, and a tolerable whig, in that he could just condescend to endure sectaries whilst they held their tongues, whilst he could never, upon any single occasion, bring himself to admit a Roman Catholic into his presence! Addison served under him as chief secretary from 1708 to 1710, transacting much of his public business in London; having been returned to Parliament for Malmesbury; entirely failing as an orator in the House after one attempt, which he never had the courage to renew; but so far securing his position in the personal esteem of Anne, that on 'his departure for Dublin she conferred upon him the office of Keeper of the Records there, raising the salary of the place to 300*l.* per annum, for his encouragement.' The victory at Malplaquet still kept the whig administration apparently in the saddle, although its vi-

talities, under the last of the Stuarts, was ebbing fast; so that had its innate folly, in the matter of Sacheverel, not hurled it to the ground, it could not have held the reins of government much longer. Addison, however, had commenced a nobler pursuit than defiling himself in court intrigues and mere political squabbles. His friend Steele, with whom he had already quarrelled and become reconciled again, started the *Tatler* in the early part of 1709, towards which the Irish Secretary 'imparted in the beginning hints alone and sketches, but afterwards entire papers, some of them finished specimens of his best manner.'

The times were favourable to the design; although we cannot agree with our biographer, that 'the last remains of the social fabric of the feudal ages had been swept away.' Its pillars and arches yet subsist amongst us; not only as ornaments mantled in venerable ivy, to be surveyed upon a holiday,—for to that we should have no objection; but its pressure,—its interference,—its iron hand,—are all still felt both by crown and people. Certain, however, it is, that 'the superstructure of manners, uniting manliness with mildness and grace, and the charms of ease and freedom, with due obedience to salutary laws and checks, was deficient.' Party spirit of British growth, and elaborate folly of foreign extraction, had rendered the features of society in these kingdoms, to no slight degree, either rude and violent, artificial or impure, or, too frequently, all these together. French libertinism towards the fair sex, to omit the habits of inebriety customary even at court, from the days of James and Charles, maintained its sway over the upper classes. The lower ones were more ignorant and benighted than they are now; whilst in the middle ranks alone could be found, upon an extensive scale, the gravity and simplicity usually deemed indigenous to our national character. Voltaire, when in England, under George I., observed, that our countrymen were like their own strong ale,—frothy at top, muddy at bottom, with a centre sound, and heart whole. The lesser gentry, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, may well be imagined in the mind's eye as a fox-hunting, partridge-shooting, roistering crew, whose successors we know so well from the Squire Western of Fielding. Here and there was a Sir Charles Grandison, as if to make visible the general necessity of the case; for, 'on the whole, rich as was the age in men of wit, talents, learning, and accomplishments, it seems no great exaggeration to affirm, that the true gentleman, in the highest sense of the term, was a character scarcely extant.' Female education must have been rare indeed, if the idea attached to that phrase is to extend much beyond the routine of our lower charity schools at present. Many were taught to read, some to write, few to cypher, all to

make puddings, fatten pork, and find the grand sphere of their usefulness between the kitchen and the pantry. Wherever the homely occupations of the good housewife were despised, there was nothing to substitute beyond the 'dissipation, the idleness, the silly airs and affectations of the beauty and coquette; or, according to the phrase then fashionable, the *fine lady*.' Alas, for the good old times, as we have lived to hear them called, of the *beaux* and *belles*; which, in reality, meant rakes and fools. Steele, under such circumstances, published his 'Tatler,' three times a week, commencing on the 22nd of April, 1709; and in about two months succeeded the 'Spectator;' 'a series of essays,' says Johnson, 'of the same kind, but written with less levity, upon a more regular plan, and published daily.' England had as yet, if the writers for the theatre are excepted, no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform 'either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply. A judge of propriety was wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which tease the passer, though they do not wound him. The personages, introduced into the Tatlers and Spectators were not merely ideal; they were then known and conspicuous in various stations. Of these portraits, which may be supposed to be sometimes embellished, and sometimes aggravated, the originals were now partly known, and partly forgotten; but all were happily varied with elegant fictions and refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style, and felicities of invention.' Steele, in summoning Addison to his aid, compared himself to a distressed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to assist him. He was undone by his auxiliary; in which, however, he had the rare magnanimity to rejoice, with a cordiality and frankness of confession, which go far towards covering a multitude of minor faults in his own extravagant and unequal career. The two friends, assisted by Swift and a number of others, rode forth upon the strength of wit and humour against all sorts of barbarism, ruggedness, and rusticity. Steele wielded weapons, of which the edge and point were pathos and force; but it must be allowed that they were of a coarser texture than those of his great colleague. The latter seemed to carry the enchanted scimitar of Saladin, which would sweep off the head of an adversary, or divide in twain the flimsiest veil of folly, as it floated like a vapour through the air. 'If in the Tatler he had given excellent specimens of his power of humorous delineation, as in the proceedings of the Court of Honour and the Political Upholsterer,—in the Spectator, besides adding largely to the number of his draughts, and varying them with admirable

fertility of invention, he produced in *SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY* a finished comic character, which had no model in our language, and which, in the delicacy of its touches, Fielding never equalled.' A long list might also be given of those beautiful allegories with which he so fascinated the imaginations of his young contemporaries, that truths the most sublime, as well as touching, seemed to steal a march upon the passions and depravity of our fallen nature; such as the Tuns of Jupiter, the Mountain of Miseries, and the highly poetical yet admirably conceived Vision of Mirza. We venture to consider the last as superior to all that Pope, or Dryden, or Swift, or Parnell, ever dreamed of in their most fortunate moments. Amongst his more delightful fancy pieces of a comic and somewhat satirical kind, Miss Aikin has enumerated those upon the 'Freezing of Words,'—the 'Lover's Leap,'—'Shallum and Hilpah.' His critical papers on the drama; on true and false wit; on 'Paradise Lost,' and on the 'Pleasures of the Imagination,' are said to have formed readers rather than writers; which was in effect precisely what their author had in view. His grand object was to reform the morals and manners of domestic life; and to do this well, there was no better way, in a mere intellectual sense we mean, than to interest women in his varied and sportive pages. He therefore adapted both his literature and philosophy to the general level of their capacities. Had he aimed at greater things, he would have far less manifested a correct apprehension of his peculiar vocation; nor would the means employed have proved half so nicely adapted to their purpose. The diurnal sale of the *Spectator* augmented rapidly, and brought in Addison very considerable supplies, at an emergency when they were much needed.

The whigs were out of power, and nearly so of office. At the general election, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the war, Addison was rechosen for Malmsbury; if that might be called a choice, where Lord Wharton and the Rushout family nominated the members. He also exerted himself with unusual vigour in the *Whig Examiner*; with which, as against Harley and his faction, he encountered Swift and his coadjutors. Dr. Johnson growls a sort of suppressed insinuation that Addison grasped with rather too itching a palm at his share of literary emoluments. But it must be recollected that he had neither pension nor patrimony at that moment to fall back upon. He tells his correspondent, Wortley Montague, that he had lost a place of £2,000 per annum, together with an estate worth £14,000 in the Indies, besides his mistress. The last allusion may glance at the impossibility of his indulging hope, until better days arrived, of connecting himself with the Countess of Warwick. Of his lost es-

tate we now know nothing; but his Irish place was, somehow or other, preserved to him, until he obtained permission to sell it. This, together with large profits from the rise of stocks, in which he had probably invested some savings for the last few years, enabled him to preserve his position; and as his favorite periodical became more and more profitable, he even purchased the house and lands of Bilton, near Rugby, for £10,000; his 'brother Gulstone, however, assisting him with an advance, though we know not to what amount.' Prudence, in pecuniary matters, never forsook him; for he had learned how to practice it, as well as preach it in the story of Eudoxus and Leontine. It may be doubted whether he possessed any genuine love for political subjects; so that he must have watched the revolutions around him, as portions of his duty, more than as those of preference. Jonathan Swift, who wore himself hoarse in declaiming against party spirit, evinced a much larger share of it in his own acrimonious temper, than his competitor had ever done in all his pamphlets. The latter professed it to be one great purport of his efforts 'to furnish the public with less irritating topics of thought and conversation.' He wished to cultivate the taste of his admirers upon classical and correct principles, in order that they might become less disposed to quarrel amongst themselves about names and trifles. His standard of good taste was that of which common sense is the law, and Horace the expounder of it, according to our authoress: nor do we conceive her statements can, with consistency, be controverted. Gentleness also formed one main ingredient in his mind; so that in holding up all objects, whether for his own edification, or the entertainment of his readers, their reflection fell upon the surface of an unruffled mirror. With such a man, therefore, our modern Zoilus, who *loved a good hater*, could have little affinity; hence he has misrepresented his history, and frequently misjudged his talents. 'The style of Addison,' observes Anna Barbauld, 'is pure and clear, rather diffuse than concentrated, and ornamented to the highest degree consistent with good taste. But this ornament consists in the splendour of imagery, not in the ordonnance of words: his readers will seek in vain for those sonorous cadences with which the public ear has been familiarized since the writings of Dr. Johnson. They will find no stately magnificence of phrase, no trials of sentences artfully balanced, so as to form a sweep of harmony at the close of a period. His words are genuine English, he deals little in inversions, and often allows himself to conclude negligently with a trivial word. The fastidious ear may occasionally be offended with some colloquial phrases, and some expressions, which would not now, perhaps, be deemed perfectly accurate; the remains of barbarisms, which

he, more than any one, had laboured to banish from good writing ; but the best judges have doubted whether our language has not lost more than it has gained since his time. An idiomatic style gives a truth and spirit to a composition, that is but ill compensated by an elaborate pomp which sets written composition at too great a distance from speech, for which it is only the substitute.' Nor can we forbear adding to these judicious remarks, that the fair flock of *authoresses* who have for the last half century resorted, like swans, to the banks and streams of our literature, would have never attained to their present goodly numbers, nor to their almost universal excellence, had not such writers as Addison invited them thither through his elegant attractiveness ; and taught them, when there, how to instruct others, without the slightest particle of detraction from the delicacy of their sex and character. It has fallen worthily to the lot of a lady to rescue his memory from neglect, and adorn his immortal name with the graces of an impartial biography.

Whilst the fame of the Spectator advanced to maturity, its chief contributor lodged at Kensington, probably to be as near as possible to Holland House, where the Countess of Warwick then resided. His intercourse with Whiston, Clarke, Berkeley, Pope, Budgell, Tickell, and the other reigning stars, we are compelled to pass over ; as also his famous quarrel with the spiteful author of the Essay on Criticism. His tragedy of Cato, which, like Sir Walter Scott's Waverley, had been thrust aside into a drawer for years, was completed and performed in London in April, 1713. Were every thing conceived to fall from the skies into exactly the niche or conjuncture most suited to its success, there would have been no room for marvel at what ensued. But as it turned out, the heat of the political atmosphere, the rank and reputation of the poet, the combination of good acting and histrionic zeal, connected as these were with real merit in the play itself, altogether produced such an effect as has rarely been paralleled. Its run lasted for upwards of thirty nights, and then stopped only because one of the performers became incapable of acting a principal part. Its notoriety spread from the British metropolis all over Europe. The foreign theatres, however, could have scarcely enjoyed in a translation the genuine secret of its success at home. This lay in the factious emulations of the two great political sections of society. 'The whigs applauded every line in which liberty was mentioned, as a satire upon the tories ; and these re-echoed every clap, to show that the satire was unfelt.' The Queen honoured its author with a message, expressive of the pleasure she should receive should he think proper to dedicate it to her Majesty. Oxford, moreover, was gratified with the second-hand triumphs of Drury Lane ; when

that bigoted university forgot, as it often forgets, academic decency, and positively invested the playhouse, from noon until evening, in a struggle for accommodation. Dennis produced his not unjust, yet malignant animadversions, to the public in a state of effervescence. Envy was for once like the deaf adder, at least until the tempest of applause had exhausted itself into some approximation to calmness. Addison is said by Mrs. Porter to have wandered behind the scenes in restless and unappeasable anxiety throughout the first representation. 'Many of the fine thoughts and pointed expressions with which the piece abounds still circulate amongst us, like current coin; though often now passed, it may be supposed, with little thought or knowledge of the mint which issued them.' Its subsequent sale must have been amply productive. A French version speedily appeared. Salvini paraphrased it into Italian for the benefit of Florence. The jesuits of St. Omers had it performed in Latin by their pupils. Every capital of the civilized world has witnessed the stoicism of the expiring Roman, without excepting even the audiences of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Addison is really supposed to have courted applause: he must now have been surfeited with it.

When Booth, the celebrated actor, was playing Cato, Lord Bolingbroke sent for him into his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well 'against a perpetual dictator:' glancing at the protracted sway of the Duke of Marlborough; or rather at his attempt to be made Captain-General for life, of which the patent, actually drawn up, had been stopped by Lord Cowper. Such an instance of hypocrisy might at least be then said to have preserved the unities of place and time; for meanwhile, the infidel statesman was secretly whetting his dagger for the heart of his country. The Peace of Utrecht, announced to Parliament in April, 1718, neither satisfied the nation nor strengthened the ministry. Certain commercial articles in the treaty provoked especial agitation; and Addison drew up his allegory of the Lawsuit between Count Tariff and Goodman Fact, which may 'still be read with pleasure, for its ingenuity, its humour, and happy colloquialisms of its style.' Steele was at this time expelled the House of Commons for the Crisis, which he had dared to publish in the teeth of the new enactments against libels. His able defence, delivered from memory, had been the joint work of his old friend and Walpole. Meanwhile Bolingbroke was gradually undermining Harley in the councils of his mistress; and it occurred to him that it might be worth the trial, attempting to allure such a keen satirist, as the member for Malmsbury, to his party. The object, however, of his blandishments politely, yet effectually, repulsed

them. His Treatise on the Evidences of Christianity had been commenced, assuming indeed little more than a fragmentary form, in which state it was discovered on his death. The Spectator having paused in its career, Steele, ever fertile in projects, started the Guardian, to the second volume of which Addison contributed fifty numbers; and when they had run their course, an eighth volume of the Spectator appeared between the months of June and December, in 1714. Anne was now manifestly going out of the world, and every eye was bent towards the throne of these realms. Had the son of James the Second possessed either ability or virtue, the struggle might have been more doubtful; for the queen, in her folly, favoured his cause. 'It was then suspected, and now stands on proof, that the same statesmen who, in the Treaty of Utrecht, had betrayed the interests of their country to France, had also embarked in a secret plot to surrender up their liberties, civil and religious, to a popish successor.' Prosecutions were stayed or quashed against Scotch Jacobites; Roman emissaries returned to England with audacious confidence; the friends of the Stuarts began to disdain disguise; they celebrated the birthday of the Pretender in various places, and even levies of men were made expressly for his service. Measures of the severest character were being aimed at the Nonconformists. Harley, at length, openly quarrelled with his colleague, and withdrew, or rather was expelled in disgrace, from the Cabinet, before influences still more baneful than his own. Whiggery pronounced certain talismanic words, which have ever been the watchcalls of its party; such as Liberty, Protestantism, and the like; but its genuine appreciation of these subjects was slight. Somers had faded into the mere shadow of a great name, and Marlborough had retired to the Continent. Bills and resolutions, however, had been carried through the House of Lords by Halifax, Wharton, and Sunderland, against the new enlistments; and an enactment of the peers, sanctioned only by a majority of one, declared active exertions in opposition to the Hanoverian succession high treason. Probably through Addison his associates had foreseen the importance of opening and maintaining direct communications between themselves and the electoral minister De Robethon. Yet it was, after all, more from the sudden demise of the crown than anything else, that the new Lord Treasurer had seized the white staff in vain. This happened before the preparations were complete for pushing back Great Britain and Ireland about half a century; so that on the 1st of August, immediately on the decease of the queen, George was proclaimed amidst tranquillity greater than on many former occasions, when the sceptre merely passed from one sovereign to another, without any change of

dynasty. The Lords Justices forthwith appointed Addison for their secretary, whose witty pen had scarcely ceased, for a considerable interval, in preparing the public mind to receive a German court. The silly story of his not being able to indite the official announcement to Hanover is extinguished by Miss Aikin, as incredible in itself, and contradicted by the fact, that Lord Dorset acted as a special messenger in person; which being the case, a common clerk would draw up, as a matter of course, the ordinary letter of credentials. He memorialized his majesty, however, on his own account, and after six weeks gratuitous exertions under the provisional government, Lord Sunderland nominated him to his old post of Chief Secretary for Ireland, which he retained until August, 1715. Its emoluments, nevertheless, fell far short of his expectations, through the absence of the Lieutenant; whilst at the same time our readers will be pleased at being told of an instance of his honest literary independence with regard to this period. Sunderland abhorred Swift, as well he might; nor had the Dean of St. Patrick's set any apparent value upon his old connection and friendship with the Irish Secretary. Yet the last would not listen for a moment to an attempted exaction on the part of Lord S., that he should shun the Dean's society. It was not his fault, therefore, that the demon of faction was not excluded from the republic of letters. The viceroy resigned in the August just preceding the Scotch rebellion; of which Addison, after the decisive action of Sheriff's Muir, and the disembarkation of Charles Edward, was employed to laugh and reason out the expiring embers. No better means could have been devised for the purpose than the publication of his *Freeholder*, of which the earliest paper appeared on the 23d of December. It continued to the 29th of June following, when the fifty-fifth number closed the series. In none of his works are the similes and illustrations more exquisitely felicitous and pungent. The *Tory Foxhunter*, the *Memoirs of a Preston Rebel*, the *Temple of Rebellion*, his *Disquisition on Government*, on the *Death of Lord Somers*, and his *General Appeals to the Fair Sex*, will always survive. The ministry rewarded him with one of the Commissionerships for Trade and Colonies, a lucrative sinecure, enabling him to marry the Countess of Warwick on the 2d of August, 1716.

There is not the slightest particle of evidence for Doctor Johnson's insinuations, that this was not a happy alliance. It seems to have proved just the reverse, if we may judge from the recorded conduct and sentiments of the husband himself, which at this distance of time, it is scarcely worth while to go into. Spence and Pope, between them, seem to have taken delight in scraping together scandalous gossip about an individual infinitely above both his detractors in amiability and morality of mind.

Their foolish anecdotes, therefore, from the Barring-out in Addison's boyhood, to his sottishness and imputed dissipation in riper years, may all be scattered towards the four winds of heaven. That he was once overtaken with wine, is clear; there is proof of it, and we admit it; but that he detested the practice, and was, in common parlance, what we call a sober and respectable man, is still plainer. This will be thought the more remarkable, when we remember the habits of that society in which circumstances compelled him to move; as well as his feeble health, which would render very slight degrees of excess almost immediately apparent. We feel persuaded, that none of our readers will misconceive our meaning. We have never considered Addison a religious man, in the sense which would now alone pass current amongst evangelical circles; but putting all things together, he appears to us as having about merited a place by the side of the author of 'Rasselas;' and no more. His religion had doubtless more to do with nature, gentleness of temper, and intellectual taste,—than with genuine apprehensions of the powers of the world to come.

From the period of his marriage, Holland House, at Kensington, became his principal residence; though he would never entirely forsake his own beloved Bilton. In April, 1717, on the dismissal of Lord Townshend, the Earl of Sunderland succeeded him as secretary of state, and named Addison as a colleague. No high office could perhaps have so little suited him. In the House of Commons, there was a padlock on his tongue;* whilst a load of official duty prevented any literary excursions through the regions of politics or fancy. His physical frame, moreover, which had never been strong, received such a shock from the labours and midnight anxieties consequent upon his six weeks' secretaryship to the regency, after the death of Queen Anne, that he never thoroughly recovered it. The chief vestiges of his brief continuance, in what would now be termed the cabinet, are 'fits of illness.' At the end of eleven months, he resigned the seals, as also his sinecure; (its income he had already relinquished;) in lieu of which, the crown conferred on him a pension of 1500*l.* per annum. A tragedy on the death of Socrates; the prosecution of his work on the Evidences of Christianity; even an idea of entering the church for the sake of a bishopric, are amongst the projects now said to have been floating through his mind. Tonson, through Alexander Pope, reported the last; pettishly observing, that 'he always thought him a priest at his heart: ' upon which Dr. Johnson

* It is, however, not generally known, that he sometimes spoke in the Irish Parliament, in which he sat as member for Cavan. There were no Shiels or O'Connells 140 years ago.

remarks, with a not unamusing dryness,—‘A man, who had been secretary of state in the ministry of Sunderland, knew a nearer way to a bishopric, than by defending religion, or translating the Psalms!’ So severe a shaft, unintentionally and indirectly striking at all state establishments of Christianity, it has seldom been our lot to meet with, from such a quarter. It is also related, that he had once a design of compiling an English Dictionary, in which archbishop Tillotson was to figure as the *magnus Apollo*. Addison, however, was not to conclude his life in peaceful studies. The Peerage Bill, introduced by Sunderland and Stanhope, was attacked by Walpole in parliament, and Steele out of it. The latter endeavoured to rouse the nation in a pamphlet entitled the ‘Plebeian;’ to which the late secretary published an answer called, the ‘Old Whig.’ Both parties appear to have lost their temper, and not a few personalities were exchanged between the ‘once loving school-fellows, the college friends, the joyous, witty, companions,—the literary partners and mutual advisers, the associates in public business, the fellow members of the House of Commons, the brothers in political opinion!’ Even Johnson avows, that such a controversy was *Bellum plus quam civile*, as Lucan expresses it; but it is not improbable, that some former pecuniary transactions, those fearful *irritamenta malorum*, between persons so differently constituted, had embittered their minds. Be that as it may, asthma and dropsy were rapidly hurrying the subject of this article to his last account. Having called Gay to his bedside, towards whom he had been cool for some years, he acknowledged that he had injured him, whilst he assured him that if life were spared he would make amends. This looks like self-examination upon conscientious and scriptural principles; and we heartily trust it was so. The anecdote mentioned by Young, that in his closing hours he summoned Lord Warwick ‘to see in what peace a Christian can die,’ finds little favour in the sight of our authoress. She deems it to have been both ‘pompous and theatrical:’ in which we differ from her, although by no means receiving the story *as of itself sufficient proof* that the expiring moralist, in thus putting off his mortal tabernacle, was clothed in the righteousness of his Redeemer, and altogether in a right mind. With this we have nothing to do; but to represent facts, and then limit our expressed inferences, so as to forbear any unseemly intrusiveness into regions beyond the grave. It is with the living rather than the dead that our province lies, when the portals of eternity have closed. His remains lay in state at the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 26th of June, 1719, nine days after his decease on the 17th of the same month at Holland House. Westminster Abbey finally received them in that well known corner, where his monument

now stands. His only surviving child, Charlotte, inherited Bilton, and resided there to her death, at a very advanced age, in 1797. 'The house, a spacious but irregular structure, is entered by iron gates, that lead to a venerable porch; it contains a number of fine apartments, and stands in a retired spot, commanding several beautiful prospects. The furniture and paintings have been as little altered as possible from their original state. The same may be said of the gardens, which are extensive, with all the formality of long straight lines and yew hedges. Two pieces of water are in the lower parts of the grounds, with sequestered seats beside them. In the northern division there is a long walk, formerly the chosen retreat of the Spectator, rendered accordant to his meditative mind by some deep Spanish oaks, said to have been sown by his own hand.' Such was an old description of the spot forty years ago, when the library was sold, and before the axe had levelled some of the best plantations. We cannot forbear observing, that in these associations of his name with silvan scenery, there seems strong evidence of the deeply affectionate interest with which his countrymen have regarded his memory. We value them more than the marble memorial raised by general subscription, about ninety years after he had been withdrawn from us. His character will mainly rest, of course, upon his writings, illustrated moreover by the singularly *extorted* praise of contemporaries and successors. Johnson, Swift, Chesterfield, with several others, have left their suffrages in his favour, under the garb of most ungraceful reluctance. They would, evidently, like the prophet of Pethor, have cursed him if they could; yet, says the first of these, 'of his virtue, it is a sufficient testimony that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime;' and the second declared, after his election for Malmsbury, that such was his 'acknowledged merit, that if he had proposed himself for king, he would hardly have been refused!' Notwithstanding his conversational powers, there can be no question, but that he must have been often unpopular, and sometimes awkward: nor did he fail to admit an occasional deficiency in ready intellectual coin, when he laughingly said of his own mind, 'that he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had now and then not a guinea in his pocket.'

We really feel very much obliged to Miss Aikin for her volumes. They are always elegant in their tone, instructive in their matter, and replete with a spirit of honest truthfulness. Her multifarious mistakes and omissions, in dates and minor points, each reader may correct for himself. It would be well if our speakers, preachers, and writers would return to more classical models of style than are at present in fashion. There are some admirable remarks of the late gifted Robert Hall, with regard to Cowper, apparently implying that Addison was not absent from

his mind, when he denounces all those vicious ornaments of style and diction, which may ultimately, if care be not taken, render our modes of expression more like the monsters of Ammianus Marcellinus than the chaste idioms of the Spectator. The greater advances we make in knowledge, the more careful we should become to preserve our channels of communication free from defilements. Language ought to be like light—a means of imparting visibility to thought without attracting any painful attention to the medium of its operations.

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- Art. III. 1. *Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts, together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 18th June, 1841.*
 2. *Report of the Commissioners of Fine Arts, with Appendix, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1842.*

AMONG the questions that have interested mankind, few remain so far from a satisfactory solution as that which relates to the causes of the rise, progress, and decay of the Arts of Design. Neglected by the philosopher as beneath, and by the practical artist as beyond, the scope of his studies, the inquiry has occupied the attention of others less likely than either to throw light upon the subject, and has elicited opinions which perplex, no less by their inconsistency with themselves, than by their contradiction to each other.

Amidst these conflicting speculations as to the cause, there has been, however, a unanimous agreement in admitting the fact, that these arts have undergone a progressive deterioration throughout Europe since their development in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century.

Not satisfied with this admission, our countrymen, in common with several of our neighbours, and in accordance with the active and business-like habits of the age, have been recently much occupied in providing a practical remedy. In addition to the Royal Academy, and several well-intended efforts on the part of the public, the Government has been invoked to assist in restoring vitality to 'the dying art,' and has not been backward in responding to the call, as the documents named at the head of this article show.

The object of the Government in these inquiries, as well as in the plans resulting from them, has been to encourage in England a higher taste in the fine arts, and to produce works worthy of rivalling those of the great men who, living in different ages, and in countries distant from each other, have received in common the significant designation of the 'Old Masters.' Desirable as this object unquestionably is, and judicious, as appear to us,

the plans which have been proposed to carry that object into effect, we cannot participate in the expectation so generally entertained, that those plans will be successful in producing a School of Fine Arts amongst us. In no country, nor in any age, have governments created either taste in the public, or skill in the artist; and the patronage, whether of the legislature or of the people, has never exercised any considerable influence in originating the schools of painting which have successively arisen, flourished, and decayed in the various countries of Europe.

Well founded, however, as we hold this opinion to be, there is none, we believe, more likely in these days to be disputed. On all hands, by the public, by the artist, and by the government, it seems to have been taken for granted, that, if opportunity were only afforded by extended patronage, the arts would arise invigorated from the sleep of ages; that mediocrity in small works would grow to excellence in larger; that powers which had been unable to cope with the great masters in familiar and domestic subjects, would better compete with them in historical composition; and, more wonderful still, that difficulties not overcome upon canvass would be mastered upon walls; and that works to be painted in fresco would supply all the deficiencies of works which had been painted in oil! It is with no desire to damp these expectations, however Quixotic they may be, but rather with a view to direct the attention of the artist and of the public to the real means of reviving a higher taste in the fine arts, that we are induced to lay before our readers the grounds of the opinion we have advanced. And here let us appeal to the history of art.

It is well known that, with the fall of Ancient Rome, painting and sculpture, which had till then been cultivated by the Greeks, were swept away; the pictures perished, with few and unimportant exceptions; the statues which escaped destruction remained for centuries buried and forgotten under the ruins of the empire; so that when, upon the revival of letters, men began again to turn their attention to these arts, their first attempts, unassisted by either models or instruction, were excessively feeble and constrained. We may learn from these essays both how little the isolated efforts of man can accomplish, and how much. The successors of these first adventurers not only availed themselves of their narrow patrimony, but adding something of their own acquirement, left a richer inheritance to the generation which followed them. Thus, from step to step, the arts advanced by regular and well-marked stages of progression, until what Cimabue had commenced, and Giotto and Masaccio carried forward, was perfected at length by Michael Angelo, Raffael, and Lionardo, Titian, and Correggio. These five flourished in the

same era, and in different parts of the same country; and although in a great measure independent of each other, stood all in the same relation, both to the interval that had elapsed since the first revival of the art, and the other general circumstances under which they had engaged in the pursuit. The several schools also which had been rendered illustrious by the celebrity of these great masters, and which, both by their precept and example had been conducted to the climax of excellence, continued when left to themselves to pursue their labours under nearly equal advantages. And these, too, followed each the particular path in which they had been trained, without exercising any considerable influence on the others. But that path was no longer upwards. Step by step the arts had ascended, step by step they declined. They went forward, indeed, but always downwards; for it is observable that there was not in any instance a return to the stiffness or feebleness which obscured the merit of the more ancient masters; but in each case the vice which supervened was of the opposite character. Principle degenerated into receipt, style into manner; facility produced licentiousness, and licentiousness dwindled into imbecility. Less than a century sufficed to obliterate the grandeur of Michael Angelo and the expression of Raffael, while the colouring of Titian shared the same fate with the chiaro-scuro of Correggio, and the design of Lionardo. Now, we ask, how do these facts support the assertion, that excellence in the fine arts is produced by patronage? It will be said, Look at the early frescos of Pisa, of Padua, of Assisi, at the Stanze of Raffael, at the Sistine Chapel, at the altar-pieces throughout Italy. We reply: true it is there was patronage, rich and abundant patronage—patronage by the pope—patronage by the civil governments—patronage by the cloister, and by the people. But if that patronage produced the rise of these arts, what produced the decline? Patronage did not cease when the great masters died. The age which followed affords evidence of this, in the number of works which were executed by their scholars. And the vast crowd of pictures by inferior and now forgotten artists of a later age, which fill the palaces, the churches, and the cloisters of Italy, compel us to adopt the conclusion, that under some circumstances even the patronage of a whole nation may be exerted without producing a single painter or a single work of which that nation might be proud. On the same ground we must reject the hypothesis, that the superiority of the ancient artists is to be attributed to the religion of Italy. The history of the Reformation affords abundant evidence that Romanism in that country was in their day just what it continues to be in our own; nothing else than scepticism, under a thin disguise, on the part of the educated

classes, and a gross idolatrous superstition, without any disguise, on the part of the ignorant. If then, we ask again, Romanism produced the artistic superiority of the fifteenth century, what has occasioned the mediocrity of the present day? In the same manner we shall dismiss the supposed influence of the Italian climate, to which marvellous properties have sometimes been attributed in reference to this subject. For if soft breezes or a serene sky were so efficacious in that age, why have the same things become so inoperative in our own?

After the death of the five great masters whom we have named, and the decline of the schools which succeeded them, the art of painting seemed hastening to its extinction in Rome, Florence, Parma, Milan, and Venice, the localities where those schools had flourished; when suddenly, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a revival took place in Bologna, under the impulse given by the Carracci: and soon after a similar impulse was given by Rubens in Flanders, by Poussin in France, and by Velasquez in Spain. It is remarkable that these masters of the second era appeared and flourished as independently of each other as had done those of the first; and yet the various schools which they established, as if in obedience to an inevitable law, all rapidly underwent the selfsame process of deterioration and decay. In this age, however, as in the former, no sudden access of patronage appears in any case to have preceded the appearance of the revived art, and no withdrawal of that patronage can be shown to have occasioned the subsequent decline. Leaving, therefore, this part of the subject, we will now endeavour to show what have been the efficient causes of the rise of the arts in the two signal eras to which we have alluded, as well as of that remarkable decline which has, with little exception, continued during the whole interval between the latter of those eras and our own.

The arts of design have their source in that sense of beauty, which, however the metaphysicians may have perplexed the matter, the world has long decided to be a deep-seated element of our nature,—in that sense, by which we perceive and relish the beauty of form, whether animal, vegetable, or architectural, the exquisite colouring of external nature, and the varying modulations of light and shadow by which the charms of that colouring are so much enhanced. The business of the artist is to investigate diligently the causes of our pleasure in these things, in order that he may reproduce that pleasure by creations of his own. So great is the labour required in this search after the principles of art, and so great the effort necessary to apply those principles to practice, that he who would achieve success in this pursuit must not only possess qualifications of an extraordinary

nature, but be impelled by a stimulus of the most urgent kind. Such a stimulus might easily be presumed to be, that very love of beauty to which we have referred, and which is found to exist in some persons with great intensity. Such also might be the love of fame, a passion so influential in the heart of man. But whilst we find, in fact, that both these elements, and especially the former, enter into the character of every distinguished painter, they cannot be supposed to have been more influential in one generation than in another, and cannot therefore alone have produced that excellence which has appeared so seldom. The peculiar influence to which we attribute that excellence is the spirit of enterprise; and, to show the probability of this opinion, we request the attention of the reader to the following hypothesis.

We need not here advert to the various causes which contributed, on the revival of letters, to make Italy foremost among the countries of Europe in the race of advancing civilization. That priority, however occasioned, will naturally explain why Italians were the *first* successfully to investigate the principles of the fine arts. And being the first, it will be readily conceived that, in addition to the impulse of a passionate love of beauty, and the desire of fame, they would feel an intense excitement from the novelty of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Theirs would be somewhat like the sensations of Columbus when first he left the shores of Spain, or of Newton in the early dawn of his discoveries. This animating spirit of adventure would continue to impel generation after generation, so long as there remained any unexplored region of excellence, or any unattained degree of that excellence in the newly discovered realms of art. Nor would the ardour of the pursuit be checked, until the utmost limit permitted to the human mind had been attained. From this moment, one powerful stimulus being withdrawn, the mind of the artist would become more languid, and the art would of necessity decline.

This hypothesis will not only explain the remarkable splendour of the first era, when the arts attained an excellence never since equalled, but will also enable us to understand why the ideal beauty of the ancient sculptures, the only quality in which the early masters knew they had been anticipated, was the only quality they did not carry to perfection.

If, however, the stimulus of enterprise may be supposed to have assisted the rise, and the cessation of that stimulus to have introduced the decay of art, it is certain that this latter influence would be continually accelerated in its operation by another of a congenial nature. In all the localities where the schools of the great masters had been established, while the works of those masters would continue to be appealed to as the *standards* of

excellence, the successors of those masters would, at the same time, be regarded as the inheritors of the *principles* of their predecessors, and their instructions would be implicitly followed as the authorised tradition of the canons of art. Now, since tradition inevitably corrupts whatever it transmits, the authority of the living masters would, by degrees, run more and more counter to that of the dead, the mind of the artist would gradually be perverted, and the art would fall into decay. This living authority would, however, be less influential any where than at home; and we can therefore understand why in some other locality would first arise a spirit of independence sufficient to break the fetters of prescription. Men actuated by this spirit, looking on the decayed condition of the living schools, would eagerly seek, by a study of the ancient standards, to restore the lost principles of their illustrious authors. And this search, under circumstances both of difficulty and novelty, would naturally, a second time, require and excite the spirit of enterprise, in a degree not much inferior to that which animated the original inventors. Thus we find our hypothesis will explain no less the facts connected with the revival of art in the second era, than those which accompanied its perfection in the first.

A second decline, as we have said, took place; and this will be obviously explained by the reasons we have given for the first; but it still remains for us to inquire, why this decline has continued during a space of time so much longer than the other; and this inquiry is intimately connected with the condition and prospects of the schools of art at the present time.

The chief circumstance which is peculiar to the period in question, is the almost universal establishment of academies for the promotion of the Fine Arts. Institutions of this nature had already been founded in Rome, Florence, and Milan, in the time of the great masters of the first era; but it was not till the reign of Louis XIV. that they became general. The example of that monarch, who originated the academy of France, was followed by most of the European states. Among the last of these was England, whose academy was not founded until the reign of George III. Many of these establishments, particularly that of France, were on a scale worthy the object they were destined to promote. Well endowed professors, well appointed schools in various departments of study, lectures and models, prizes and rewards, raised and almost justified the expectation that art, relieved from the difficulties which had hitherto beset her path, would grow and flourish beyond all former precedent. In France, as well as in some other countries, state patronage was annexed to state instruction, that nothing might be wanting to ensure a result, no less glorious to the nation than to art herself.

How much these expectations have been disappointed, is too well known. The academies have not added a single name to the too scanty catalogue of distinguished painters. Names, indeed, and not a few, have from time to time attained a temporary celebrity and a local fame; but there have as yet been none that have escaped oblivion in a succeeding generation. And the history of art during this era, which may well be called the Academic, exhibits, with but one exception, a dead level of universal mediocrity. That exception is significant. In England, about a century ago, appeared Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Wilson, four men not unworthy to be ranked among the ancient masters. No revival of patronage had preceded their appearance, nor were they nurtured within the walls of an academy; and England, which was at that time almost the only country without an institution for the promotion of the fine arts, was the only country where those arts were seen to flourish. Proud of her newly acquired proficiency, England too, aspired to imitate her neighbours, and established her academy. Her academy, however, like theirs, has been unproductive; for, the four men whom we have named, still remain the only 'masters' of the English school. The theory we have advanced, precludes us from attributing this inferiority of modern art, whether in England or elsewhere, wholly to the influence of academies. According to this theory, the rise and fall of art, like the advancing and receding tides, must, unless prevented by some disturbing cause, follow each other in alternate fluctuation. The decline in question therefore is, within certain limits, to be attributed to this inevitable law. But since we find, where academies have been established, that no timely revival has ever recurred—that the waters which have subsided, stagnate and rise no more, we are constrained to consider so remarkable a phenomenon as the effect of these very institutions. Nor will it be difficult, on the foregoing principles, to trace the connexion between the establishment of academies and the continued depression of artistic energy, wherever the influence of those academies be felt. If that energy be mainly developed by the stimulus of enterprise, nothing can be supposed more likely to damp, to fetter, to quench that energy, than the formal legislation of a modern academy. The student, with his mind unformed, and all his faculties in a plastic state, instead of inquiring for himself at the fountain head of ancient excellence, bows down before the irresistible authority of a state establishment; he takes on trust all the rules of art and all the regulations of his study; serves so many years to the drawing from the antique sculptors, so many years to the drawing from the living model; is told now to attend the lectures on perspective, anon the lectures on anatomy;

is at one time instructed to copy pictures, at another to study composition ; and thus, with submissive diligence, he pursues his labours and learns to do everything but to think. Let it not be said that we countenance the vulgar notion that rules fetter genius, and that the mind of the student requires no other guidance than his own, in the difficult pursuit of excellence. The question is not whether he should submit to authority, but what that authority should be. We know of no submission more absolute than that which is required from every student who would excel, to the great scriptures of his art (if we may be allowed the expression) which are found in the examples left by the ancient masters. But unless the principles on which those works were conducted be thoroughly digested by the meditations of his own mind, although he may assent to, he cannot know them : and what he does not thoroughly know, he cannot from the heart obey. Now, the objection to the teaching of the academies is twofold. . In the first place, even though true principles were taught in such institutions, they must be taken on trust, and would be therefore of little value : the student is saved the labour of investigation, and therefore is deprived of the stimulus of discovery, and his mind habituated to depend on others, becomes relaxed and indolent, frivolous and infirm. In the next place, we object that true principles are *not* taught in academies at all. These establishments transmit the traditions of art with more of authority indeed, but not through a purer channel, than did the successors of the first masters. Tradition has again corrupted the great principles of art, but that corruption is now sanctioned by the approval of academic bodies everywhere established ; and thus the deterioration has become, if not greater, yet far more fixed and wide-spread than before. Those who are intimately acquainted with the working of academies, well know how strong has been their practical tendency to withdraw the attention of pupils from the ancient standards, and to fix it upon their teachers, or upon their fellow-students ; how far a false authority has displaced the true, how nominal has been the tribute of admiration paid to the *names* of the great masters, and how real and mischievous the popularity of some idol of the day.

These are our reasons for believing that inferiority in the fine arts is occasioned by the absence of that stimulus of original enterprize which induced the excellence of the ancient painters ; and that the academies have been influential in preventing such a revival of that stimulus in modern times, as according to analogy might have been expected.

It has been seen that this stimulus has only acted powerfully, in two classes of circumstances. One existed in that age when

men first carried their newly-discovered principles to perfection. The other, when they restored those principles after they had fallen into decay. It is evident that the state of things in the first of these epochs can never recur until all traces of ancient art should for a second time be lost. For the purpose, therefore, of promoting a revival of that excellence which characterized the ancient schools, our painters should place themselves as nearly as possible in the position of the masters who flourished in the second epochs. They should imitate not so much the works of these masters, as the ardent and independent study of the ancient standards, and the resolute determination to carry out the ancient principles, which these masters manifested. They should strive with the animated zeal of Rubens, or with the more chastened diligence of Poussin, to restore so much of the excellence of Michael Angelo, of Raffaele, of Titian, or of Correggio, as may be attainable in a later age. They should forsake the enervating atmosphere of academies, and learn to think for themselves. They should look less to patronage, and more to their individual efforts. Then, and then only, will a school again arise which will follow the old paths without servility, and be original without eccentricity. Then will true art again be seen upon the earth, and again flourish for a season; and that renovation which Government patronage cannot achieve, and which academical education can only retard, will at length be granted to the independent energies of the human mind.

Art. IV. *Excursions along the Banks of the Rhine.* By Victor Hugo. 12mo. London: Henry Colburn.

THE historical glories and romantic legends of the Rhine have been recorded by so many travellers and poets, that we had begun to reckon the theme exhausted, and to look with other feelings than those of pleasure on the occasional announcement of a new work respecting them. The mine had been so frequently explored, and its rich ore brought forth in such abundance, that we had little faith in the promises of fresh explorers. We stand rebuked, however, for our unbelief, and confess that the volume before us has added new charms to a region which had previously a strong hold on our imagination and judgment.

The birth-place of the civilization of the North, the banks of the Rhine, have been the theatre on which, from ancient times, the greatest of European events have transpired. The legions of Cæsar and Germanicus bathed their feet in its waters, while

those of Charlemagne and Napoleon crimsoned its stream with blood. As rich in scenery as in historical associations, and infinitely diversified in both, this noble river, flowing like some great artery through the central land of Western Europe, has alike attracted towards itself the idle tourist, the dreamer of romance, the historical student, and the political economist. Its local associations are unequalled—at least, in Europe; while it stands forth, a link between the past and the present, verifying the records of history, and relieving the monotony of actual life by the visionary forms which flit before the eye of the intelligent traveller. To such a region the present work is devoted, and its author has brought to his task just that combination of talent which was requisite for its illustration. His volume is instinct with the spirit of poetry, and breathes into the heart of the reader the very inspiration of the places described. It reveals also the mind of its author, while it paints the scenery and narrates the legends of the Rhine. Altogether, it is a charming book, just such an one as we love, in which minute descriptions are embodied with large views, and an intimate knowledge of history is associated with an imaginative temperament and a highly poetic diction. It is justly remarked in the preface to the present translation, that 'Victor Hugo's impressions of the Rhine are conceived by the mind, and conveyed to the reader by the hand of a man of genius—vivid, graphic, and original. He has viewed the venerable stream in a new and striking light. Nothing can be more picturesque than his landscapes,—nothing more startling than his antiquarian hypotheses. After perusing descriptions such as could have been produced only by a man of highly cultivated mind and highly poetical temperament, we learn to prize his new pictures of a familiar scene, as

‘ ‘ Nature to advantage dress'd ;
What oft was seen, but ne'er so well express'd.' ’

The work is written in the form of Letters, of which, without further preface, we shall proceed to furnish our readers with some specimens. In July, 1839, the author quitted Paris, taking the Chalons Road; on which, 'thanks to the progress and activity of modern demolitions,' very little remains to interest the tourist. To such a mind, however, every object was suggestive, and the following brief description of an emigrant family reveals much more than meets the common eye.

' At five in the afternoon I quitted Montmirail, taking the road from Sézanne to Epernay. In an hour I reached Vaux-Champs, traversing the field of battle. A moment before, I came up with a cart drawn by a horse and an ass, and laden with saucepans, coppers, old boxes, straw chairs, and other dilapidated furniture; on the fore-part of the vehicle

was a basket containing three half-naked children, and in the rear another basket full of poultry. The carter, dressed in a smock frock, carried an infant on his back; while a woman, trudging by his side, seemed likely to furnish another. They were proceeding towards Montmirail. 'Just such objects must this spot have presented five and twenty years ago,' was my reflection. On inquiry, I found it was not an ordinary move, but an expatriation, the family being on their way to America; not flying from a field of battle, but from the pursuit of want: or, in plain words, a poor family of Alsatian peasants, to whom a grant of land has been accorded in Ohio; and who quit their native country, little thinking that Virgil wrote beautiful verses about them two thousand years ago.

'These poor people seemed little concerned as to their fate. The man was quietly attaching a thong to his whip, the woman humming a tune, while the children were amusing themselves with play. The furniture was painful to look at. The fowls alone appeared depressed by their journey.

'This indifference astonished me, for I believed the love of country to be more deeply rooted in the heart of man. After all, these people abandon with indifference the trees under which they grew to maturity. I followed them some time with my eyes, wondering which road the wretched group would take; but, by the winding of the road, they suddenly disappeared. For some time afterwards I heard the smack of the man's whip and the hum of the woman's song, and all was over.

'Soon afterwards I found myself upon the plains rendered glorious by Napoleon. The sun was sinking, the trees shot forth their shadows, so that the furrows were slightly defined here and there. A grey mist was rising from the ravines, and the fields were deserted, so that nothing was to be seen but an occasional plough. To my left was a stone-quarry, where the newly rounded millstones were strewed upon the ground, like the men upon an immense draught-board, of which giants had been playing the game.'—pp. 11—13.

Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of Charlemagne, calls up in the mind of our author a host of recollections, in which he freely indulges, revealing in his enthusiasm more of the views of his countrymen than some of their more prudent statesmen would deem wise. Of the city itself, he says:—

'As regards invalids, Aix-la-Chapelle is a hot, cold, mineral, ferruginous, sulphurous, bathing place; as regards the pleasure seeker it is a region of balls and concerts. For the pilgrim it is the shrine of those precious relics which are exhibited once in seven years, (the gown of the Virgin, the blood of Jesus, and the cloth into which fell the head of St. John the Baptist.) For the old chronicler, it is an abbey for maidens of high descent, succeeding to the monastery built by St. Gregory, son of Nicephoras, Emperor of the East. For the sportsman, it is no less attractive, as the ancient valley of the wild boar, (*Porcetum* having become *Borcette*). The manufacturer views it as containing water suitable for the preparation of wool; the shopkeeper as a dépôt of pins, needles,

and cloth. But for him who is neither manufacturer, sportsman, antiquarian, pilgrim, invalid, or tourist, it is simply the City of Charlemagne.'—p. 84.

Of Cologne and its cathedral, an extended account is furnished, of which, however, we can transcribe only the closing paragraph, descriptive of the reflections of the author during an evening's stroll on the shore opposite to the city.

'I had before me the whole city, with its innumerable gables and sombre steeples, defined against the pallid sky of the west. To my left, like the giantess of Cologne, stood the lofty spire of St. Martin, with its two open-worked towers. Nearly fronting me was the gloomy cathedral, with its thousand pinnacles bristling like the back of a hedge-hog, crouched up on the brink of the river, the immense crane on the steeple forming the tail, while the lanterns alight towards the bottom of the gloomy mass glared like its eyes. Amid this pervading gloom I heard nothing but the gentle ripple far below at my feet, the deadened sounds of horses' hoofs upon the bridge, and from a forge in the distance the ringing strokes of the hammer on the anvil; no other noise disturbed the stillness of the Rhine. A few lights flickered in the windows from the forge; the sparks and flakes of a raging furnace shot forth and extinguished themselves in the Rhine, leaving a long luminous trace, as if a sack of fire was shooting forth its contents into the stream. Influenced by this gloomy aspect of things, I said to myself, the Gaulic city has disappeared, the city of Agrippa vanished, Cologne is now the city of St. Engelbert, but how long will it be thus? The temple built yonder by St. Helena fell a thousand years ago—the church constructed by Archbishop Anno will also fall—the ruin is gradually undermining the city; every day some old stone, some old remembrance is detached from its place by the wear and tear of a score of steam-boats. A city does not affix itself with impunity to the grand artery of Europe. Cologne, though more ancient than Trèves and Soleure, the two most ancient communities of the Continent, has been thrice reformed and transformed by the rapid and violent current of ideas ascending and descending unceasingly, from the cities of William the Taciturn to the mountains of William Tell, and bringing to Cologne from Mayence the opulence of Germany, and from Strasbourg the opulence of France.

'A fourth climacteric epoch appears to menace Cologne. The mania of utilitarianism and positivism, so called in the slang of the day, pervades every quarter of the world, and innovations creep into the labyrinth of its antique architecture, and open streets penetrate its Gothic obscurity. What is called 'the taste of the day' is beginning to invade it, with houses or frontages in the fashion on our Rue de Rivoli, to the profound amazement of the shopkeepers. Nay, have we not seen that there exist drunken rhymers who would fain behold the old minister of Conrad of Hochstetten converted into the Pantheon of Soufflot? In that cathedral, still endowed and adorned, for vanity's sake rather than from devotion, the ancient tombs of the archbishops are decaying. The peasant-women, with their superb old costume of scarlet, and coifs of

gold and silver, have yielded their place upon the quays to smart and flippant *grisettes*, attired in the Paris fashion; and I saw the last brick dislodged from the old cloister of St. Martin, in order that a café might be built on the site. Long rows of pert white houses give a cockneyfied air to the Catholic and feudal suburb of the martyrs of Thebes; and an omnibus takes you across the historical bridge of boats, for six sols, from *Agrippina* to *Tuilius*! Alas, alas! the old cities of Europe are departing.'—pp. 131—133.

The volume abounds in the seeds of thought, which are scattered with a profuse liberality, betokening the mental affluence of the author, and affording no common gratification to an intelligent reader. Ordinary facts are viewed in their connexions, or traced out to their results, so as to become the germs of thought,—the materials out of which philosophy forms its principles and systems. It is thus that history is made the handmaid of philosophy, and the light of intellect is diffused over a region which would otherwise be regarded as sterile of great and instructive events. Let the following be taken as an example:

'The life and intelligence of man lie at the mercy of a divine influence, which the Christian calls providence, the freethinker chance; which mixes, combines, and organizes all things; concealing its machinery in the shadow of night, and setting forth its work in the light of day. While intending to do one thing, we are often betrayed into the contrary. *'Urceus exit.'*

'History teems with examples of this. When the husband of Catharine de Medicis and lover of Diane de Poitiers allowed himself to be allured by the mysterious charms of Philippe Duc, the beautiful Piedmontese, he was fated to engender, not only Diane d'Angoulême, to become the wife of Farnese, but the reconciliation at a future time between his son, afterwards Henri III., with his cousin, afterwards Henri IV.

'When the Duke de Nemours galloped down the steps of the Holy Chapel, mounted upon his famous palfrey, 'the Royal,' he not only introduced the fashion of such dangerous amusements, but prepared the way for the disastrous death of the King of France. On the 10th of July, 1559, in the lists of St. Antoine, Montgomery, his face streaming under the red plumes of his casque, with his chivalrous exertions, fixing his lance into his rest, rushed on a royal knight, bearing the device of the fleur-de-lis, and applauded by every lady present—little surmising the importance of the event reserved for his hands! Never did the wand of fairy possess the power of that disastrous lance! With a single thrust, it sealed the fate of Henri II., demolished the palace of the Tournelles, constructed the Place Royale, and in short suppressed the leading personage of the drama on the stage, changed its whole scenery and decorations, and overturned the system of social life.

'When, after the battle of Worcester, Charles II. concealed himself in the oak, he intended only to secure a hiding place; instead of which, he conferred a name upon a constellation, 'the Royal Oak,' and afforded

to Halley the means of thwarting the wishes of Tycho Brahe. The second husband of Madame de Maintenon in revoking the Edict of Nantes, and the Parliament of 1688 in dethroning James II., were working a way for that curious battle of Almanza, which beheld a French army commanded by an Englishman, Marshal Berwick, and an English army commanded by a Frenchman, Ruvigny, Lord Galloway. Had not Louis XIII. died on the 14th of May, 1643, the old Count Fontana would never have thought of attacking Rocroy five days afterwards; nor an heroic prince, twenty-two years of age, have enjoyed the brilliant opportunity of the 19th of May, which raised the Duke d'Enghien into the 'Great Condé!'

'In the midst of the crowd of historical facts with which chronology abounds, what singular echoes, what wonderful parallels, what unexpected results! In 1664, after the insult offered at Rome to his ambassador the Duke de Crequy, Louis XIV. caused the Corsicans to be expelled from the Holy City; and one hundred and forty years afterwards, an obscure Corsican, grown into the Emperor Napoleon, exiles the Bourbons from France! What mysterious shadows, and what flashes of light, then darkness! When, about 1612, the youthful Henri de Montmorency observed at his father's, among the gentlemen attached to his establishment, a pale-faced looking page engaged in menial occupation, Laubespine de Châteauneuf by name, how was he to suppose that the youth then so submissive and respectful would progress into a Keeper of the Seals, and eventually preside by commission at the parliament of Toulouse, and furtively procure a dispensation from the pope in order to proceed to the decapitation of his former master Henri II., Duke of Montmorency, field marshal of France by the chances of the sword, and by the grace of God a peer of the realm?

'When the President de Thou polished, retouched, and revised so minutely in his book the Edict of Louis XI. of the 22d of December, 1477, who could have foretold that this same edict, with Laubardemont for a handle of the same, would serve as an axe for Richelieu to decapitate his son?

'In the midst of the chaos of events, order prevails. The confusion exists but in appearance; all is submitted to the laws of the Almighty. After a long lapse of time, the startling facts which astounded the senses of our fathers, return like comets, from the darkest abyss of history. The same treasons recur—the same treachery, the same disasters, the same wrecks. The names alone are changed; the facts are identical. A few days before the fatal treaty of 1814, Napoleon could have said to his thirteen marshals, *'Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est.'*

'Brutus continues to be adopted by Cæsar, a Charles to prevent a Cromwell from proceeding to Jamaica, and a Louis XVI. to forbid a Mirabeau embarking for India. From age to age despotic queens are punished by refractory sons, and ungrateful queens by ungrateful sons. An Agrippina brings forth the Nero who is to put her to death; a Marie de Medicis, the Louis XIII. who is to drive her into exile. Admire, I beg of you, the strange combination of ideas, by which I have arrived almost unintentionally at two queens, two Italians, two crowned shadows

of the past : Agrippina and Marie de Medicis ; spectres who still haunt the romantic precincts of Cologne, the names of despairing queen-mothers. At sixteen hundred years distance of time, the daughter of Germanicus, who was mother of Nero, and the wife of Henri IV., who was the mother of Louis XIII., stamped their names indelibly in the annals of Cologne.—pp. 135—138.

The rapacious spirit of modern times is equally visible on the banks of the Rhine, as in other and less poetic regions. Its exactions meet the traveller at every step, and constitute a serious annoyance, against which it is of no avail to complain. The evil exists to a disgraceful extent in our own country, but we were scarcely prepared to meet with it in the same state of maturity on the Continent. Our author's account of the matter is sufficiently amusing to tempt us to transfer the passage to our pages, which we do for the information, and as a warning to our readers.

'The pleasure of seeing curious objects, museums, churches, or town-halls, is considerably lessened by the constant demand for fees. Upon the Rhine, as in all much-frequented countries, such demands sting you like gnats. On a journey let the traveller put faith in his purse, and without it let no man look for the tender mercies of hospitality, or the grateful smile of a kindly farewell. Allow me to set forth the state of things which the aborigines of the Rhine have created, as regards the fee or *pour boire*. As you enter the gates of a town you are asked to what hotel you intend to go ; they next require your passport, which they take into their keeping. The carriage pulls up in the court-yard of the posthouse ; the conductor, who has not addressed a word to you during the whole journey, opens the door and thrusts in his filthy hand, '*Something to drink.*' A moment afterwards comes the postillion, who, though prohibited by the regulations, looks hard at you, as much as to say, '*Something to drink.*' They now unload the diligence, and some vagabond mounts the roof and throws down your portmanteau and carpet bag—'*Something to drink !*' Another puts your things into a barrow, and inquiring the name of your hotel, away he goes, pushing his barrow. Arrived at the hotel, the host insinuatingly inquires your wishes, and the following dialogue takes place, which ought to be written in all languages on all the doors of all the rooms.

'Good day, Sir.'

'Sir, I want a room.'

'Good, Sir : (*bawls out*) No. 4 for this gentleman.'

'Sir, I wish to dine.'

'Directly, Sir,' &c.

'You ascend to your room, No. 4, your baggage having preceded you, and the barrow gentleman appears.

'Your luggage, Sir—'*Something to drink.*'

'Another now appears, stating that he carried your baggage up stairs.

'Good,' say you, 'I will not forget you with the other servants when I leave the house.'

'Sir,' replies the man, 'I do not belong to the hotel—*Something to drink.*'

'You now set out to walk, and a fine church presents itself. Eager to enter, you look around, but the doors are shut! '*Compelle intrare,*' says holy writ, according to which the priests ought to keep the doors open. The beadle shut them, however, in order to gain '*something to drink.*' An old woman, perceiving your dilemma, points to a bell-handle by the side of a low door; you ring, the beadle appears, and on your asking to see the church, he takes up a bundle of keys and proceeds towards the principal entrance, when, just as you are about to enter, you feel a tug at your sleeve, with a renewed demand for '*something to drink.*'

'You are now in the church. 'Why is that picture covered with a green cloth?' is your first exclamation.

'Because it is the finest we possess,' replies the beadle.

'So much the worse,' is your reflection. 'In other places they exhibit their best paintings, *here* they conceal their *chef d'œuvres.*'

'By whom is the picture?'

'By Rubens.'

'I wish to see it.'

The beadle leaves you a moment, and returns with a grave-looking personage, who pressing a spring, the picture is exposed to view; but upon the curtain reclosing, the usual significant sign is made for '*something to drink,*' and your hand returns to the pocket.

Resuming your progress in the church, still conducted by the beadle, you approach the grating of the choir, before which stands a magnificently attired individual, no less than the *Suisse*, waiting your arrival. The choir is *his* particular department, which, after having viewed, your superb cicerone makes you a pompous bow, meaning, as plain as bow can speak, '*something to drink.*'

'You now arrive at the vestry, and, wonderful to say, it is open: you enter, when lo! *there* stands another verger, and the beadle respectfully withdraws, for the verger must enjoy his prey to himself. You are now shown stoles, sacramental cups, bishops' mitres, and in some glass case, lined with dirty satin, the bones of some saint dressed out like an opera-dancer. Having seen all this, the usual ceremony of '*something to drink*' is repeated, and the beadle resumes his functions.

'You find yourself at the foot of the belfry, and desire to see the view from the summit. The beadle gently pushes open a door, and having ascended about thirty steps, your progress is intercepted by a closed door. The beadle having again departed, you knock, and the bell-ringer makes his appearance, who begs you to walk up—'*Something to drink.*' It is some relief to your feelings that his man does not attempt to follow you as you make your way upwards to the top of the steeple.

'Having attained the object of your wishes, you are rewarded by a superb landscape, an immense horizon, and a noble blue sky; when your enthusiasm becomes suddenly chilled by the approach of an individual who haunts you, buzzing unintelligible words into your ears, till at last you find out that he is especially charged to point out to strangers

all that is remarkable, either with regard to the church or landscape. This personage is usually a stammerer, and often deaf; you do not listen to him, but allow him to indulge in his muttering, completely forgetting him, while you contemplate the immense pile below, where the lateral arches lie displayed like dissected ribs, and the roofs, streets, gables, and roads, appear to radiate in all directions, like the spokes of wheels, of which the horizon is the fellow.

'Having indulged in a prolonged survey, you think about descending, and proceed towards the stairs; and lo! there stands your friend with his hand extended.

'You open your purse again.

'Thanks, Sir!' says the man, pocketing the money; 'I will now trouble you to remember me.'

'How so—have I not just given you something?'

'That is not for me, Sir, but for the church; I hope you will give me *something to drink*.'

'Another pull at the purse.

'A trap-door now opens, leading to the belfry; and another man shows and names you the bells. '*Something to drink*' again! At the bottom of the stairs stands the beadle, patiently waiting to re-conduct you to the door: and '*something to drink*' for him follows as a matter of course.

'You return to your hotel, taking good care not to inquire your way, for fear of further demands. Scarcely, however, are you arrived, when a stranger accosts you by name, whose face is wholly unknown to you.

'This is the commissioner who brings your passport, and demands '*something to drink*.' Then comes dinner; then the moment for departure—'*Something to drink*.' Your baggage is taken to the diligence—'*Something to drink*.' A porter places it on the roof; and you comply with his request for '*something to drink*,' with the satisfaction of knowing that the claim is the last. Poor comfort, when your miseries are to recommence on the morrow!

'To sum up, after paying the porter, the wheelbarrow, the man who is not of the hotel, the old woman, Rubens, the Suisse, the verger, ringer, church, under-ringer, stammerer, beadle, commissioner, servants, stable-boy, postman, you will have undergone eighteen taxings for fees in the course of a morning.'—pp. 142—147.

Our space must limit us to one more extract, which we take from our author's account of the architecture of some of the principal cities which he visited. He is a stern reprove, and not without good reason, of the modern taste in this matter. 'I know not,' he says, 'what corrosive and destructive property is inherent in that flimsy architecture with plaster colonnades, theatrical churches, and palace-like public-houses; but certain it is, that wherever this prevails, the ancient city disappears amidst piles of lath and plaster.' The old churches happily survive, a standing witness against the innovations which threaten to extinguish true taste in the affectation of mere finery.

' Cologne is a Gothic city still loitering in the epoch of the Gauls. Frankfort and Mayence are also Gothic, but trenching on the revival of the arts, and in some respects corrupted by the rusticated and Chinese. There is consequently something Flemish about Mayence and Frankfort, which distinguishes them from the other Rhenish cities. One perceives at Cologne, that the austere projectors of the cathedral, Master Gerard, Master Arnold, and Master Jean, long controlled with their authority the taste of the city. These four great shadows have watched over Cologne for the lapse of four centuries; protecting the churches of Plectrude and Hanno, the tomb of Theophania, and the gilt chamber of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; intercepting the influx of spurious taste; slow to tolerate the almost classical imagination of the revival of the arts; maintaining the purity of Gothic architecture; weeding the endive work of Louis XV., wherever they made their appearance; maintaining, in all the sharpness of their outline, the carved gables of the structures of the fourteenth century; and overawed only (like the lion by the braying of the ass) by the monstrous innovations of the Parisian architects of the present century.

' At Mayence and Frankfort the architecture of the Rubens school prevails; the vigorous and flowering outline, the rich fantasies of Flanders; a superabundance of iron trellis-work, overcharged with flowers and animals; an endless variety of angles and turrets; indications of a florid complexion and plethoric temperament, possessing more health than beauty; a profusion of masks, tritons, naiads, fleshy exaggerations of pagan sculpture, overwrought embellishments, and hyperbolic designs,—all that is exorbitant and magnificent in bad taste, have invaded the city since the commencement of the seventeenth century; feathering and festooning, according to their poetic fancies, the ancient and solemn Germanic architecture of the city. Seen as the birds fly, Mayence and Frankfort, the one on the Rhine, the other on the Maine, having the same position as Cologne; partake necessarily of the same plan. Upon the opposite bank, the bridge of boats of Mayence has created Castel, just as the stone bridge of Frankfort created Sachshausen, and the bridge of Cologne Deutz.

' The cathedral of Mayence, like those of Worms and Trèves, has no front, but terminates at the two extremities by two choirs. They consist of two Roman apses, each having its transept, opposite each other, connected by a great nave, as if two churches were united by their façades. The two crosses touch at their lower extremity. From this geometrical formation, results six towers, viz., one large one between two lesser, like the priest between the deacon and subdeacon; a symbolism I have already mentioned as producing in our own cathedrals the structure of our Gothic windows.

' The two apses, whose conjunction forms the cathedral of Mayence, are of different periods, and though identified in the same geometrical line, with respect to dimensions; present, as edifices, a striking contrast. The first and lesser of the two is of the tenth century; begun in 978, and terminated in 1009; since which, every successive century has added its stone.

' A hundred years ago the prevailing taste of the day assailed the

cathedral, and the Pompadour florid style, with its exuberant frippery, degraded the Lombard lozenge and Saxon arch; and the ancient apsis is now disfigured by these fanciful and unmeaning embellishments. The great tower, with its ample cone, three diminishing diadems, rose and facet-cut ornaments, seems built rather with gems than stone. Upon the other tower, which is severe, simple, Byzantine and Gothic, modern architects have erected a sharp pointed cupola, probably from economy, resting at its basis upon a circle of sharp gables, not unlike the iron crown of the Kings of Lombardy. It is in zinc, plain and unornamented, reminding one of the pontifical mitre of the primitive times. One might fancy it the severe tiara of Gregory VII. looking at the splendid tiara of Boniface VIII.; a grand idea placed there by time and chance—great architects in their way.

'The whole of this venerable edifice has been smeared over with pinkish plaster, from top to bottom. The act has been perpetrated with much taste and discernment; the Byzantine tower being of a delicate pink, the Pompadour of a vivid red!'—pp. 354—356.

Art. V. *A Manual of the History of the Middle Ages, from the Invasion of the Barbarians to the Fall of Constantinople.* Translated from the French Work of Des Michels, by T. G. Jones. 12mo. pp. viii. 374. 1841. London: Nutt.

CONVENIENT, perhaps necessary, as may be the distinction in a general view of history, between ancient, middle, and modern times, it has many and serious disadvantages. There is, in point of fact, no such division. Gradation, not abruption, is the cardinal characteristic of history. Individual states or great political combinations, the mighty 'monarchies' that stretch over half a world, and the petty polities from whose ramparts the eye can trace their boundaries, may lapse or break up; violence, decay, or self-destruction, may have caused their fall, but the great procession of events, the untiring movement of God's providence, has still been passing on without arrest or pause. And as there is no real, so is there no ostensible line of demarcation. It is easy enough to take up a particular period, or to fix on some conspicuous event, and to say, that this shall be the point of separation between two great historical sections. Many lines, both political and providential, may have met and apparently terminated there. Just then an unwieldy empire fell; a wasting deluge of barbarians swept over the civilized world; or some despot of the hour trampled down the rights and happiness of men. Still there has been progression, and the business of the historian is to trace out its continuity, not to avail himself of a conventional resting-place to cease or to interrupt his labours.

There is a great deal too much passed over or taken for granted, when the irruption of barbarians on the open frontiers of Europe, is represented as bearing down the last relics of Roman civilization; the fact and the mode are alike at variance with historic truth. The conquest was at once more gradual and less complete than we usually find it set down in Manuals and Introductions, though it must be admitted that much has been done of late years, and especially by the French writers on history, to communicate correct and well-defined views on the subject. Among those who have most distinguished themselves in this way, M. des Michels deserves honourable mention for the eminent ability with which he has brought into the compass of a single volume, not too large for even a modern pocket, a singularly clear exposition of an involved and intractable series of events extending through a term of eleven hundred years. The quantity of information usually considered as incidental and illustrative only, but which ought rather to be taken as essential, that he has compressed within these limits, is such as could only have been effected by a clear head and vigorous hand, dealing with the acquisitions of great and long-continued research.

With respect, however, to the translation, we regret that we are unable to give it unqualified praise, or accept it as an altogether satisfactory substitute for the original. The translator is, we suppose, a reasonably good French scholar, and we find no other fault with his English than that we should have liked it better had it kept somewhat closer to the text. Des Michels is not only no mere compiler, but he is also no ordinary writer. His style is compact and pregnant; he does not throw away his expressions, nor is it safe to employ language apparently equivalent, when, in the close composition of the original every word has a distinct meaning. We could point out passages in the volume before us, where a departure from the form and phrase has introduced a vagueness into the statement that bears small resemblance to the precision of Des Michels.

The translator has, moreover, fallen into errors which, if not the result of great carelessness, seem to indicate a want of qualification for a task not in itself requiring any extraordinary degree of previous knowledge. A few instances will be sufficient. At page 224, he gives *Ferracia* for *Ferrara*; the Brussels edition of 1835 gives *Ferrace*, a notable blunder, from which the genuine Paris publication is probably free. In the same sentence we find *Scalla* for *Scala*. Elsewhere, we have the 'Dukes of Leutharis and Bucelin;' where the designation should have been not territorial, but personal. There are a good many of these negligences scattered through the volume, and they much lessen its value as a text-book for the young.

Art. VI. *Biographia Britannica Literaria, or Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland, arranged in chronological order: Anglo-Saxon period.* By Thomas Wright, M. A. Parker. 1843.

WHILE great and increasing attention has been paid of late years to every branch of inquiry which can throw light on our mediæval history, we are glad to find an interest in the history of those more remote periods, which in former times were most unphilosophically considered as scarcely worthy of notice, has also been awakened. The researches of our historical antiquaries, in their various departments, have shown how close is the connexion between the middle ages and the present day; and researches as diligently pursued into our antecedent history will, we doubt not, also show how closely even the Anglo-Saxon period is linked with our own times, and how much we owe, both of national character and national institutions, to the rude but energetic band of adventurers who planted the banner of the White Horse on our shores. 'Too much ignorance,' as one of our first Saxon scholars has remarked, 'prevails in England respecting the habits of our Saxon ancestors. Too many of our most polished scholars have condescended to make themselves the echoes of degenerate Greeks and enervated Romans, and to forget the amphilogy that lurks in the word 'barbarous;' while want of power to comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon mind—without which no one will comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon institutions—has led others to describe the ancestors of the English nation as savages half reclaimed, without law, morals, or religion. To this assertion it is enough to oppose the fact, that nearly all European civilization went forth from our shores, when the degraded remnants of Roman cultivation survived only to bear witness in their ruins to the crimes of their respective nations.'*

The volume now before us affords an emphatic corroboration of the foregoing remarks. It forms the first of a series 'intended to trace down the stream of British literature in successive periods of time to the close of the seventeenth century,' published under the superintendence of the Royal Society of Literature; and it presents a goodly list of Anglo-Saxon writers, who, either as teachers in their excellent schools, or as laborious missionaries among their countrymen, and the kindred tribes of Germany, did good service to their age.

The stream of English literature has flowed in an unbroken current for well nigh fourteen centuries; and 'no other country

* Vide Kemble's Introduction to his 'Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici.'

can boast of the preservation of such a long and uninterrupted series of memorials as that of England, and even through the early ages of Saxon rule, though at times the chain is slender, it is not broken.' As is the case of all infant nations, the first effort of Saxon literature was song; and the *scop*, or minstrel, received from an energetic and imaginative race the richest gifts and the most distinguished honors. Like the poets of early Greece, the Saxon minstrel was the historian of his people, and with the 'large mass of national legends which formed collectively one grand mythic cycle,' he was expected to become acquainted, that, in addition to his own compositions, he might sing those more ancient songs which celebrated the prowess of the founders of their race, or told the marvellous adventures of an earlier generation.

But a few short fragments of this, the earliest English literature, have come down to us; they are characterised by an almost oriental boldness of metaphor, and by great spirit—a vivid picture being often touched off in a few words. Unlike the poetry of classical times, or modern usage, that of the Anglo-Saxon was neither regulated by feet nor by rhyme. 'Its chief and universal characteristic was a very regular *alliteration*, so arranged that, in every couplet, there should be two principal words in the first line, beginning with the same letter, which letter must also be the initial of the first word, on which the stress of the voice falls in the second line.' The effect of this is, on the whole, pleasing—as the reader will perceive on turning to the opening lines of *Pier's Ploughman*, which is written in the genuine Anglo-Saxon metre.

With the introduction of Christianity in the sixth century, the literature of the ancient world, together with the Scriptures and the works of the early Christian writers, became known to the Saxons. Their love of tales of valour, and wild and varied adventure, now found scope in the magnificent episodes of the Old Testament, and the Creation, the Fall of the Angels, the Exodus from Egypt, became the subjects of elaborate and lengthened poems.

While Christianity was modifying the old national literature and enlarging its scope, the languages of Greece and Rome, together with the arts and sciences, were introduced into the schools established by the Roman missionaries; and among the teachers, Theodore, a native of Tarsus, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury, and his friend Abbot Adrian, said to have been an African, were most eminent. To these schools the converted Saxons flocked in multitudes, and eagerly sought the intellectual advantages thus proffered them; and so diligently did they study, and with such success, that

'the same age in which learning had been introduced among them, saw it reflected back with a double lustre on those who had sent it.' At the beginning of the eighth century, England stood foremost in scholarship; and while she provided both missionaries and books for pagan Germany, she sent professors also to Gaul; and when Charlemagne, in the following century, sought for learned men to superintend the education not only of his subjects but of himself, he sent, not to the Eternal City, but to Saxon England.

Of the Saxon writers enumerated in the volume before us, few have left copious remains, and but few among those who have, display much originality. As might be expected, the poetry exhibits far more spirit than the prose—for poetry is the natural language of an early state of society—and the Saxon poems of Cædmon, and the Latin poems of Aldhelm and Alcuin, present many passages of great excellence.

The story of Cædmon, the unlettered neatherd, whose improvisatorial genius seemed so astonishing to his contemporaries, that they fabled, or fancied he had obtained the gift of song by miracle, is important, as proving that even from the earliest visit of the Latin missionaries, the *Scriptures* were read to the people in their native tongue. This man was a neatherd belonging to the abbey of Whitby—at this period under the rule of the excellent Lady Hilda, and, 'when he heard verses out of Scripture,' says Bede, 'he would, with much sweetness and humility, turn them into English poetry.' Originally he was uninstructed.

'He had not even learnt any poetry; so that he was frequently obliged to retire in order to hide his shame, when the harp was moved towards him in the hall, where at supper it was customary for each person to sing in turn. On one of these occasions, it happened to be Cædmon's turn to keep guard at the stable during the night, and, overcome with vexation, he quitted the table and retired to his post of duty, where, laying himself down, he fell into a sound slumber. In the midst of his sleep a stranger appeared to him, and saluting him by his name, said, 'Cædmon, sing me something.' Cædmon answered, 'I know nothing to sing; for my incapacity in this respect was the cause of my leaving the hall to come hither.' 'Nay,' said the stranger, 'but thou hast something to sing.' 'What must I sing?' said Cædmon. 'Sing the Creation,' was the reply; and thereupon Cædmon began to sing verses, 'which he had never heard before,' and which are said to have been as follows:—

'Now we shall praise
the guardian of heaven,
the might of the creator,
and his counsel,
the glory-father of men!

how he of all wonders,
the eternal lord,
formed the beginning.
He first created
for the children of men

heaven as a roof,
the holy creator!
then the world
the guardian of mankind,

the eternal lord,
produced afterwards,
the earth for men,
the almighty master!

‘Cædmon then awoke; and he was not only able to repeat the lines which he had made in his sleep, but he continued them in a strain of admirable versification. In the morning he hastened to the town-reeve or bailiff of Whitby, who carried him before the abbess Hilda, and there in the presence of some of the learned men of the place he told his story, and they were all of opinion that he had received the gift of song from heaven. They then expounded to him in his mother tongue a portion of Scripture, which he was required to repeat in verse. Cædmon went home with his task, and the next morning he produced a poem which excelled in beauty all that they were accustomed to hear. He afterwards yielded to the earnest solicitations of the abbess Hilda, and became a monk of her house; and she ordered him to transfer into verse the whole of the sacred history. We are told that he was unable to read, but that he was continually occupied in repeating to himself what he heard, and, ‘like a clean animal, ruminating it, he turned it into most sweet verse.’ Bede informs us that Cædmon’s poetry, as it existed in his time, treated successively of the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, and their entrance into the land of promise, with many other histories taken out of Holy Writ; of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; of the advent of the Holy Ghost and of the doctrine of the Apostles; ‘he also made many poems on the terrors of the day of judgment, the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom.’—pp. 193—195.

This may be taken as only one among many instances of the solicitude of our Saxon forefathers that all should understand the Scriptures.

The progress of literature owed much at this period to women. The lady Hilda, as we have just seen, fostered the budding genius of her neatherd, and encouraged him to pursue his studies. To the solicitations of the abbess, Hildelitha of Barking, Anglo-Saxon literature owes one of its most elaborate Latin poems, the ‘*De laudibus Virginitatis*,’ of Aldhelm, a work, although, in a literary point of view, occasionally disfigured by inflated diction, yet containing many eloquent passages. Aldhelm was, indeed, one of the most illustrious scholars of the seventh century. He was of noble birth, and choosing the cloister rather than a career of arms, he became, at an early age, the pupil of Abbot Adrian. So great were his attainments, that he is said not only to have had an intimate knowledge of Greek, but to have been sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to read the Old Testament in its original text. His long life seems to have been passed in ceaseless exertions for the promotion of

learning and civilization; and that, as Bishop of Sherborne, he was most anxious to fulfil the more important duties of a Christian teacher, the following anecdote,—which we recommend to the attention of the Tractarian clergy, who delight in claiming for the Anglo-Saxon church an identity with their own,—will emphatically prove:—

‘King Alfred has entered into his manual, or note-book, an anecdote which is peculiarly characteristic of the age, and which perhaps belongs to the period that preceded the foundation of the abbey, (Malmsbury.) Aldhelm had observed with pain that the peasantry were become negligent in their religious duties, and that no sooner was the church service ended than they all hastened to their homes and labours, and could with difficulty be persuaded to attend to the exhortations of the preacher. He watched the occasion, and stationed himself in the character of a minstrel on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and soon collected a crowd of hearers by the beauty of his verse; when he found that he had gained possession of their attention, he gradually introduced, among the popular poetry which he was reciting to them, words of a more serious nature, till at length he succeeded in impressing upon their minds a truer feeling of religious devotion; ‘whereas, if,’ as William of Malmsbury observes, ‘he had proceeded with severity and excommunication, he would have made no impression whatever upon them.’—p. 215.

We wish that some of these popular addresses had been preserved. We have some poetical wayside sermons of an Anglo-Norman preacher, which breathe the very spirit of Whitfield, and judging from some of the writings of Aldhelm, we may well believe that his out-door sermons were far more ‘Methodistical’ in character and doctrine, than the late historian of the Anglo-Saxon church would choose to acknowledge.

Rather later, though nearly contemporary with Aldhelm, that illustrious writer, justly styled ‘the venerable’ Bede, flourished. Although confined, during the greater part of his life, within the precincts of his monastery, at Wearmouth, he was ceaseless in exertions for the benefit of his people. Among the most interesting, if not *the* most interesting, work of the Anglo-Saxon period, we may place his ecclesiastical history; his theological writings, however, were very numerous. These are chiefly commentaries on various books of Scripture; on the Proverbs, Isaiah, Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets; on Job, and on Ecclesiastes; together with a commentary on the Gospels, and the Acts, and on most of the epistles. It is an interesting fact in his literary history, that so unwilling was Bede to leave any mistake unrectified, that he wrote, in his old age, a book of ‘*Retractions*,’ in which, with characteristic candour, he corrects errors admitted in the writings of his earlier years. The works of Bede

are very numerous, and diversified; they comprise commentaries on the Scriptures, history, scientific treatises, and tracts on miscellaneous subjects.

'They are the works of a man whose life was spent in close and constant study,—industrious compilations rather than original compositions, but exhibiting profound and extensive learning beyond that of any of his contemporaries. He was not unacquainted with the classic authors of ancient Rome; and his commentaries on the Scriptures show that he understood the Greek and Hebrew languages. It appears from his book entitled *Retractationes*, that he had met with a very early Greek manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, which he collated with the Latin text then in use; from the variations which Bede has given in the work just mentioned, Mill was led to conclude that this was either the identical manuscript now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or at least an exact counterpart of it. Bede's opinions are not free from the errors, which characterized the age in which he lived; but there are few of his contemporaries whose works exhibit so large a proportion of good sense, and he was so far devoid of common prejudices that he did not scruple to adopt the useful parts of the writings of those whom the church then looked upon as heretics. Thus, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, he professes to follow the rules of interpretation published by Tychonius the Donatist, whom he praises as a learned and judicious writer in all cases where he was not necessarily led to defend the doctrines of his sect. This liberality of sentiment exposed him to be blamed by some of his envious contemporaries; and he was especially reprehended for giving a new interpretation to the Apocalypse.

'A very large portion of Bede's writings consist of commentaries on the different books of the holy Scriptures, exhibiting great store of information and acuteness of perception, but too much characterized by that great blemish of the mediæval theology, an extravagant attachment to allegorical interpretation. In the treatises *De Tabernaculo* and *De Edificio Templi*, he gives an allegorical meaning to the tabernacle and its vases, to the different articles of vesture of the priests, and to the temple of Solomon; the latter, both in the details of its construction and in the events connected with its history, he pretends to have been typical of the form and history of the church of Christ.

'The same tendency to give typical meanings to plain narratives characterizes Bede's commentaries on the books of the New Testament, and is particularly remarkable in his book on the Acts of the Apostles, *every word* of which, if we believe his statement, contains a hidden meaning as well as a literal sense. It may be observed that in the comment on the seven Catholic Epistles, the much disputed passage on the three witnesses in heaven, 1 John v. 7, is omitted.'—pp. 274—276.

The scientific works of Bede are, as the reader may well suppose, of little value. In his astronomy, he follows Ptolemy, and in his natural history, Pliny, the elder; and with the early fathers he maintained that the earth was in its last age, and that

its end was at hand. Although the works handed down are all in Latin, he yet cultivated his native tongue; and the last work on which he was engaged, was a translation of St. John's Gospel into the Anglo-Saxon. Although death was approaching, he still continued that labour of love, and dictated to his young disciples, when unable himself to write. On the last morning of his life, he urged his pupils to write diligently. This they did till nine o'clock, and then retired to the daily service. One pupil remained with the dying man; 'Dearest master,' said he, 'one chapter still remains, and thou canst ill bear questioning.' 'Nay, write on,' was the reply. Thus the day passed, and when it drew near evening, the writer exclaimed that only one sentence was wanting. The few words were dictated by Bede, and the youth replied, 'it is done.' 'It *is* done,' said he; 'and now support my head with your hands, for I desire to sit in my holy place where I am accustomed to pray, that sitting there I may call upon my Father.' He was placed on the floor, and attempting to sing the Doxology, he expired with the word 'Holy Spirit' on his lips.

A less known, and less amiable, but equally excellent man, was Winfred, subsequently named Boniface, the apostle of Germany. He was of noble birth, and the favourite child of his father. From an early age he expressed a desire to enter the church, and he made such progress in learning, that he soon became a teacher of repute: but a desire to convert the pagan Germans was foremost in his mind, and he went to Rome to obtain permission to proceed into Thuringia. There he laboured with much success, and might have effected more good, had not his wild zeal for strict conventual discipline, rendered him an opponent of the many worthy men who followed the rule adopted by the church of the early Britons. His contests with these, often involved him in difficulties, and like too many later ecclesiastics, he seriously injured his usefulness in vain attempts to impose a rigid uniformity. Still, that Boniface was a good man, and a devoted missionary, his letters—a valuable and curious collection, which we turned over with much pleasure a short time since—fully prove; and we may well lament that blind party spirit should have pointed to him, as a mere maintainer of the papal power, when Germany unquestionably owed to him, not merely civilization, but a knowledge of the great truths of the gospel.

The last of the distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholars of the earlier period, was Alcuin. Like the foregoing learned men, he was of noble family, and like them dedicated to the church from an early age. He was a pupil of Egbert, Archbishop

of York, and in subsequent years he became teacher in that school where he had sat as scholar. Under Alcuin's superintendence the school increased in reputation, and many foreigners came to partake of its advantages. It was probably through them that Charlemagne first became acquainted with the fame of the Saxon teacher. A visit to Rome introduced the illustrious monarch to the learned Alcuin, and an invitation for him to settle in France, as the adviser and assistant of Charlemagne, in the foundation of his national schools, swiftly followed, and with the permission of the king of Northumbria, and his archbishop, Alcuin proceeded to France in the year 782. The situation of the Saxon scholar at the court of Charlemagne, was honourable alike to him and to his patron. Without holding any employment, he lived as the friend and counsellor of the Frankish monarch,—was the companion of his private hours, which were spent in discussing questions of theology and science, and he acted as the instructor of his children.

'We have few notices of the events of Charlemagne's life at this period; it was one of constant war and tumult, and we are astonished that amid his numerous hostile expeditions the busy warrior could find leisure to attend to the intellectual welfare of his people. Yet it was during this period that he conceived and carried into execution his projects of national instruction, which exercised so great an influence on the civilization of succeeding ages. It is probable that Alcuin attended Charlemagne in many of his expeditions; he lost no opportunity of making his influence with the king subservient to the interests of his native country; and after remaining about eight years in France, he resolved to return to York. Charlemagne begged him to come back speedily, and make the court of France his lasting home; a request to which Alcuin was willing to consent, if he could make it consistent with his duties to his native country: 'Although,' he said, 'I possess no small inheritance in my own country, I will willingly resign it, and in poverty serve thee, and remain with thee; let it be thy care to obtain the permission of my king and my bishop.'—pp. 351, 352.

It is curious to find Alcuin and his brother literati adopting, like the literary men at the period of the revival of learning, classical names. Alcuin took that of Flaccus Albinus, Riculf of Mentz received the pastoral name of Damazetas, while to another friend was given the title of Homerus. Alcuin's last days were spent in France,—

'On the whole, the life and writings of Alcuin hold a less important place in the literary history of England than might have been supposed. Wilbrord and Boniface and their companions, struggling to dispel the dark cloud of ignorance which then enveloped the greater portion of Europe, spreading the knowledge of Christ with unceasing perseverance through so many tribes of barbarians, never cease to be English, and

stand in bold relief on the picture of events. Alcuin, who followed the missionaries in the character of the schoolmaster after their work was done, loses his nationality amid the civilization and urbanity which surrounded the court of the first Frankish emperor. His countrymen never forgot to be proud of the preceptor of Charlemagne. But he soon ceased to be identified with them, and, becoming engaged in politics with which England had little concern, and in theological disputes to which his native land was still more a stranger, he possessed little of English beside his education. The influence of his writings upon his countrymen was consequently not great: for they had more profound theologians among the fathers of their own church, and Bede was still looked up to as the *teacher* of the Anglo-Saxons.'—pp. 361, 362.

The disastrous invasions of the Danes, who with fire and sword laid waste, at the beginning of the ninth century, the most fertile parts of England, caused the ruin of Saxon scholarship. The libraries, many of them much more extensive than we have been accustomed to believe, were unsparingly burnt; and the very attachment to those cherished books, which caused so many a prelate to enshrine them in silver, ivory, and even gold coverings, rendered their destruction inevitable. A period of incessant war with the invaders, and of sanguinary civil contests followed, and it was not until the time when Alfred, having subjugated the Danes, had leisure to devote himself to the more peaceful duties of the 'cynning,' that Saxon literature revived again. The exertions of this illustrious monarch were indeed unremitting. Not only did he found schools, and patronize learned men, and encourage the writing of books, but he stands foremost in the list of royal authors; while anxious to diffuse the benefits of learning as widely as he could, he wrote not in Latin, but in his native tongue. In order to make his subjects more generally acquainted with ancient history, he translated the historical work of Orosius; and to instruct them in English history, he translated Bede's Ecclesiastical History. For his clergy, he translated Pope Gregory's 'Pastorale,' and as a consolation to himself during long illness, he translated that favourite book of the middle-ages, Boethius' 'Consolations of Philosophy.' Alfred also compiled a kind of Handbook, consisting of prayers, and psalms, and notices of passing events. This most interesting work, which existed in the time of William of Malmesbury, has however been lost.

'Alfred's translations are executed with much spirit. As he tells us himself, he 'sometimes interprets word for word, and sometimes meaning for meaning;' and he not unfrequently inserted passages of his own. The most interesting of his works in respect to this latter point are, his version of Boethius, containing several very remarkable additions, and his Orosius, in the geographical part of which he has given the valuable

narratives of two northern navigators, Ohtere and Wulfstan, whom he had personally examined. In point of style, Alfred's translations may be considered as the purest specimens we possess of Anglo-Saxon prose.'
—p. 397.

The following extracts, literally translated by Mr. Wright from the preface to his translation of the 'Pastorale,' will, we doubt not, gratify our readers.

'Alfred the king greets affectionately and friendly bishop Wulsige his worthy, and I bid thee know, that it occurred to me very often in my mind, what kind of wise men there formerly were throughout the English nation, as well of the spiritual degree as of Laymen, and how happy times there were then among the English people, and how the kings who then had the government of the people obeyed God and his Evangelists, and how they both in their peace and in their war, and in their government, held them at home, and also spread their nobleness abroad, and how they then flourished as well in war as in wisdom ; and also the religious orders how earnest they were both about doctrine and about learning, and about all the services that they owed to God ; and how people abroad came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and how we now must obtain them from without if we must have them. So clean it was ruined amongst the English people, that there were very few on this side the Humber who could understand their service in English, or declare forth an epistle out of Latin into English ; and I think that there were not many beyond Humber. So few such there were, that I cannot think of a single one to the south of the Thames when I began to reign. To God Almighty be thanks, that we now have any teacher in stall. Therefore I bid thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt, that thou, who pourest out to them these worldly things as often as thou mayest, that thou bestow the wisdom which God gave thee wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what kind of punishments shall come to us for this world, if we neither loved it ourselves nor left it to other men. We have loved only the name of being Christians, and very few the duties. When I thought of all this, then I thought also how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout all the English nation were filled with treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants, and yet they knew very little fruit of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language ; as they say our elders, who held these places before them, loved wisdom, and through it obtained weal and left it to us. Here people may yet see their path, but we cannot follow after them, because we have lost both weal and wisdom by reason of our unwillingness to stoop to their track. When I thought of all this, then I wondered greatly that none of the excellent wise men who were formerly in the English nation and had fully learned all the books, would translate any part of them into their own native language ; but I then soon again answered myself and said, they did not think that ever men would become so careless and learning so decay. They therefore willingly let it alone, and would that more wisdom were in this land, the more languages we knew. Then I considered how the law was first found in the Hebrew tongue ; and again the Greeks learnt it, then they

translated it all into their own speech, and also all other books; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learnt it they translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing.'—pp. 397—399.

The example of so illustrious a teacher told with success upon his clergy; but his thanes appear to have been too devoted to the battlefield and the meadcup to have heeded the exhortations even of an Alfred; and he takes his place as the solitary lay-writer, throughout the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature.

Although learning partially revived in England, the clergy of the later period fell far below their predecessors, not only in regard to the inferiority of their works, but in their general character. The age of Bede and Aldhelm had passed away, and that of Odo and Dunstan succeeded, and the clergy became far more anxious 'to lift up their mitred fronts in court,' than to instruct their catechumens, or preach the gospel to the heathen. The account of Dunstan in the volume before us is very excellent. He was a man of extraordinary and almost universal talents; but we think it certain that, from an early age, he laboured under mental aberration, which was both modified and increased by the rigid ecclesiastical discipline to which he was subjected. Hence the wild hallucinations—the visions of saints and angels, and the conflicts with the author of evil—which his marvelling friends heard from his lips with such awful interest, and which his chronicler so minutely records. His mechanical genius was great, and the solitude and misery of his wretched cell—scarcely larger than a grave, and sunk almost as deep in the earth—were beguiled by the practice of various arts of usefulness and skill.

'Dunstan was distinguished by his fondness for science and the mechanical arts, and he was probably acquainted with many instruments and modes of proceeding which, though their principle is now well understood, were then believed to be the work of superhuman agency. His biographer has preserved one of the incidents that drew upon Dunstan the charge of magic. It seems that before he left the court of Ethelstan, he had invented a harp which played spontaneously. A noble lady, named Ethelwynn, who was acquainted with his skill in drawing and design, begged his assistance in ornamenting a handsome stole. Dunstan, as usual, carried with him his harp, which, when he entered

the apartment of the ladies, he hung beside the wall; and in the midst of their work they were astonished by strains of excellent music which issued from the instrument. Dunstan had in his cell a forge, at which he manufactured the articles of metal that were necessary for the use or ornament of the church, while he rendered similar services to the people who visited him. He was skilful, also, in writing and painting, (or illuminating,) and frequently practised these arts in his cell; while at times the sound of the hammer gave place to that of his harp,'—pp. 448, 449.

The strong partiality of the Saxon clergy to the mechanical arts is worthy of notice. Benedict Biscop, in the seventh century journeyed through Gaul to seek stone-masons to construct a church in the Roman style—the churches of the Saxons having previously been built of rude logs—and to him we also owe the introduction of glass windows. Subsequently he proceeded to Rome to collect books and pictures 'to present to the eyes of those who could not read the principal portions of scripture history;' and no less than five journeys did he perform to introduce among his barbarous and unlettered countrymen the arts and benefits of an advanced civilization. In the following century we find Boniface aiding with his own hands to build and adorn the churches which he founded in pagan Germany; and Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, active in restoring the churches in his diocese, and superintending the construction of a bridge with stone arches—most probably the first in England—on the eastern side of Winchester. Ethelwald, a subsequent Bishop of Winchester, and pupil of Dunstan, was also distinguished for his architectural skill. In the mechanical arts, and in music, too, he was a proficient; and the same prelate that taught in the school, preached in the cathedral, and gave counsel in the 'witena gemot,' cast the bells, and adorned the church with his own hands. Ethelwald seems to have been a worthy man; when his diocese was suffering under the visitation of famine and pestilence, he ordered all the church plate to be broken up and turned into money, observing, that gold and silver were better employed in feeding the poor than in administering to the pride of the clergy. The last fifty years of the Saxon period present no writers of eminence; and those who close the series were of Norman birth, although, as inhabitants of England, they take their place in the list. Some of the latest Saxon writers, however, are worthy of notice for the opinions they maintained respecting transubstantiation. On this point their views were opposed to the Norman theologians; but we lament that they held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The following extract from an Anglo-Saxon homily of Alfred Bata affords a good specimen of the popular style of address, and a clear exposition of their opinions on this subject.

'Christ himself consecrated the housel before his passion; he blessed and brake in pieces the bread, saying thus to his holy apostles: 'Eat this bread, it is my body;' and he again blessed a cup with wine, saying to them thus: 'Drink all of this, it is my own blood of the New Testament, which is poured out for many in forgiveness of sins.' The Lord who consecrated the housel before his passion, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, he consecrates daily through the hands of his priests bread to his body, and wine to his blood in a spiritual mystery, as we read in books. The lively bread nevertheless is not bodily the same body in which Christ suffered, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood which was poured out for us in bodily form; but in spiritual meaning each is truly, the bread his body, and the wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread which we call manna.'—pp. 497—498.

In closing this volume, it is due to Mr. Wright to express our high gratification. The work forms an admirable epitome of the literary history of an ill-known period, and an excellent introduction to the general study of Saxon history and antiquities. We are always gratified at the appearance of such works, and we wish we could awaken among our brethren a more general taste for antiquarian studies. It has been unwise in dissenters to leave so important a department of literature in the hands of their enemies; for many a weapon well fitted to do good service in our cause may be drawn from the armory of the middle ages.

It may be well for the ill-informed churchman to taunt the dissenter with the novelty of his opinions, and the equally ill-informed dissenter may acquiesce in what he may sincerely believe to be an historical fact: but a more intimate knowledge of that period, which was the birth time of all that is most valuable in our institutions, our literature, our national character, will show that that period was also the birth time of the voluntary principle. Receiving, as did the rising nations of modern Europe, every temporal gift—laws, arts, literature, even languages—from the hands of 'the church,' it would have been ungrateful indeed, if her earliest children, those who owed every thing in 'the life that now is' to her fostering kindness, had not bowed down in heartfelt devotion before her. But those days passed away; society became modified by the infusion of new elements, and a church which had been the benefactress of an earlier race, began to exercise tyrannical rule. Then was it that the voluntary principle sprang forth; and its importance was recognised by one of the wisest of pontiffs; and in his patronage of the mendicant orders—orders whose distinctive principle it was, that the preacher should wholly subsist on the voluntary offerings of his flock—he proved how influential he believed that principle might become. The triumphant pro-

gress of these orders in England shewed also how congenial was that principle to our forefathers; and from that time down to the present day the Nonconformist may trace his descent.

A new party in the Established Church has been claiming for her an antiquity coeval with the earliest records of our ecclesiastical history; and dissenters have tacitly allowed that claim. But let the dissenter enter into the lists with those claimants who try to eke out their short genealogy by laying violent hands on the richly-blazoned 'family tree' of the ancient and powerful Latin church, and he can show that the notion of a strictly national establishment, whose priests could minister only within the precincts of her own altars, and who should thrust away from their pale, as unauthorized intruders, the wisest, the worthiest, the most influential, not only of the continental clergy, but even of those established within a different part of their own land, was an anomaly, of which the clergy, even in Saxon times (their great stronghold,) would have been ashamed. One church alone, was acknowledged during the middle ages; and while among the various nations which formed its separate parts many diversities of ritual prevailed, an interchange of brotherly offices continued among all its members; and, as we have frequently seen in the volume now before us—to go no farther—the Saxon prelate became ruler of a diocese in France or Germany; and the Frank, the Lombard, the Roman, the native of the far East, as common members of the Western, or Latin Church, sat down in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. In conclusion, there is one point in the history of the Saxon clergy to which we would earnestly direct the attention of their clerical admirers—it is to their diversified attainments. We have had volumes by the score, and tracts well nigh reaching to a hundred, all showing forth the excellencies of the Tractarian system, and denouncing with appropriate bitterness its opponents. What if these reverend polemics took up the pencil, the hammer, or the graver instead? The effect of the arts in softening asperities is of classical authority, and who might tell the influence that a richly-painted east window, an elaborately-chased communion-service, a delicately-chiselled font, the work of clerical hands, might have even upon those most opposed to the church! The influence upon the reverend artists, too, would be beneficial. They might chance to find out that variety may subsist with perfect harmony, and that blended diversities are preferable to a dull aimless uniformity. For those who might not possess the artistic skill of the painter or sculptor, we might recommend the humbler arts, which, nevertheless, claim Saxon episcopal example; and then, while the church in the eyes of its votaries would derive an additional sanctity, we should save no small sum in church-rates.

Art. VII. *Personal Observations on Sindh, the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, and its Productive Capabilities; with a Sketch of its History, a Narrative of Recent Events, and an Account of the Connexion of the British Government with that Country.* By T. Postans, M.R.A.S., Bt. Captain. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THE history of our Indian possessions is anything but flattering to our national character. It narrates one long tissue of unprincipled aggression, in which military power and diplomatic skill have been unscrupulously employed to effect the ends of an ambitious and sordid policy. From the rise of our Anglo-Indian empire to the present day, it is difficult to fix on any interval, or to select any important event, which does not furnish materials for deep humiliation and shame. Forgetful of the professions made at home, regardless alike of the sanctions of religion and the obligations of political morality, intent only on the extension of territory and the augmentation of revenue, our rulers have perpetrated or connived at crimes which may well make believers in an overruling Providence tremble. It was not simply under the administration of Warren Hastings, that deeds were perpetrated by our countrymen in India which rival the atrocities of Spain in America. Both before and since the destinies of the East were entrusted to that great bad man, the same unscrupulous policy has characterised our procedure, and the events which have recently transpired testify that, with some modification of external aspect, it is continued to this day. The indifference with which the misgovernment of the East is regarded by the great body of our countrymen, is one of the worst symptoms of the moral condition of the public mind with which we are acquainted. The proprietors of India Stock are—with few honourable exceptions—little disposed to censure the system, which promises to replenish their treasury, while the great mass of the people are either ignorant of what is enacted under their name, or willing to connive at the crime on account of the martial glory with which it is encircled. Whether we look to China, to Affghan, or to Sindh, we shall search in vain for any one redeeming feature in the policy which has been pursued. The old plea of political necessity has of course been urged, but its hollowness is now too well known to deceive even the most credulous, and a general feeling of indignation has, in consequence, been awakened amongst the more thoughtful and virtuous portion of the community. It is not, however, our purpose at present to do more than refer to these matters. We shall have other opportunities for entering on them more fully, and shall therefore confine ourselves to the volume before us, and more particularly to the details which it

affords illustrative of the character, condition, institutions, and prospects of the people against whose independence the arms of our countrymen have been latest directed. Every one has heard of the occupation of the Sindh country by Lord Ellenborough, and apart from the strife of faction, no difference of opinion exists respecting it. Waiving the fearful questions to which this new step in the history of British aggression gives rise, we shall seek to make our readers acquainted with the history and condition of a people now intimately connected with our empire, and destined probably to be a source of perplexity and weakness to our Indian government.

The territory of Sindh lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th to 70th degrees of east longitude, having the river Indus nearly in its centre. It is divided into Upper and Lower, or Northern and Southern Sindh, each of these divisions being distinctly marked by physical peculiarities. The climate is intensely sultry, and the lower part of the country being exposed during a considerable part of the year to the inundations of the Indus, is exceedingly unhealthy. The hot and cold seasons follow each other so rapidly that spring and autumn are unknown. The former lasts from March to September, and during the latter, ice is by no means uncommon in Upper Sindh, and the Biluchi hills are covered with snow. The geographical features of the country are perpetually changing.

'Towns, once of commercial importance, are now no longer valuable for the objects of traffic: the facilities afforded by the river being withdrawn, and its advantages lost, ports which were resorted to for the whole trade of the Indus are ruined and abandoned; and portions at some periods cultivated and productive, are, in the course of a short space of time, often converted into desert tracts. The natural sloth of the natives of Sindh induces them always to choose their localities near the river, where subsistence is easily obtained, and in this way they often suffer, for whole villages are in the course of a season swept away by its torrent. The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery.'—p. 18.

Their towns, of which Hyderabad constitutes the modern capital, are far from attractive, possessing all the repulsive features of the East without the splendour and amplitude by which some oriental cities are distinguished. Their general features are thus described by Capt. Postans.

'There is very little deviation in the general character of the towns in Sindh: nearly all are surrounded with walls, which are intended to be fortifications, but are of a very rude kind, and in complete disrepair, being built of mud, about twenty feet high, and pierced for matchlocks;

in the centre of the place is a bastion or citadel overlooking the surrounding country. The Jutts and pastoral classes fold their flocks outside, under the walls, against which they build their reed huts. Every place in Sindh swarms with village curs, the Pariahs of India; and these, in the absence of any police, are valuable, as keeping a constant and vigilant watch. The Wands, or moveable villages of the pastoral population, are generally composed of reed mats stretched across rough boughs of the tamarisk: such are also the materials generally employed by the fishermen and others living on the banks of the river; the houses are generally of one story, and flat-roofed; in the cities the dwellings are upper-roomed, the apartments small and ill-ventilated. It is impossible to conceive anything so filthy as the interior of a Sindhian town: every inhabitant makes a common sewer of the front of his dwelling; the narrow passage, scarcely admitting a laden camel, is nearly blocked up with dung heaps, in which recline in lazy ease packs of fat Pariah dogs, from whom the stranger, particularly a Christian (they are true Moslems these dogs,) need expect little mercy. Flies are so plentiful, that the children's faces are nearly hidden by them, and it is utterly impracticable in a butcher's or grocer's shop to discern a particle of what is exposed for sale. Add to these mere outlines, crowded streets of filthy people, an intolerable stench, and a sun which would roast an egg, some faint idea may be formed of a Sindhian town or city: the inhabitants generally sleep on the roofs of their houses for coolness.

One main street constituting the bazaar is always a principal feature in a place of any size. These bazaars have mats and other coverings stretching from house to house, as a protection against the fierce rays of the sun. Except the bazaars of Grand Cairo, few places of a similar kind present such vivid, strange, and yet interesting groups, as the great street of Shikarpúr, frequented as it is by the merchants of both Central Asia and those of Eastern and Western India; the full pressure of business generally takes place about four o'clock; and then amidst clouds of dust, in an atmosphere of the most stifling closeness, and amid the loud din of perfect chapmanship, may be seen some of the most characteristic features of the society of the East.

The haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassan steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindhian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, jostles through the crowd, between whom a way is opened by the Sindhian soldiers, who precede and follow him; then follows the Affghan, with a dark blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek tinted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve. We have also the Seyud of Pishín in his goat's-hair cloak, the fair Herati, the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban, the tall Patan with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence, while among the rest is the filthy Sindhian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindú, owning perhaps lace in the neighbouring streets, but fearing the exactions of the Amirs. These present a fair sample of the groups who crowd the principal street of Shikarpúr; but we miss the wild Bilúchi with his plaited hair and ponderous turban, his sword, matchlock, and high-bred mare; but the freebooter of the desert loves not cities, and is rarely seen in them.'—pp. 33—36.

The Bilúchis, who are the dominant party in Sindh, are the latest conquerors of the country, having been tempted by the rich valley of the Indus to emigrate from their mountainous regions to the westward. 'They are feudatory holders of the soil, an indolent and insolent race, before whom even the late ruling princes were obliged to quail; for with arms in their hands, and looking upon the country as their own, their chiefs being in a measure elective, they exercised unbounded controul over the administration of the affairs of the country, constituting a complete military despotism.'

The ancient practice of vesting authority in the head of the tribe is perpetuated amongst the Bilúchis. Their opinion is decisive on all questions, and is paramount to that of any other Power. Their love of field sport is their ruling passion, and the cost at which they seek its indulgence is enormous. The country is completely sacrificed to it, every head of deer killed in Sindh being calculated to cost 800 rupees, or 80*l.* sterling.

'This,' remarks Capt. Postans, 'is certainly not an exaggeration, but, on the contrary, were the districts occupied by dense jungles enclosed as preserves, and now only devoted to the wild boar, tiger, and other wild and dangerous animals, cleared for the purposes of fertility, the revenues of Sindh might be unlimited, and the cost of the game must therefore be estimated by the loss the country sustains to preserve it. All denominations of Bilúchis, however, are willing to forego anything and everything for this all-absorbing occupation; and it is the only motive, except war or plunder, which will rouse them from their general love of ease. Their method of pursuing these sports is, among the inferior classes, with dogs and spears; but with the princes and chiefs it is a very systematic and luxurious affair. The Amirs, seated in temporary huts erected for the occasion at the termination of one of the enclosed preserves, have the game driven towards them by an immense crowd of men, the inhabitants of the country being collected from every direction for this purpose. Thus the Hindú is forced from his shop, and the Mahommedan husbandman from his plough, and detained for several days without food, or a farthing of remuneration for their services, but too often losing their lives, or sustaining serious injuries, merely to contribute to the sport of their rulers. Thus driven from their covert by the yells and shrieks of the beaters, who, surrounding the sporting grounds armed with staves, and loudly beating drums, gradually close towards the centre, the poor frightened brutes in the preserves make towards the only path of escape left to them, which is an opening leading directly under the muzzles of the matchlocks of the sportsmen, who pour upon them a destructive fire. The mass and variety of game that is forced from the shelter of the jungle by this means is most surprising, for not only does it include numerous hogs and black buck, the nobler sport, but great varieties of smaller game, the beautiful cotah-pacha, with foxes, hares, &c. in abundance. Hawking is also a very general sport throughout the country, for the capture of the beautiful black partridge, very similar

translated it all into their own speech, and also all other books; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learnt it they translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing.'—pp. 397—399.

The example of so illustrious a teacher told with success upon his clergy; but his thanes appear to have been too devoted to the battlefield and the meadcup to have heeded the exhortations even of an Alfred; and he takes his place as the solitary lay-writer, throughout the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature.

Although learning partially revived in England, the clergy of the later period fell far below their predecessors, not only in regard to the inferiority of their works, but in their general character. The age of Bede and Aldhelm had passed away, and that of Odo and Dunstan succeeded, and the clergy became far more anxious 'to lift up their mitred fronts in court,' than to instruct their catechumens, or preach the gospel to the heathen. The account of Dunstan in the volume before us is very excellent. He was a man of extraordinary and almost universal talents; but we think it certain that, from an early age, he laboured under mental aberration, which was both modified and increased by the rigid ecclesiastical discipline to which he was subjected. Hence the wild hallucinations—the visions of saints and angels, and the conflicts with the author of evil—which his marvelling friends heard from his lips with such awful interest, and which his chronicler so minutely records. His mechanical genius was great, and the solitude and misery of his wretched cell—scarcely larger than a grave, and sunk almost as deep in the earth—were beguiled by the practice of various arts of usefulness and skill.

'Dunstan was distinguished by his fondness for science and the mechanical arts, and he was probably acquainted with many instruments and modes of proceeding which, though their principle is now well understood, were then believed to be the work of superhuman agency. His biographer has preserved one of the incidents that drew upon Dunstan the charge of magic. It seems that before he left the court of Ethelstan, he had invented a harp which played spontaneously. A noble lady, named Ethelwynn, who was acquainted with his skill in drawing and design, begged his assistance in ornamenting a handsome stole. Dunstan, as usual, carried with him his harp, which, when he entered

the apartment of the ladies, he hung beside the wall ; and in the midst of their work they were astonished by strains of excellent music which issued from the instrument. Dunstan had in his cell a forge, at which he manufactured the articles of metal that were necessary for the use or ornament of the church, while he rendered similar services to the people who visited him. He was skilful, also, in writing and painting, (or illuminating,) and frequently practised these arts in his cell ; while at times the sound of the hammer gave place to that of his harp,'—pp. 448, 449.

The strong partiality of the Saxon clergy to the mechanical arts is worthy of notice. Benedict Biscop, in the seventh century journeyed through Gaul to seek stone-masons to construct a church in the Roman style—the churches of the Saxons having previously been built of rude logs—and to him we also owe the introduction of glass windows. Subsequently he proceeded to Rome to collect books and pictures 'to present to the eyes of those who could not read the principal portions of scripture history ;' and no less than five journeys did he perform to introduce among his barbarous and unlettered countrymen the arts and benefits of an advanced civilization. In the following century we find Boniface aiding with his own hands to build and adorn the churches which he founded in pagan Germany ; and Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, active in restoring the churches in his diocese, and superintending the construction of a bridge with stone arches—most probably the first in England—on the eastern side of Winchester. Ethelwald, a subsequent Bishop of Winchester, and pupil of Dunstan, was also distinguished for his architectural skill. In the mechanical arts, and in music, too, he was a proficient ; and the same prelate that taught in the school, preached in the cathedral, and gave counsel in the 'witena gemot,' cast the bells, and adorned the church with his own hands. Ethelwald seems to have been a worthy man ; when his diocese was suffering under the visitation of famine and pestilence, he ordered all the church plate to be broken up and turned into money, observing, that gold and silver were better employed in feeding the poor than in administering to the pride of the clergy. The last fifty years of the Saxon period present no writers of eminence ; and those who close the series were of Norman birth, although, as inhabitants of England, they take their place in the list. Some of the latest Saxon writers, however, are worthy of notice for the opinions they maintained respecting transubstantiation. On this point their views were opposed to the Norman theologians ; but we lament that they held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The following extract from an Anglo-Saxon homily of Alfred Bata affords a good specimen of the popular style of address, and a clear exposition of their opinions on this subject.

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'Christ himself consecrated the housel before his passion ; he blessed and brake in pieces the bread, saying thus to his holy apostles : 'Eat this bread, it is my body ;' and he again blessed a cup with wine, saying to them thus : 'Drink all of this, it is my own blood of the New Testament, which is poured out for many in forgiveness of sins.' The Lord who consecrated the housel before his passion, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, he consecrates daily through the hands of his priests bread to his body, and wine to his blood in a spiritual mystery, as we read in books. The lively bread nevertheless is not bodily the same body in which Christ suffered, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood which was poured out for us in bodily form ; but in spiritual meaning each is truly, the bread his body, and the wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread which we call manna.'—pp. 497—498.

In closing this volume, it is due to Mr. Wright to express our high gratification. The work forms an admirable epitome of the literary history of an ill-known period, and an excellent introduction to the general study of Saxon history and antiquities. We are always gratified at the appearance of such works, and we wish we could awaken among our brethren a more general taste for antiquarian studies. It has been unwise in dissenters to leave so important a department of literature in the hands of their enemies ; for many a weapon well fitted to do good service in our cause may be drawn from the armory of the middle ages.

It may be well for the ill-informed churchman to taunt the dissenter with the novelty of his opinions, and the equally ill-informed dissenter may acquiesce in what he may sincerely believe to be an historical fact : but a more intimate knowledge of that period, which was the birth time of all that is most valuable in our institutions, our literature, our national character, will show that that period was also the birth time of the voluntary principle. Receiving, as did the rising nations of modern Europe, every temporal gift—laws, arts, literature, even languages—from the hands of 'the church,' it would have been ungrateful indeed, if her earliest children, those who owed every thing in 'the life that now is' to her fostering kindness, had not bowed down in heartfelt devotion before her. But those days passed away ; society became modified by the infusion of new elements, and a church which had been the benefactress of an earlier race, began to exercise tyrannical rule. Then was it that the voluntary principle sprang forth ; and its importance was recognised by one of the wisest of pontiffs ; and in his patronage of the mendicant orders—orders whose distinctive principle it was, that the preacher should wholly subsist on the voluntary offerings of his flock—he proved how influential he believed that principle might become. The triumphant pro-

gress of these orders in England shewed also how congenial was that principle to our forefathers; and from that time down to the present day the Nonconformist may trace his descent.

A new party in the Established Church has been claiming for her an antiquity coeval with the earliest records of our ecclesiastical history; and dissenters have tacitly allowed that claim. But let the dissenter enter into the lists with those claimants who try to eke out their short genealogy by laying violent hands on the richly-blazoned 'family tree' of the ancient and powerful Latin church, and he can show that the notion of a strictly national establishment, whose priests could minister only within the precincts of her own altars, and who should thrust away from their pale, as unauthorized intruders, the wisest, the worthiest, the most influential, not only of the continental clergy, but even of those established within a different part of their own land, was an anomaly, of which the clergy, even in Saxon times (their great stronghold,) would have been ashamed. One church alone, was acknowledged during the middle ages; and while among the various nations which formed its separate parts many diversities of ritual prevailed, an interchange of brotherly offices continued among all its members; and, as we have frequently seen in the volume now before us—to go no farther—the Saxon prelate became ruler of a diocese in France or Germany; and the Frank, the Lombard, the Roman, the native of the far East, as common members of the Western, or Latin Church, sat down in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. In conclusion, there is one point in the history of the Saxon clergy to which we would earnestly direct the attention of their clerical admirers—it is to their diversified attainments. We have had volumes by the score, and tracts well nigh reaching to a hundred, all showing forth the excellencies of the Tractarian system, and denouncing with appropriate bitterness its opponents. What if these reverend polemics took up the pencil, the hammer, or the graver instead? The effect of the arts in softening asperities is of classical authority, and who might tell the influence that a richly-painted east window, an elaborately-chased communion-service, a delicately-chiselled font, the work of clerical hands, might have even upon those most opposed to the church! The influence upon the reverend artists, too, would be beneficial. They might chance to find out that variety may subsist with perfect harmony, and that blended diversities are preferable to a dull aimless uniformity. For those who might not possess the artistic skill of the painter or sculptor, we might recommend the humbler arts, which, nevertheless, claim Saxon episcopal example; and then, while the church in the eyes of its votaries would derive an additional sanctity, we should save no small sum in church-rates.

Art. VII. *Personal Observations on Sindh, the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, and its Productive Capabilities; with a Sketch of its History, a Narrative of Recent Events, and an Account of the Connection of the British Government with that Country.* By T. Postans, M.R.A.S., Bt. Captain. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THE history of our Indian possessions is anything but flattering to our national character. It narrates one long tissue of unprincipled aggression, in which military power and diplomatic skill have been unscrupulously employed to effect the ends of an ambitious and sordid policy. From the rise of our Anglo-Indian empire to the present day, it is difficult to fix on any interval, or to select any important event, which does not furnish materials for deep humiliation and shame. Forgetful of the professions made at home, regardless alike of the sanctions of religion and the obligations of political morality, intent only on the extension of territory and the augmentation of revenue, our rulers have perpetrated or connived at crimes which may well make believers in an overruling Providence tremble. It was not simply under the administration of Warren Hastings, that deeds were perpetrated by our countrymen in India which rival the atrocities of Spain in America. Both before and since the destinies of the East were entrusted to that great bad man, the same unscrupulous policy has characterised our procedure, and the events which have recently transpired testify that, with some modification of external aspect, it is continued to this day. The indifference with which the misgovernment of the East is regarded by the great body of our countrymen, is one of the worst symptoms of the moral condition of the public mind with which we are acquainted. The proprietors of India Stock are—with few honourable exceptions—little disposed to censure the system, which promises to replenish their treasury, while the great mass of the people are either ignorant of what is enacted under their name, or willing to connive at the crime on account of the martial glory with which it is encircled. Whether we look to China, to Affghan, or to Sindh, we shall search in vain for any one redeeming feature in the policy which has been pursued. The old plea of political necessity has of course been urged, but its hollowness is now too well known to deceive even the most credulous, and a general feeling of indignation has, in consequence, been awakened amongst the more thoughtful and virtuous portion of the community. It is not, however, our purpose at present to do more than refer to these matters. We shall have other opportunities for entering on them more fully, and shall therefore confine ourselves to the volume before us, and more particularly to the details which it

affords illustrative of the character, condition, institutions, and prospects of the people against whose independence the arms of our countrymen have been latest directed. Every one has heard of the occupation of the Sindh country by Lord Ellenborough, and apart from the strife of faction, no difference of opinion exists respecting it. Waiving the fearful questions to which this new step in the history of British aggression gives rise, we shall seek to make our readers acquainted with the history and condition of a people now intimately connected with our empire, and destined probably to be a source of perplexity and weakness to our Indian government.

The territory of Sindh lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th to 70th degrees of east longitude, having the river Indus nearly in its centre. It is divided into Upper and Lower, or Northern and Southern Sindh, each of these divisions being distinctly marked by physical peculiarities. The climate is intensely sultry, and the lower part of the country being exposed during a considerable part of the year to the inundations of the Indus, is exceedingly unhealthy. The hot and cold seasons follow each other so rapidly that spring and autumn are unknown. The former lasts from March to September, and during the latter, ice is by no means uncommon in Upper Sindh, and the Biluchi hills are covered with snow. The geographical features of the country are perpetually changing.

' Towns, once of commercial importance, are now no longer valuable for the objects of traffic: the facilities afforded by the river being withdrawn, and its advantages lost, ports which were resorted to for the whole trade of the Indus are ruined and abandoned; and portions at some periods cultivated and productive, are, in the course of a short space of time, often converted into desert tracts. The natural sloth of the natives of Sindh induces them always to choose their localities near the river, where subsistence is easily obtained, and in this way they often suffer, for whole villages are in the course of a season swept away by its torrent. The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery.'—p. 18.

Their towns, of which Hyderabad constitutes the modern capital, are far from attractive, possessing all the repulsive features of the East without the splendour and amplitude by which some oriental cities are distinguished. Their general features are thus described by Capt. Postans.

' There is very little deviation in the general character of the towns in Sindh: nearly all are surrounded with walls, which are intended to be fortifications, but are of a very rude kind, and in complete disrepair, being built of mud, about twenty feet high, and pierced for matchlocks;

in the centre of the place is a bastion or citadel overlooking the surrounding country. The Jutts and pastoral classes fold their flocks outside, under the walls, against which they build their reed huts. Every place in Sindh swarms with village curs, the Pariahs of India; and these, in the absence of any police, are valuable, as keeping a constant and vigilant watch. The Wandas, or moveable villages of the pastoral population, are generally composed of reed mats stretched across rough boughs of the tamarisk: such are also the materials generally employed by the fishermen and others living on the banks of the river; the houses are generally of one story, and flat-roofed; in the cities the dwellings are upper-roomed, the apartments small and ill-ventilated. It is impossible to conceive anything so filthy as the interior of a Sindhian town: every inhabitant makes a common sewer of the front of his dwelling; the narrow passage, scarcely admitting a laden camel, is nearly blocked up with dung heaps, in which recline in lazy ease packs of fat Pariah dogs, from whom the stranger, particularly a Christian (they are true Moslems these dogs,) need expect little mercy. Flies are so plentiful, that the children's faces are nearly hidden by them, and it is utterly impracticable in a butcher's or grocer's shop to discern a particle of what is exposed for sale. Add to these mere outlines, crowded streets of filthy people, an intolerable stench, and a sun which would roast an egg, some faint idea may be formed of a Sindhian town or city: the inhabitants generally sleep on the roofs of their houses for coolness.

'One main street constituting the bazaar is always a principal feature in a place of any size. These bazaars have mats and other coverings stretching from house to house, as a protection against the fierce rays of the sun. Except the bazaars of Grand Cairo, few places of a similar kind present such vivid, strange, and yet interesting groups, as the great street of Shikarpúr, frequented as it is by the merchants of both Central Asia and those of Eastern and Western India; the full pressure of business generally takes place about four o'clock; and then amidst clouds of dust, in an atmosphere of the most stifling closeness, and amid the loud din of perfect chapmanship, may be seen some of the most characteristic features of the society of the East.

'The haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassan steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindhian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, jostles through the crowd, between whom a way is opened by the Sindhian soldiers, who precede and follow him; then follows the Affghan, with a dark blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek tinted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve. We have also the Seyud of Pishin in his goat's-hair cloak, the fair Herati, the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban, the tall Patan with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence, while among the rest is the filthy Sindhian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindú, owning perhaps lacs in the neighbouring streets, but fearing the exactions of the Amirs. These present a fair sample of the groups who crowd the principal street of Shikarpúr; but we miss the wild Bilúchi with his plaited hair and ponderous turban, his sword, matchlock, and high-bred mare; but the freebooter of the desert loves not cities, and is rarely seen in them."—pp. 33—36.

The Bilúchis, who are the dominant party in Sindh, are the latest conquerors of the country, having been tempted by the rich valley of the Indus to emigrate from their mountainous regions to the westward. 'They are feudatory holders of the soil, an indolent and insolent race, before whom even the late ruling princes were obliged to quail; for with arms in their hands, and looking upon the country as their own, their chiefs being in a measure elective, they exercised unbounded controul over the administration of the affairs of the country, constituting a complete military despotism.'

The ancient practice of vesting authority in the head of the tribe is perpetuated amongst the Bilúchis. Their opinion is decisive on all questions, and is paramount to that of any other Power. Their love of field sport is their ruling passion, and the cost at which they seek its indulgence is enormous. The country is completely sacrificed to it, every head of deer killed in Sindh being calculated to cost 800 rupees, or 80*l.* sterling.

'This,' remarks Capt. Postans, 'is certainly not an exaggeration, but, on the contrary, were the districts occupied by dense jungles enclosed as preserves, and now only devoted to the wild boar, tiger, and other wild and dangerous animals, cleared for the purposes of fertility, the revenues of Sindh might be unlimited, and the cost of the game must therefore be estimated by the loss the country sustains to preserve it. All denominations of Bilúchis, however, are willing to forego anything and everything for this all-absorbing occupation; and it is the only motive, except war or plunder, which will rouse them from their general love of ease. Their method of pursuing these sports is, among the inferior classes, with dogs and spears; but with the princes and chiefs it is a very systematic and luxurious affair. The Amirs, seated in temporary huts erected for the occasion at the termination of one of the enclosed preserves, have the game driven towards them by an immense crowd of men, the inhabitants of the country being collected from every direction for this purpose. Thus the Hindú is forced from his shop, and the Mahommedan husbandman from his plough, and detained for several days without food, or a farthing of remuneration for their services, but too often losing their lives, or sustaining serious injuries, merely to contribute to the sport of their rulers. Thus driven from their covert by the yells and shrieks of the beaters, who, surrounding the sporting grounds armed with staves, and loudly beating drums, gradually close towards the centre, the poor frightened brutes in the preserves make towards the only path of escape left to them, which is an opening leading directly under the muzzles of the matchlocks of the sportsmen, who pour upon them a destructive fire. The mass and variety of game that is forced from the shelter of the jungle by this means is most surprising, for not only does it include numerous hogs and black buck, the nobler sport, but great varieties of smaller game, the beautiful cotah-pacha, with foxes, hares, &c. in abundance. Hawking is also a very general sport throughout the country, for the capture of the beautiful black partridge, very similar

in plumage to that of Cutch, abounding both in the interior and on the banks of the Indus.'—pp. 56, 57.

The population of Sindh is supposed by our author to be overrated at a million, while the physical condition of its inhabitants is far below what the natural fertility of the soil would have led an observer to expect. It is difficult, however, to arrive at any accurate conclusion, as the people are thinly scattered over a large extent of territory, and our means of observation are far from satisfactory. Slavery, under a mild form, exists throughout the country, and the condition of the inhabitants generally betokens the misrule by which their government has been distinguished. They have undergone various political changes, of which our author furnishes the following summary :

	A.D.
' Ruled by Brahmins until conquered by Mahomedans -	711
A possession of the Khalif of the Omiade dynasty -	750
Conquered from them by Mahmúd of Ghuzni -	1025
Súmrah tribe attain power -	1054
Súmrahs overthrow the Súmrals -	1351
Conquered by Shah Beg Urghún -	1519
Humayún Padshah places the country under contribution -	1540
Tirkhans obtain power -	1555
Annexed by Akbar to Delhi -	1590
Núr Mahomed Kalora obtains the súbidarship -	1736
Nadir Shah invades Sindh -	1740
Becomes subject to the Affghan throne -	1750
Kaloras overthrown by Talpúrs -	1786
Conquered by the English -	1843.

pp. 196, 197.

There is good reason to believe that, under its Hindú possessors, Sindh constituted a rich, flourishing, and extensive monarchy; but it rapidly declined under the Mohammedan rule, and its original inhabitants have never since recovered the courage, energy, or talents by which their forefathers were distinguished.

' Social oppression, which never fails to produce moral degradation, has had this effect equally upon the Copt of Egypt and the Hindú of Sindh. Both once professed greater purity of manners and strictness of observance in morals and religion, than the Moslems, who are now their masters; but both are now equally bad in all that should distinguish them, and losing the better features of their own character, have adopted the worst of their conquerors.'—p. 159.

The government of the country is a purely military despotism, conducted on feudal principles, 'the Amirs being the heads of the whole system, as lords of the soil; each *Ribáhi* or mi-

litary chieftain, holding jahgirs or grants of land, and being bound to render fealty and service for the same.' These chieftains held controul over their immediate retainers, whilst they themselves were subject to conditions strictly analogous to those which formerly prevailed in Europe.

'Contemplating the whole system in Sindh, it was strikingly similar to that of the ancient feudal government of our own early period of history, and not much more barbarous in its plan and effects. Improvement or amelioration can have no place in such a government: the leading policy is to treat all other nations with jealousy and suspicion as likely to interfere with the selfish and exclusive order of things, exorbitant exactions and oppressions on all classes but their own, distinguished the Bilúchi faction; there was no feeling of unanimity between them and the mass of the people, the conquerors and the conquered. Trade and manufacture languished, and the country, with its great capabilities, was sacrificed to misgovernment. Such must inevitably be the result of the selfish policy pursued, and a further consequence was that apathetic indifference in the people to which we have before alluded.'—p. 233.

Of the character of the Sindhian chiefs, the following sketch is given by our author, which appears to be well entitled to the confidence of his readers:

'A general review of the characters of those chiefs collectively leads to the conclusion, that to semi-barbarism and its attendant evils of ignorance and arrogance may be attributed the mainspring of most of those errors of which they have been accused, but which have always existed in the same stage and state of society. Thus the possession of a fine and wonderfully capable country, whose capacities would have been developed by more civilised rulers, was looked upon by these only as a selfish means of personal gratification, and its advantages sacrificed accordingly. Mean and avaricious, the accumulation of wealth at the expense of their possessions by excessive taxation on skill and industry, were the vital faults of misgovernment, proving at the same time how grossly ignorant and short-sighted a system they pursued. As feudatory chiefs of a conquered country, they were bound to acknowledge the extensive claims of their ignorant and wild feudatories, and these knew no form of government, and cared for none other than that which provided for their own immediate rights and interests. The sole end and aim therefore of the Sindhian Amirs was to hoard up riches, conciliate their retainers, and enjoy themselves after their own fashion, looking upon all ameliorating and improving systems as interferences against which they were bound to place the most decided barriers. Though by no means cruel—for they were singularly free from this common vice of absolute rulers—they were necessarily arbitrary and despotic to the mass of their subjects, as evinced in the condition of the latter, which was debased and degraded under the system of government pursued. Unambitious of conquest and of foreign alliances, they looked merely to pass as independent princes, uncared for by other states, and as much as possible unknown. The individual merits of these chiefs apart from

their faults, which were those of circumstances, consisted in the exercise of the domestic virtues, which are always so conspicuous in the East, and in the ruder though not less pleasing qualities of hospitality, urbanity, and gratitude for favours conferred. Of the few distinguished British officers who have had an opportunity of being closely connected in the course of official and friendly intercourse, a favourable impression was invariably produced; and though our first visits to their courts induced feelings of contempt for their want of candour and shallow artifices to conceal their childish suspicion of our purposes, these feelings were succeeded in after years by more generous sentiments, the result of a liberal view of their position and its attendant consequences. Judging therefore of the Amirs of Sindh, whether as rulers or individuals, let us not, as members of a highly enlightened and civilised nation, be too ready to condemn, but making due allowance for the never-failing consequences of a rude and uncivilised state of society, temper our verdict with liberality, and accord that consideration which, from our many advantages, we are so well able to afford.'—pp. 227—230.

Our connection with Sindh through the medium of the Indian government commenced in 1758, when Ghúllam Shah Kalora granted an order to Mr. Sumption, of the Company's service, for the establishment of a factory in his territories. Of the events which followed it is not our present purpose to speak, nor shall we enter into the brief narrative furnished by our author of the recent invasion and conquest of the country. Another chapter has been added to the history of British crime in India, and Lord Ellenborough will have the unenviable honour of being associated, in the judgment of posterity, with acts as ruthless and murderous as any which have disgraced the annals of our country. He may probably receive the thanks of a partisan legislature, but the unbiassed judgment of the intelligent and virtuous of all classes is against him. We envy not his fame, and would not be implicated in the guilt which his policy has contracted for all the wealth and honour that statesmen can confer. When will the subjects of Britain arouse themselves to a sense of their responsibilities, and by constituting a legislature fairly expressive of the public mind, save themselves from the guilt of being involved in transactions so deeply criminal as those which have recently occurred in the East?

We thank Capt. Postans for the information furnished in his volume, and recommend it to the early perusal of our readers. It is evidently the production of an intelligent, frank, and honourable mind, somewhat influenced it may be—though unconsciously—by professional predilections and national self-love.

Art. VIII. *The Age of Great Cities ; or Modern Society viewed in its relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. 8vo. p. 373. London : Jackson & Walford.

SEVEN centuries ago, the aristocracy of this kingdom were in full enjoyment of all the privileges and distinctions of feudal power. Castles, whose frowning battlements overawed the surrounding population, covered the land. It was then no difficult matter for the mailed hand of the baron to seize, as spoil, the choicest possessions of his vassals. So influential were these nobles, that even majesty was checked by them, whilst the little towns, struggling into existence, were scourged by their rapacity. Commerce was held in the greatest contempt, and the merchant whose industry and perseverance had secured an ample return of wealth, became, forthwith, a mark for the avarice of the baron, to whose exactions he was subject. Gradually, the middle or trading class increased throughout the kingdom. Towns assumed a greater importance. Intelligence cast its brightening ray over the long-gathered mists of the dark ages. Feudal tyranny and the right of might struggled—but unsuccessfully—with the advance of civilization. Men were no longer content to bow their necks to the yoke of serfdom. They claimed that the rights of their property should be respected, and that their bodies and lives should no longer be in the power of an irresponsible oligarchy. Public opinion—comparatively weak though it was—prevailed, and the aristocracy sought other methods of plundering the ‘ignoble’ classes. The mode was changed, but still their grasp was unrelaxed. A parliament, composed chiefly of landowners and the descendants of the feudal nobility, had no difficulty, under the guise of legislative enactments, in securing that amount of support which had been previously wrested from the unwilling *bourgeois* by the edge of the sword, and the terrors of the dungeon. We cannot look back, without feelings of deep melancholy, upon the black details of corruption, spoliation, and injustice, which have been perpetrated by acts of parliament, or under the authority of the British government, during the last five centuries. The results of this long course of legislative iniquity are visible everywhere around us, in the evils under which the nation is groaning.

With the growth of large towns arose a spirit of intelligence and determination strongly opposed to the selfish views of the oligarchy. Men began to see that a house of representatives, in whose election the main body of the people had no voice, was a mockery. They no longer regarded things as just, because they were legal. The knowledge, that they had been the victims of

the selfishness of a class, led to the demand for equal rights and a full representation. The aristocracy were forced to yield to the power of the great cities, and in 1832 another epoch in the history of the decline of feudalism was reached. We are not of the number of those who lightly estimate the advantages obtained by the Reform Bill. It enfranchised the citizens of many great cities, and thereby secured an immense increase of popular influence upon the governing body of this kingdom. It will thus prove to be only the stepping stone to still greater changes, which are now rising in the political horizon, and will ere long accomplish the utter destruction of feudal injustice.

It will be obvious, from the above retrospective glance, that great cities have been the most powerful opponents of the claims of the nobility. Large numbers of men associated together in towns require no protection from a feudal superior, and therefore owe him no gratitude, and are disposed to yield him no service. The peaceful tendency of commerce is essentially opposed to the feudal or military spirit. Hence, it is not surprising that the aristocracy have no pleasure in witnessing the rapid progress of our manufacturing system. That which adds to the comfort, and raises the social position of the mass, is regarded with jealousy and with hatred, because it lessens the influence of the privileged classes. 'During several centuries,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'the forms and the spirit which characterize modern society, have been making their way into the place of those which were characteristic of society in the middle age. But every fresh manifestation of strength on the side of the new, has become the occasion of a deeper jealousy, and of a more active hostility, on the side of the parties adhering to the old.' Vain attempts are consequently made to restore the lordly and priestly power of former times, and every obstruction is presented to the progress of the new course of society. The slightest connexion with trade is accounted a degradation, and the highest rank is sullied, if its possessor is so unfortunate as to be descended from mercantile forefathers. Great cities are denounced as great evils, and the wretchedness and depravity of the civic population are described in the most glowing terms. Even Sir Robert Peel, who owes everything to manufacturing industry, and who, on other occasions, has fully admitted the vast importance of commercial prosperity, so far forgot himself, in his attempts to please his sullen aristocratical supporters, as to sneer at the idea of this country becoming covered with 'dull manufacturing towns connected by railways.' But if we wish to form a correct idea of the bitter hostility manifested by the majority of our legislators towards great cities, we must seek it

in the newspapers devoted to their interests. The *Morning Post* is of opinion that 'while the people of all ranks, or all degrees of property, in the crowded manufacturing districts, are what they are, it is a moral impossibility that they should be tranquil, wise, or happy.' And the *Standard* asserts, that 'England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulf all the manufacturing towns and districts of Great Britain!' When opinions such as these are promulgated in leading journals, and are supported by honourable gentlemen and noble lords, it becomes important that the public should be made fully acquainted with the characteristics of great cities, in order that it may be seen whether they are beneficial or injurious to the nation. The inquiry—peculiarly necessary at the present crisis,—is, in its nature, an exceedingly interesting one, and we are therefore highly gratified that it has been illustrated by the excellent author of the work before us. Dr. Vaughan's is essentially a book for the times. It displays a profundity of thought, an aptness of illustration, and, in many passages, an eloquence of diction, which will amply sustain the reputation of its author.

In pursuing the inquiry, we shall freely avail ourselves of the important suggestions with which his volume abounds. We propose, therefore, to lay before our readers statements illustrative of the intellectual, moral, religious, and physical condition of the two great classes of our fellow-subjects—the manufacturing inhabitants of towns, and the prædial population of the rural districts. In doing this, we shall mainly direct our observations to the state of things in this kingdom; merely premising, that the same general characteristics are found to prevail, under various modifications, in other countries.

In a kingdom where the education of children depends in a great measure upon the ability of their parents to support schoolmasters, it must be obvious that a poor and scattered population are placed in a most disadvantageous position. Many villages are too small to support a teacher, even of the humblest pretensions; and in those country districts which can boast of possessing a schoolmaster, that functionary is rarely much superior to the class whom he has to instruct. Men of ability will naturally seek in large towns for a profitable sphere for their labour, and it is therefore only an inferior grade of teachers who are driven to the rural districts to seek a scanty subsistence. Towns, too, have all the benefit arising from the competition of schoolmasters, who will naturally strive, by superior methods of instruction, and by greater diligence in their duties, to secure

more extensive support; whilst, on the contrary, the single instructor of a village has no stimulus either to exertion or to improvement. The poor monopoly which he enjoys has the natural effect of withering his energies.

But the advantages arising from the association of the inhabitants of towns are not confined to the superiority of their schoolmasters. In almost every large city we find that benevolent individuals have established and endowed schools for the express benefit of the poorer classes, who would otherwise be left without the means of providing a primary education for their children. These institutions for gratuitous instruction, when well conducted, are of immense service in raising the intellectual and moral character of civic communities.

In towns the influence of the more wealthy inhabitants is exerted to promote education. The manufacturer has a direct interest in doing this. He knows that a well-informed man makes the best servant, and that the security of his property can best be preserved by elevating the character of his workpeople. On the other hand, the clergy and landowners have no such motives. These classes—with few honourable exceptions—have never evinced any great anxiety to educate the agricultural population. When they have found that means of instruction have been established, then they have used their influence in giving a certain direction to those means. Ignorance would be preferred; but if the villagers must have knowledge, the squire and the clergyman are anxious that *they* should impart it. Dr. Vaughan remarks that—

‘The maxim in such connexions appears in general to be, that the amount of such instruction should always be very small, and that *to dispense with it, even in its humblest form, would be far better than that it should fail of making obedience to the village authorities the greatest of virtues*. With many persons of this class the idea of education, in the case of working-people, is always associated with a morbid dread of disaffection and disobedience. Inasmuch, as it is not possible that a villager should be taught to read, in order to his reading such books as may be placed in his hands by his superiors in the parish, without his being exposed to the danger of reading books which may come to him through some less orthodox channel, it is not uncommon to hear these cautious guardians of the popular feeling speak of the schooling of such minds, in any measure, as of very questionable utility.’—p. 148.

The natural result is, that in many rural districts education is entirely neglected, and in others it is provided in a very partial manner.

In speaking of education we too often confine our views of the term to the mere primary education which is imparted in schools.

It should not be forgotten, however, that every man is educated by the various circumstances in which he is placed, and by the oral instruction which he receives in his communion with his fellow-men. A man may be educated in many respects without being possessed of the knowledge of letters or the ability to write. These, it is true, are important channels through which his mind may be reached, but they are not the only ones. The tools which the workman uses, the machinery that he superintends, the speeches which he listens to at public meetings, the scientific lectures at a Mechanics' Institution, the exhibitions of specimens of the Fine Arts and of Natural History, the newspapers which are read to him, or the religious services which he attends, are all powerful means of education. In this view of the case, every great city is a great school-house, and every citizen a scholar. Almost every set of workmen employed together in a workshop or manufactory comprises some who have the advantage of possessing a tolerable education. The influence of these over the others is very considerable. They are, in fact, teachers of their fellow operatives, to whom, by reading or communicating information, they are of important service. But it is obvious that prædial occupation precludes anything of the kind. In the agricultural districts the educational influences are necessarily limited. Day follows day with its unvaried routine of labour, and the tiller of the fields, if unable to read books or to procure them, has few other opportunities of obtaining any instruction. Dissociated from his fellow-men, the influence of a more intelligent or better-informed mind is rarely felt, and the village church, or dissenting chapel, too often neglected, furnish the only means by which his intellect can be expanded, and his moral character elevated.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an investigation of the respective intelligence of the manufacturing and agricultural operatives should prove to be so much in favour of the former. Dr. Cooke Taylor, in his 'Tour,' which we introduced to our readers a few months since, on numerous occasions, gives evidence of the great amount of information possessed by factory operatives with whom he conversed. Men who had toiled at the loom or in the spinning mill, from their earliest years, and who had never enjoyed the advantage of what is generally understood by the term education, conversed with considerable ability, and astonished the Doctor by the promptness of their replies and the extent of their information. These were citizens of great cities.

Dr. Vaughan has ably shewn

'That men possess nothing deserving the name of literature until they begin to build cities; that literature, the offspring of society, as it obtains in cities, derives its character from the state of that society, varying with

all the stages of social progress; and that the effect of commerce, in augmenting small towns into great cities, has been to give to literature, in our own age, a much more popular character than has attached to it in any preceding time. Let the influence of a commercial spirit on modern nations cease, and popular literature will cease. Let the great cities of Europe be accounted an evil, and let the course of legislation be to depress and subdue them, reducing them to the state of so many passive victims in the hands of the masters of the soil, and the consequences of such an ingrate policy must be, the destruction of literature in every form, and the return—the retributive return of an unlettered barbarism.’—p. 145.

A striking illustration of the above remarks, is afforded by a fact, now well known, that of 60,000 copies published weekly of Chambers’ *Edinburgh Journal*, 59,000 are sold in the manufacturing districts, leaving only 1,000 to satisfy the demand of the agricultural population. The sale of this excellent periodical in Manchester alone, exceeds the number disposed of throughout the whole of agricultural Ireland. We have no doubt that similar statistics with reference to the *Penny Cyclopædia*, the *Penny Magazine*, and other popular publications, would furnish a like result.

But whilst we have every reason to be gratified with the instruction which many of our factory operatives have derived from the means placed within their reach, we have no wish to conceal the vast amount of ignorance which still exists, or to undervalue the importance of securing—to a far greater extent than has hitherto been accomplished—a good primary education for the people. A man who cannot read is often placed in a state of dependence upon minds which are not the best calculated to improve his own. In many cases he is affected by the narrow views and selfish prejudices which everywhere abound. His modes of thought are depraved, and he becomes a ready instrument in the hands of the designing, or the vicious. His means of instruction lie, in a great measure, beyond himself, and, as a consequence, it too often happens that he seeks excitement and mental gratification in the polluted streams which flow from the noisy speakers of a pot-house. Drunkenness and every species of depravity are thus frequently the results of the absence of mental culture in youth. Whilst, therefore, it is believed that great cities are necessarily schools of mutual instruction for their adult population, the importance of providing more extensive means of primary education deserves the serious consideration of every enlightened statesman, and of every one who desires the mental and moral advancement of his fellow-countrymen.

If we have to lament the large amount of ignorance prevailing in the manufacturing districts, a still more deplorable state of things

'exists amongst the rural population. This might naturally have been anticipated from the consideration of the observations which we have already offered; and it is abundantly confirmed by the facts stated in Dr. Vaughan's chapter on 'popular education in rural districts.'

The experience of most of our readers, in their intercourse with farmers, must have convinced them that intelligence and information are rarely possessed, to any great extent, by that class of men. Many of them display the grossest ignorance, not only upon general subjects, but respecting the improvements which have been effected in the processes of agriculture; and we consequently find that, in most of the counties of England, the cultivation of the soil is carried on in a very slovenly manner. Generation after generation passes away, and still the character of farming operations remains stationary. Whilst everything else is progressing, and whilst manufactures are making rapid strides towards perfection, the most absurd modes of agriculture are tolerated, and the possibility of improvement never seems to cross the inactive mind of the farmer. He is content to tread in the beaten path of former ages, and he sinks into the grave, having effected no progress, to be followed in the same narrow policy by his dull successors. We trust, however, that events now transpiring, and changes, which seem to be rapidly hastening, will arouse the cultivators of the land from their present lethargic condition.

The state of education amongst farmers is illustrated by the 'Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Administration of the Poor Laws,' in which we are informed by Mr. Moylon, a revising barrister, that 'the general ignorance and stupidity of the overseers in country parishes, with whom he became acquainted in Cheshire and Nottinghamshire, surpassed anything which he could have previously conceived. In some of the parishes he found a + substituted for the overseer's signature to the list of voters. In some cases, where the overseer had not had recourse to the aid of others, his blunders were ludicrous.' Mr. Maclean, when revising the lists of voters in Sussex and Essex, 'found overseers apparently perfectly unable to comprehend, from reading the Reform Act, what they were required to do. Many were unable to write at all, and others could with difficulty affix their name to the list. Few were capable of furnishing any information, or of understanding that any distinction existed between a freehold and a leasehold qualification. Those lists which had any pretension to correctness, had been invariably written out by the parish schoolmaster, or under the advice and direction of some resident gentleman.' Similar evidence is given by other parties, and Mr. Flood, also a revi-

sing barrister, states that, on the eastern side of the county of Leicester, 'where the population is *exclusively agricultural*, he met with a *degree of ignorance he was utterly unprepared to find in a civilized country*.' When overseers, who must be regarded as favourable specimens of the class to which they belong, are thus found destitute of even the rudiments of education, what must be the case with the main body of farmers ?

But if the employers are debased in ignorance, we must naturally expect to find amongst the labourers a still lower grade of intelligence : and that such is the case must be well known to all our readers. From a report, recently published by the British and Foreign School Society, it appears that nearly one-half of the agricultural population over great part of England are unable to read. Indeed, we might traverse an agricultural district, from one end to the other, without finding a single labourer, whose information or powers of mind could bear the least comparison with those of multitudes of factory operatives. The weavers, as a class, are as much superior to the ploughmen, as the intelligent and active manufacturer is to the heavy-minded farmer.

We have entered, at some length, into this branch of the inquiry, because we believe that the influence of education and intelligence upon the progress of religion and morality can scarcely be over-estimated. Many other facts, in illustration, might have been added, but we have refrained from doing so, feeling assured that the considerations already advanced will satisfactorily demonstrate that Great Cities are, in the highest degree, conducive to the expansion of mind, and to the promotion of education amongst their inhabitants. We shall pass on, therefore, to the next branch of our subject.

In comparing the moral characteristics of cities and rural districts, it must always be borne in mind that, owing to the more effective police system established in large towns, crimes in such localities are more easily detected. In the country, too, the fear of revenge often prevents parties from exposing and bringing to punishment those who may have committed depredations on their property. We cannot, therefore, regard the government statistics of crime as by any means a satisfactory index of the relative morality of the agricultural and manufacturing population.

That there are forms of vice more prevalent in great cities than in rural districts, cannot be denied ; but even these have been greatly exaggerated.

'When it is remembered,' (says Dr. Vaughan,) 'that it has been well ascertained, that the women of known bad character in London do not exceed seven thousand, while even very recently they have been de-

scribed in print as amounting to sixty thousand, and even to eighty thousand; when it is remembered also, that the common thieves of the metropolis are known to be little more than three thousand, and that these have been described, not long ago, as numbering thirty thousand, it will be obvious that it becomes us to look on all reports of such matters with much misgiving, except as they are furnished upon such authority as should entitle them to credit. This number of delinquents, it must be borne in mind, is found among a population of nearly two millions; and much as we may deplore this amount of the immoral, the wonder, all things considered, is not that it is so great, but rather that it is not greater. Nor would it have been restrained within such limits, had not our great city been made the centre of a great moral power, wisely adapted to counteract the natural outbreaks of depravity.'—pp. 227, 228.

It is this 'great moral power,' conjoined with the superior intelligence of the inhabitants of large towns, and—as will hereafter be shewn—more extensive religious influences, which does much to weaken the unfavourable tendencies in relation to morals, arising from the facilities for vicious habits afforded in a crowded population. These facilities for vice are, it is true, very numerous, and the serious results of their existence cannot be contemplated without feelings of deep sorrow. Human depravity is not slow in finding means for the gratification of its evil passions, and in populous cities there are 'recesses in which every abomination may be practised, and no eye that might deter from the forbidden indulgence be the witness.' But it must not be supposed that immorality, in its worst forms, is confined to our civic communities. Dr. Vaughan remarks that, 'while the offences chargeable on our manufacturing districts, and on our cities and towns, are scrupulously registered against them, it cannot be consistent with justice that a veil should be allowed to rest on the same evils as affecting the home of the agriculturist. In the latter connexion, the exhibition of depravity, all things considered, is as great as in the former, while in the former there are *redeeming elements which have little or no place in the latter.*' Let us then briefly inquire into the moral characteristics of the rural population, for whom it is very much the fashion, in certain quarters, to claim a much higher degree of purity and virtue. Dr. Vaughan has quoted several passages from the First Report of the Constabulary Force Commissioners, on the 'state of the rural districts in respect of crime committed by resident delinquents,' from which it appears that, in many parishes, sheep and horse stealing, thefts of wood, poultry, turnips, &c., and malicious injuries to property, are very prevalent.

Mr. Cobden, in an admirable speech which he recently delivered in the House of Commons, addressing the landowners,

asked, 'What is the present condition of the labourer in the agricultural districts? Is not crime increasing in the same proportion as pauperism has increased? Why, in some of the excursions I have made into your regions, I heard it stated that the actual returns of your petty sessions and your assizes, furnish no criterion as to the state of demoralization in your districts; nay, I heard that such was the extent of petty pilfering and crime, that you are obliged to wink at it, or you would not be able to carry out the business of your criminal courts. I heard that, both in Somersetshire and in Wiltshire.' Dr. Vaughan, on the authority of the report above alluded to, gives similar testimony.

'We have reason to believe that village depredations of this nature, by 'resident delinquents,' are common to much the greater part of the country. The sufferers often make little effort to detect the offenders, because, to prosecute would be to expose themselves to revenge, in the firing of their property, the maiming of their cattle, or other mischiefs. Farmers' men often plunder their employers, being encouraged by parties from a distance, whom they meet at the village public-house or beer-shop. Large quantities of farm produce may be subtracted by such men without its being missed, and embarrassment and ruin ensue to the farmer almost without the cause being suspected. Nor is the little property of labouring men more safe than that of the farmer. Many such men have been ready to give up their allotment system, from so often finding, that the labour to sow, in their case, was only that the village thief might reap. In such cases the delinquents are generally parties who extend their depredations to a number of parishes around.'—pp. 244, 245.

This is a fearful picture; but can it be wondered at, when we remember that ignorance, the parent of crime, prevails to a most alarming extent amongst the agricultural labourers?

Another criterion for judging of the morality of the rural population is furnished by a fact stated in the Poor Law Report, that of '1,847 pauper children in the workhouses of Norfolk and Suffolk, little more than a twelvemonth since, not less than 543 are classed as illegitimate.'

The conduct of the peasantry, in seasons of agricultural distress, must be well known to all our readers. Incendiarism spreads from county to county with fearful rapidity, and evidences a brutal spirit of revenge which could only be found in a half-civilized and degraded population. The contrast between such a spirit and that which actuated the distressed rioters in the manufacturing districts, last autumn, is sufficiently striking, and can only be accounted for on the ground of the superior moral and intellectual culture of the factory operatives.

It is frequently asserted that the nature of the employment in factories has a necessary tendency to increase immorality,

The evidence to the contrary, however, is by no means slight. Sir Charles Shaw, in a paper read at the Manchester meeting of the British Association, on the 'cases brought before the police of Manchester on Saturdays and Sundays, from the 22d of January to the 15th of June, 1842,' states that 'the number apprehended during the period named consisted of 440 males and 206 females. Of this number 320 had been out of employment, on an average, nearly nine months previously; and of the 646 offenders, *not more than seventeen were factory operatives.*'

Mr. Tufnel, a factory Commissioner, having carefully investigated the subject, with especial reference to the charge of licentiousness arising from the intermingling of persons of both sexes in factories, asserts that 'the whole concurrent testimony goes to prove that the charges made against cotton factories on the ground of immorality are calumnies.'

With reference to the same subject, Dr. W. C. Taylor remarks, that 'the chief cause of immorality in Manchester is not the aggregation in the factories, but the want of domestic accommodation when the mills are closed. I obtained a singular confirmation of this fact from one of the most respectable cotton spinners in Lancashire; he kept a list of all the intrigues detected in his very large establishment, and in nine instances out of ten the seducers did not belong to the same mill as the seduced.'

We shall only quote the testimony of another witness. The Rev. Mr. Parkinson, a highly respectable clergyman resident in Manchester, at a meeting of the subscribers to the Night Asylum, in the course of a most excellent speech, said: 'My birth and early education put me in a very different position from the one in which I now am; but being now an inhabitant of Manchester—having had ample opportunity of observing and judging—and being in a position where I can have no motive for a partial judgment, I maintain that, if we can strike an average of all classes of our population and the population of other districts, we shall find that the morality of this district will not be below that of the most primitive agricultural population. I have the authority of a high military officer, and also that of other persons, for saying that the streets of Manchester, at ten o'clock at night, are as retired as those of the most rural districts. When we look at the extent of this parish, containing at least 300,000 souls—more than the population of the half of our counties—can we be surprised that there is a great amount of immorality? But a great proportion of that immorality is committed by those who have been already nursed in crime in districts of the country supposed to be more innocent than our

own, and are apparently added to the number of those who swell our police reports, *not so much because we hold out greater facilities in rearing them, as that they are apprehended through the superior vigilance of our police.* I think it desirable that I should state this as being an impartial observer, and one coming from a distant part of the country.'

The consideration of the religious tendencies of great cities is, of course, intimately connected with that of their moral characteristics. Dr. Vaughan has entered largely into the question, and we fully concur with the conclusions at which he has arrived. The influence of commercial engagements might naturally be regarded, *a priori*, as producing a worldly frame of mind unfavorable to spiritual impressions. And this, undoubtedly, is, in too many cases, the fact. The cares of this world swallow up all concern about another. The excitement arising from the struggle for present wealth leaves little desire for 'eternal riches.' But whilst lamenting the unfavorable tendency of commercial pursuits in this respect, we must not overlook their beneficial influences. We have already attempted to prove—we hope successfully—that great cities are productive of intelligence and mental activity, and therefore unless we are of opinion that 'ignorance is the mother of devotion,' we shall believe that the superior intellectual character of civic communities must necessarily promote their religious advancement. Dr. Vaughan well remarks, 'that, on the whole, the state of society which tasks the reasoning power of man so as to call it forth in its largest development, is that which must prove most favorable both to morality and religion, as certainly as that the service of both is eminently a reasonable service.' And there is abundant evidence of the truth of the assumption. If we go into any of our large towns we shall find that their inhabitants, by voluntary efforts, have erected many churches and chapels, and by the support of town missionaries, the establishment of Sunday schools, the distribution of tracts, &c., are earnestly engaged in the promotion of religion. In many instances the rural districts are indebted to the pious zeal of their commercial fellow-countrymen for means of religious and moral advancement which they would otherwise be totally destitute of. It was the religious feeling of the citizens of our great cities that abolished slavery; and it is the wealth arising from our commerce that chiefly supports the various societies, existing in this kingdom, for the evangelization of the world.

It is freely admitted that villages have all the advantage of the influence of the higher classes being exerted to secure attention to the forms of religion. In a large population such influence cannot be used. The operatives, on the Sabbath, are

left to themselves, and their employers have not the power, even though they had the will, to compel their attendance upon religious services. The agricultural population are so entirely dependent upon the squire of the parish, and at the same time so completely under his notice, that he, or the clergyman, has no difficulty in securing a tolerably regular attendance at church. But the vitality of religion is rarely found. Superstition goes hand in hand with ignorance, and the routine worship has no power to emancipate the mind of the rustic laborer from its impure and degrading sympathies.

‘If you look,’ says Dr. Vaughan, ‘to any space embracing some twenty thousand agriculturalists, it will be found that the number of them who altogether neglect public worship is not inconsiderable; and let the religious intelligence, and the religious feeling of the numbers who do attend such worship, be compared with those of the same number attending as worshippers in the churches and chapels of our towns and cities, and in this respect, as in almost every other, the scale will be seen to turn greatly in favor of a city population.’—p. 308.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise that Roman catholicism is more prevalent in agricultural countries than in civic communities. Commerce, which gives the mind a keen perception of the realities of life, and promotes a spirit of investigation and independence, has no sympathy with the puerility of saintly miracles, or with the blind obedience required by an intolerant priesthood. The tendency of Roman catholicism is passive and stationary, that of commerce is active and progressive. The natural results of this discrepancy are visible in every European state. And here we cannot do better than quote the excellent observations of ‘A Manchester Manufacturer,’ (now well known to be Mr. Cobden,) in his work on ‘England, Ireland, and America.’ ‘Probably,’ he remarks, ‘there is no country in which the effects of the Catholic and Reformed religions upon the temporal career of communities may be more fairly tested than in Switzerland. Of twenty-two cantons, ten are, in the majority of the population, Catholic; eight Protestant; and the remaining four are mixed, in nearly equal proportions of Protestants and Catholics. *Those cantons in which the Catholic faith prevails are wholly pastoral* in their pursuits, possessing no commerce or manufacturing industry beyond the rude products of domestic labour. Of the *mixed* cantons three are engaged in the manufacture of cotton; and *it is a remarkable feature in the industry of these, that the Catholic portion of their population is wholly addicted to agricultural, and the Protestant section to commercial pursuits. All the eight Protestant cantons are, more or less, engaged in manufactures.* Nor must we omit to add, which every traveller in Switzerland will have seen, that in the educa-

tion of the people, the cleanliness of the towns, the commodiousness of the inns, and the quality of the roads, the Protestant cantons possess a great superiority over their Catholic neighbours — whilst such is the difference in the value of land, that an estate in Friburg, a Catholic canton possessing a richer soil than that of Berne, from which it is divided only by a rivulet, is worth one-third less than the same extent of property in the latter Protestant district.'

Similar illustrations might be taken from France, Germany, &c.; and, nearer home, we may find in Ireland a wretched and Catholic population devoted to agriculture, whilst her staple manufacture is almost entirely confined to the Protestant district.

The above considerations have led us to believe that the progress of the Reformation depended, in no slight degree, upon great cities, and had not these existed, it seems highly probable that the fervid zeal of a Luther or of a Melancthon, would have failed in overthrowing the ignorant superstition of a scattered European population bound in the chains of feudalism. We have no hesitation in asserting that purity of religion depends, in a vast measure, upon the continued existence and expansion of commercial towns. Great cities are as much opposed to religious feudalism as to civil. Puseyism may spread amongst the class with whose prejudices it is accordant, and whose pride it gratifies, as investing them with 'apostolic succession,' and priestly power, and it may receive some support from our rural population, but it will meet with no sympathy in our manufacturing communities. Let our great cities prosper, and we fear not for the rights and the blessings of protestantism. Let them be crushed by wicked laws and absurd restrictions upon trade, and the superstitious in religion, with the barbarism of society, will speedily follow.

It now only remains for us to consider great cities in relation to the physical condition of their inhabitants. And we are aware that the opponents of our commercial system, often point to large towns as being destructive to health, comfort, and social enjoyments. The labour in factories is denounced as the fertile cause of disease, and the destitution of vast numbers of the civic community is made a charge against the humanity of mill-owners, or is described as the necessary result of a crowded population. Then the country is pointed to as a contrast, and we are favoured with poetic images and visionary ideas about the comforts of a thatched cottage, and the beneficence of land-owners, with many other pleasing descriptions of the Arcadian felicity of rural life. In these representations there is a vast amount of error. The sunny side of the village picture is paraded,

whilst its darker features are hidden. On the other hand, certain evils found in great cities, are exaggerated, or are attributed to wrong causes. In attempting to arrive at the truth, we must necessarily be brief, and content ourselves with suggestive reflections instead of more elaborate discussion.

First, then, in judging of the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully distinguish between those which *necessarily attach to them*, and those which it would be *quite possible to remove*. Thus, there is an immense amount of disease and mortality occasioned in towns through the want of proper drainage, ventilation, &c. The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of the labouring population, has brought to light details of the most appalling description. 'It appears that in one year, 56,461 persons are carried off in England and Wales by epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases, including fever, typhus, and scarlatina. This is as if Westmoreland or Huntingdon were entirely depopulated annually. The great proportion of this mortality is entirely ascribable to causes which are *removable*.' The commissioners recommend certain measures to be adopted, which, there appears every reason to believe, would materially improve the sanitary condition of the labouring classes. It is to be hoped, therefore, that government will speedily give effect to the wise regulations proposed in the Report. But even the evils of the nature above referred to, are not confined to our great cities. Mr. T. H. Smith, surgeon to the Bromley Union, states that 'it is almost incredible that so many sources of malaria should exist in a rural district. A total absence of all provision for effectual drainage around cottages, is the most prominent source of malaria. The refuse vegetable and animal matters, are also thrown by the cottagers in heaps near their dwellings to decompose; are sometimes not removed except at very long intervals; and are always permitted to remain sufficiently long to accumulate in some quantity. Pigsties are generally near the dwellings, and are always surrounded by decomposing matters. These constitute some of the many sources of malaria, and peculiarly deserve attention as being easily remedied.' Other evidence, of a similar character, is given.

It is made a charge against great cities, that they abound in pauperism, and our readers need not be told that, at the present time, the manufacturing districts are suffering under an unparalleled state of depression. All our towns are filled with destitution and misery. Many of their inhabitants, crowded together in damp cellars, exposed to noxious physical influences, and unable to procure the common necessaries of life, gradually sink under their privations, or are carried off by typhus fever and other

diseases. But can we suppose that these evils are the necessary result of our manufacturing system, or that they are to be attributed to the 'overgrowth' of our great cities? The assumption would be a libel upon the goodness of Providence. God, who said to man, 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' has also provided bread for the industry of man to earn. That class, therefore, who, for selfish purposes of their own, withhold the blessing, are solemnly responsible for the vast amount of destitution, at present existing in our civic communities.

Secondly, in judging of the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully avoid being misled by the *many exaggerated statements* which it suits the purpose of some parties to make. Many such statements have reference to the cruelty of manufacturers towards their workpeople, which is a theme that often excites the declamatory powers of the feudalists. They fall into the common mistake of believing that they can cover their own transgressions by blackening the character of others, and *they desire, also, to weaken the power of great cities by sowing disunion and strife amongst their inhabitants*. Now, we do not claim for the manufacturers, as a body, the highest virtues, or imagine that their character is wholly devoid of defects. But this we do say, that the charges against them have been greatly exaggerated, and that single instances of tyrannous conduct, on the part of a few, have been unjustly regarded as the attributes of all. Our own acquaintance with many of their 'order,' enables us fully to confirm the honourable testimony borne in their favour by Dr. Cooke Taylor, whose remarks we quoted on a former occasion.* Much of the apparent severity exercised towards the operative classes, has been entirely occasioned by the depression of trade. Reduction of wages, which is often so much talked about, can only be effected when the supply of labour exceeds the demand. The blame, therefore, rests with the laws which decrease employment, or rather with the supporters of them, and not with the manufacturers.

As an illustration of the manner in which a 'case' is attempted to be got up against the manufacturers, we may refer to the evidence given before the committee appointed last session, on the motion of Mr. Ferrand, to inquire into the 'payment of wages,' or, in other words, the 'truck system.' We have now the Report of the Committee before us, and it abounds in evidence of the most faulty and questionable character. It will, perhaps, be interesting to give one or two examples. A person of the name of Autey, one of Mr. Ferrand's witnesses, is asked, [Q. 113] 'Do you, yourself, know of any shops which are kept

* E. R. vol. xii. (No. 6,) pp. 459, 460.

by manufacturers for the purpose of distributing goods to the workpeople?—and the answer is, ‘I know of shops only from the evidence of persons who got the goods from the shops; *I never saw the shops myself.*’ The same witness underwent the following examination, which is very instructive:—

[Q. 83.] ‘How long is it since you began to inquire into this practice?—Since about Whitsuntide this year, and the week before; *it was the time when Mr. Ferrand brought this motion forward.*’

[Q. 84.] ‘Not previously to the present Parliament?—No.’

[Q. 85.] ‘Then your knowledge is all of recent date?—Yes.’

Another man, also summoned by Mr. Ferrand, underwent the following examination:—

[Q. 298.] ‘What is the expression which the workpeople at Bingley use now when they are in their master’s books?—I have heard working men remark, that they were not safe to retain employment unless they were in their ‘masters’ ribs.’

[Q. 299.] ‘What is the meaning of that expression, ‘their masters’ ribs’?—It is in debt to their master.’

[Q. 300.] ‘Have you heard that in Bingley?—Yes, in a great many instances.’

[Q. 301.] ‘Are there not some very respectable masters in Bingley?—Yes, for anything I know to the contrary.’

[Q. 302.] ‘It is not all the masters that do this in Bingley?—No, *only one.*’

[Q. 307.] ‘Do you know the master under whom the man worked who was paid seven years by truck?—No; I know his name.’

[Q. 308.] ‘Do you know whether he has a shop?—Yes.’

[Q. 309.] ‘Have you seen the shop yourself?—*I have not*, but the workmen stated that he had a shop.’

Notwithstanding their evident desire to support, as far as possible, Mr. Ferrand’s allegations, his witnesses are compelled to acknowledge that the truck system is not by any means prevalent, but is confined to a few small manufacturers. One of them, in reply to the question [951] ‘Did you ever hear of any concern at *Manchester* that carries on the truck system?’ answers, ‘Yes, there is *one*, of my own knowledge;’ and in the immense town of Manchester, besides that one shop, ‘he never knew any of them.’ Several witnesses, clergymen, and others, give evidence of the existence of the truck system in rural districts.

Had we space, we might quote statistical tables, on medical authorities, which would amply demonstrate that the belief in the unhealthy tendencies of factory employment has little or no foundation. Two highly important papers on this subject were read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Manchester. One, ‘On the Vital Statistics of the Spinners and Piecers employed in the Fine Spinning Mills of Manchester,’ was

contributed by Mr. Alderman Shuttleworth, who was requested to undertake the inquiry, 'as a person wholly unconnected with the spinning business, and having no interested feeling in the result of the investigation.' The other paper was 'On the Influence of the Factory System in the development of Pulmonary Consumption,' by Mr. Noble, an eminent medical practitioner, resident in Manchester. The conclusions of both gentlemen are the same, and satisfactorily prove that factory labour has no direct tendency to produce disease. In the course of the discussion which followed Mr. Shuttleworth's paper, it was stated by Mr. E. Chadwick, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, that at the village of Catrine, in Ayrshire, it had been ascertained that the annual rate of mortality was only 1 in 54, and that *in the mills of Deanston the health of the operatives was far superior to that of the surrounding rural population*. Statistical inquiries on this subject had been recently made in Austria with the most satisfactory results. The average sickness among the operatives was found to be only $3\frac{1}{2}$ days per annum, which is not quite half of the average sickness in Mr. Shuttleworth's Tables.

And, lastly, in receiving statements respecting the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully investigate *the quarter from whence they proceed*. From our own knowledge, we can testify that in manufacturing towns those who are the loudest in their denunciations of manufacturers, and the factory system, are *seldom factory operatives*. They are generally men who have obviously a purpose to serve, and who attempt to secure influence with the people by exciting their worst passions, and by vilifying the character of their employers. Recent events have shown that some of these men are paid by the landowners. Their violent addresses meet with support, *principally*, from that large class of men who, owing to the depression of trade, are *without means of employment*, and are therefore easily exasperated. In prosperous times these unprincipled 'agitators' are never heard of.

There is this great difference between the relative position of manufacturers and farmers towards their workpeople. In large towns, when a grievance exists the people assemble together, and are loud in their complaints, petitions are often sent to Parliament, and a large amount of public attention is immediately secured. But the agricultural labourers are too scattered to act in concert. Being completely under the dominion of their superiors they are compelled to submit, without an audible murmur, to inflictions of the most severe character, and it is only when driven to desperation that by midnight incendiarism they startle the public to a consideration of the extent of their grievances.

We are, however, in possession of facts which at once destroy the illusions about 'Arcadian felicity,' at all events as far as the agricultural labourers are concerned. We may often hear about 'neat cottages embosomed in trees,' but we are not told of such cottages as are found on the estate of Mr. Bankes, the member for Dorset, and which are 'dug out of the hill-side, with no masonry about them, but a roughly-reared front wall. The furniture in those places is as mean as the structure containing it, and the inhabitants are as uncivilized as either. There is barely room to stand upright in them; and in one apartment persons of both sexes, of all ages, are huddled together, with a scanty covering, consisting partly of the clothes worn in the day, and partly of rags that would shame the name of blankets or sheets. The medical officer to the Poor Law Union made a report last November, stating *these places to be unfit for human habitations*, which report was *not then attended to*; but in *consequence of diseases being contracted, which cannot be cured while the patient continues in them*, this gentleman *has again reported the evils arising from them to public health.*' We might add other facts, but it is sufficient to mention, what is universally known, that the *fully-employed* labourers throughout the rural districts can scarcely support life upon their miserable pittance, and that the condition of vast numbers who are only partially employed, or who are entirely without work, is too melancholy for adequate description.

During the prosperous years of 1834-5, large numbers of agricultural labourers migrated to the manufacturing districts, and the feelings of these people are well shown by some of the statements given in the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the borough of Stockport. We shall select one instance. 'Thomas White, labourer; wife and eleven children; five of them, only, under working age; the eldest girl, 21. We found the woman at home; united earnings of the family 50s. a week. She appeared in great spirits, and being asked whether she would like to go back to the South, said *she would rather be transported.*' And even those who are now without means of employment, and are in a destitute condition, evince the greatest antipathy to being 'transported' to their native villages. This fact speaks volumes.

Great cities, viewed in relation to the physical condition of their inhabitants, have all the advantages arising from association. Dispensaries, Infirmaries, and other institutions for providing gratuitous medical aid to the poorer classes, are found in every large town. In such localities, also, Night Asylums, Strangers' Friend Societies, and many other charitable associations are extensively supported. Indeed, it would be scarcely

possible to name the variety of forms in which the wealthier inhabitants of large towns unite for benevolent purposes. And then, too, there are sick clubs and friendly societies, supported by the operatives themselves, by means of which they make provisions for the relief of the physical evils to which they are exposed. The number of such societies, in this kingdom, is immense, and is highly gratifying, as it manifests an honourable independence of mind, which leads the operatives to shrink from receiving parochial relief. It would be difficult to estimate the vast amount of good arising from the provision, which is thus made, for cases of illness and misfortune. But it is obvious that amongst a scattered population, institutions of the nature above referred to cannot be adequately supported, and are consequently rarely found.

It would appear, then, from all that has been advanced, that great cities are, on the whole, highly promotive of the intelligence, morals, religion, and physical comforts of the community; and that many of the evils which at present characterize them arise either from causes which might be removed, or from the operation of bad laws which ought to be abolished. It is our firm conviction that all classes benefit, more or less, from the existence of large towns. Nor do we except the landowners. The extension of manufacturing towns cannot take place without greatly increasing the value of the land upon which they are built. An instance of this is afforded by the forest of Rossendale, in Lancashire. That forest might have been more in accordance with feudal tastes when it was covered with noble oaks, and abounded in deer. But, mark the change! After it was disforested, in the time of James I., the annual rental was valued at 122*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*,—now, in consequence of the progress of manufactures, the annual value is estimated at 50,035*l.* A single acre is, at the present time, more valuable than were the whole 15,300 acres in the days of King James. Nor is this the only mode in which the landowners are benefited. Dr. Vaughan well remarks:—

‘ Every region that has become the home of such cities has become the home of an improved agriculture. This has resulted in part from the wealth of cities; but still more from their mechanical and scientific skill. In this manner it has been often reserved to cities to convert the desert into a garden, and to give to the richer soils of the earth the aspect of a paradise. The science extended to agriculture by the Babylonians and Egyptians, by the Carthaginians, and by the Moslems of Spain, was hardly less conspicuous than the wonders which adorned the capitals of their respective territories. The owners of land, accordingly, have always had a deep interest in the prosperity of cities; and when such persons begin to regard cities with jealousy, and become employed

in defaming them, in cramping their resources, and in endeavouring to reduce them to a state of weakness and passiveness, they become chargeable with the baseness of ingratitude, or with the madness of self-destruction. Lands which bring forth a hundred-fold in place of thirty-fold, they owe to the science of cities; and sales which give them a high price for their produce in place of a low one, they owe to the wealth of cities.'—pp. 108, 109.

It is melancholy to think that our landowners are thus 'chargeable with the baseness of ingratitude, and with the madness of self-destruction.' We have been anxious, therefore, to lay before our readers the considerations contained in this article, as we regard the struggle which now shakes the kingdom to its centre, as of no slight import. It is a struggle between feudalism and commerce—between the few, jealous for their privileges and their 'vested rights,' and the many, active, intelligent, and persevering—between mental thralldom and freedom of opinion. The Corn Law is an embodiment of the feudal principle; so also is Puseyism, now fast spreading in our Established Church, with which it is in perfect unison; and the recent attack upon our rights by the Education Bill had a similar origin. The supporters of 'the old' are throwing their entire influence and energies into the scale: it behoves, then, every friend to 'the new' course of society to be earnest and zealous. Our dearest rights, civil and religious, are at stake; and the fall of great cities, with the commerce which gave rise to them, would make the people once more the serfs and vassals of the nobles, and the slaves of the priesthood. But we have no such gloomy forebodings. Confident in the power of great cities, and of that enlightened public opinion, whose current is now flowing rapidly in favour of religious and civil equality, we look forward with full anticipations to a triumphant issue.

Brief Notices.

Dominici Diodati, J. C. Neapolitani de Christo Græce loquente Exercitatio; qua ostenditur Græcam sive Hellenisticam linguam cum Judæis omnibus, tum ipsi adeo Christo Domino et Apostolis, nativam ac vernaculam fuisse. Neapoli, MDCCLXVII. [*Greek the language of Christ; an Essay, in which it is shown that the Greek, or Hellenistic language, was native and vernacular as well to all the Jews as to our Lord Christ himself and the Apostles.* By Dominick Diodati. Naples, 1767.] Edited, with a preface, by Orlando T. Dobbin, LL. B., Trinity College, Dublin. London: J. Gladding.—pp. 24—187.

THE subject of this essay is sufficiently indicated by the title of which we have given a literal translation. The work appears to have excited

great interest at the time of its publication, but it has since become so scarce, that very few scholars in the present day know anything of it, except from the report of others; and Mr. Dobbin informs us that even the library of the British Museum does not contain a copy. Mr. Dobbin having the good fortune to become possessed of the book, rightly judged that he should perform an acceptable service by presenting it to the public in a cheap and convenient form, 'On the substantial truth of the hypothesis of the learned author,' Mr. Dobbin says, 'no less than on the extreme scarcity of his book, do we ground the justification of our reprint.' For our own part, we are content with the latter of these two grounds of justification, and we tender our sincere thanks to the Editor for having given us the opportunity of judging for ourselves of Diodati's scheme, a service which all who examine the book will acknowledge he has performed in a manner as creditable to his taste as to his scholarship. We cannot now enter into any lengthened dissertation respecting the substantial truth of Diodati's hypothesis; nor do we think the subject requires that we should. It is, we believe, generally admitted that the Greek language prevailed very extensively among the Jews in the time of our Lord, but few biblical critics in the present day would regard Diodati's position—that it was the *only* language spoken—as at all tenable. Though Mr. Dobbin maintains more strongly than we should be inclined to do the currency of the Greek as compared with the Aramaic, he does not fail to perceive that his author has carried his exclusive hypothesis too far, and we cannot but think that he does, after all, give up Diodati's main principle, when he admits that the Aramaic was spoken at all. We cordially recommend the work to the notice of Biblical scholars, and doubt not that they will thank Mr. Dobbin for thus enabling them to examine for themselves the most considerable work written on this side of the controversy.

Immortality: its Real and Alleged Evidences; being an Endeavour to ascertain how far the Future Existence of the Human Soul is discoverable by Reason. By J. T. Gray, Ph. D. London: G. & J. Dyer.

This is a little book, comprising only about 30 pages of letter press, and very cheap; but it contains materials which a mere book-maker would have contrived to swell into a half-guinea volume. We can say of it—what reviewers cannot often say of the works they criticise—that we have read it repeatedly, and mean to read it again.

The treatises which the author has chiefly examined, in order to discover the testimony of reason on the question of the soul's immortality, are the *Phædo* of Plato, the *Tusculanæ Disputationes* of Cicero, and an *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, by Samuel Drew. He has also brought into view the most popular arguments of Addison, Young, and Butler.

Some of his readers will probably be disposed to shrink from a few of his conclusions; but every competent reader will be highly gratified by the erudition of the work, and by its searching and acute logic. To all young preachers, and especially to those who may be too ready to

yield assent to the profound verbiage of Mr. Drew, or to the poetical rhetoric of Dr. Young, we strongly recommend a perusal of Dr. Gray's pamphlet. It has reached a second edition.

Letters on the Slave Trade, Slavery, and Emancipation; with a Reply to objections made to the Liberation of the Slaves in the Spanish Colonies; addressed to Friends on the Continent of Europe, during a Visit to Spain and Portugal. By G. W. Alexander. London: Charles Gilpin.

Mr. Alexander is well known amongst abolitionists as one of the most zealous and energetic of their ranks. His official position as treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, necessarily brings him into constant connexion with whatever affects the welfare, or promises to advance the freedom of the African race, and he is known to limit his exertions within no official bounds, but on all occasions, in season and out of season, to labour with the simplicity and zeal of an apostle for the promotion of his cherished object. The little volume now before us, was written during a visit to the Peninsula in 1842, with a view of putting the Continental friends of emancipation into possession of the history of the case, and of awakening their zeal, to co-operate with the enemies of slavery in this country. The volume consists of eight letters, which give the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, as also the Abolition of Slavery in some Foreign States—the Progress of the Anti-slavery Cause in England—the Results of Emancipation—the State of Foreign Slavery and the Slave Trade—the General Prospects of the Great Cause—and an Answer to Objections touching the Emancipation of the Spanish Slaves.

On all these topics copious information is supplied in a clear and simple style, while the spirit which pervades the letters is at once humane, enlightened, and fervent; partaking of the temper of Christianity and honourable to the profession of the author. We thank Mr. Alexander for this additional contribution to the cause of philanthropy, and trust that its circulation will be productive of all the benefits anticipated from its publication.

The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. VII. Containing Sermons preached on various and particular occasions. London: C. A. Bartlett.

In a characteristic preface to this volume—the only fault of which is its brevity—the estimable author meets the objections which he anticipates to the republication of sermons, originally printed singly, and some of them nearly half a century since. Few of our readers will need any such defence, as all the productions of Mr. Jay's pen are distinguished by qualities of permanent value, and will long be cherished as amongst the most useful works of modern times. There is a practical cast in his writings, an intimate knowledge of the human heart, and of the adaptation of religious truth to its necessities, a directness of aim, and a refreshing confidence in the fulness and adequacy of divine mercy to the

beneficent ends which it contemplates, that must always render them the welcome companion and instructive guides of religious readers.

The volume before us, constituting the seventh of his uniform works, contains fourteen sermons preached on various occasions, from the year 1801 to 1833, and will meet with a hearty reception from a large class of readers. Some of these sermons are already well known and highly prized, and we are glad that their author has been induced to give them to us in this collected and more permanent form. There are few men whose words are so full of the wisdom which cometh from above, and without proposing him as a model to our younger ministers, we should be glad to perceive in their pulpit labours proofs of their familiarity with the writings of so able a master.

Sea Sermons, or Plain Addresses intended for Public Worship on board of Merchant Vessels, and for Private Use among Seamen and Plain People. By the Rev. Richard Marks. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1843.

Unpretending and simple addresses on various passages of Scripture, by one who has known the dangers and temptations of a seafaring life. Our seamen, notwithstanding recent efforts for their improvement, have still large claims on the sympathy and regard of British Christians. This volume is printed in good bold type, and is adapted in many respects to accomplish its design. The sermons are twenty-four in number, and on many of the principal and most important topics of revealed truth. Twenty-four forms of prayer for the use of seamen are appended to them.

Memoirs of the Life, Ministry, and Character of the Rev. Wm. Jones, late Wesleyan Minister; with Sketches of his Sermons. By the Rev. Richard Rymer. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1842.

We doubt not that there may be many excellent persons who will peruse this book with profit and pleasure. For ourselves, we thought there was a propriety in placing on the title page the words of Dr. Johnson, 'I have often thought that there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful.' The subject of this narrative seems to have been a pious and laborious minister of the gospel in connexion with the Wesleyan body. We cannot help thinking that his memoir might have appeared in the pages of some periodical rather than presented itself as a separate volume. It is, for the most part, an autobiography, Mr. Jones being, as we learn from the preface, a very copious writer. His manuscripts consisted of 'a short memoir of the first fifty-five years of his life, a diary and copies of letters, memorandums, eleven volumes of sermons, and sketches of sermons, two folio volumes on various subjects, and a large quantity of original poetry.'

We thank the compiler for his judgment in compressing within so narrow a compass his selections from such copious materials.

Elements of Universal History, on a New and Systematic Plan, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Vienna, for the use of Schools and Private Students. By H. White, A. B. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

A highly useful manual of history. The compiler employs an arrangement of historical facts according to centuries, which seems to us simple and adapted, by bringing together events occurring in intimate relation to each other, to furnish materials for studying, that which Guizot and others have so eloquently and ably expounded, the philosophy of history. Readers will find, it is true, in the volume generally a bare outline of facts, exclusive of remark concerning them, or exposition of principles, but inasmuch as the design was to provide a portable school book, these could scarcely be expected. The book contains, in a clear and accessible form, the substance of many volumes, and the judgment of the author appears equally in its omissions and contents. We live in an age when, for practical purposes, the study of the past is of the utmost importance towards the right interpretation of the present, and shall be glad if the diligent use of works such as this prepares the minds of the young, by furnishing them with the knowledge of facts, for comprehending those general laws and earnest thoughts of which historical events form only the illustration and expression.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Mr. Howitt is preparing a new volume of his *Visits to Remarkable Places*. It will comprise visits to the birthplaces and tombs of the celebrated English poets, and will be illustrated similarly to the preceding volumes.

Just Published.

On the Atonement of Christ, considered in Relation to its Extent, comprehending, with General Remarks, a Brief Examination of certain Statements in the Evangelical Magazine. By John Petthesick.

A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the United Dioceses of Ossary Ferns and Leighlin, at his Primary Visitation in September, 1842. By James Thomas O'Brien, Bishop of Ossary Ferns and Leighlin.

The History of Literature; or the Rise and Progress of Language, Writing, and Letters, from the Earliest Ages of Antiquity to the Present Time. Vol. 1. By Sir William Boyd, A.M., M.D.

Thoughts on Thomas Carlyle; or a Commentary on the Past and Present. By R. B. E.

A Historico Geographical Account of Palestine in the Time of Christ; or the Bible Student's Help to a thorough Knowledge of Scripture. By Dr.

John Fred. Röhr. Translated by the Rev. D. Esdaile. (Biblical Cabinet, No. 43.)

The Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts—Philosophical Series—Murdock's Sketches of Modern Philosophy.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare—William Shakspeare. A Biography. part 9.

Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with Extracts from his Writings, and from Dispatches in the State Paper Office never before published. By John Smith, Esq. 2 vols.

The Empire of the Czar; or Observations on the Social, Political, and Religious State and Prospects of Russia, made during a Journey through that Empire. By the Marquis de Castine. Translated from the French. 3 vols.

Fifty Sermons delivered by the Rev. Robert Hall, M.A., chiefly during the last Five Years of his Ministry. From Notes taken at the Time of their Delivery. By the Rev. Thomas Grinfield, M.A. Second edition.

First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, including an Examination of Several Recent Expositions and of the Year-Day Theory. By the Rev. F. R. Birks.

The French School, Part I, *Le Echo de Paris*; a Selection of Familiar Phrases, with Vocabulary. By M. Lepage.

Immanuel; or God with us: a Series of Lectures on the Divinity and Humanity of our Lord, &c. By Richard Bingham, Jun., M.A.

The System of Late Hours in Business: its Evils, its Causes, and its Cure. By Arthur J. King.

Letters from Madras during the years 1836—1839. By a Lady.

The Teacher's Companion; designed to exhibit the Principles of Sunday School Instruction and Discipline. By R. N. Collins.

Helps to English Grammar; or Easy Exercises for Young Children. By G. F. Graham.

Piety the Best Patriotism: a Sermon occasioned by the Decease of the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., preached at Craven Chapel by J. Leifchild, D.D. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. By John Kitto. Part V.

The Philosophy of Training; with Suggestions on the Necessity of Normal Schools, for Teachers to the Wealthier Classes. By A. R. Craig.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the New Testament. By Albert Barnes. Vol. V. 1 Corinthians.

The President's Daughters, including Nina. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. Part I. 3 vols.

Lectures on Tractarian Theology. By John Stoughton.

A Charge delivered at the Ordinary Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Chichester, in July, 1843. By Henry Edward Manning, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester.

Bicentenary of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, held at Edinburgh 12th and 13th of July, 1843; containing a Full and Authentic Report of the Addresses and Conversations, with Introductory Sermons by the Rev. Dr. Lymington.

Inaugural Lecture, written for the Opening of the British and Foreign Institute, and delivered August 2, 1843, at the Hanover Square Rooms.

A Plea for Liberty of Education: a Second Letter to Sir James Graham, Bart., on the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill. By John Howard Hinton, M.A.

A Letter to the Bishops of the Church of England on the Necessity of Liturgical Adjustment, arising from the Principles and Practice of the School of Tractarian Theology.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1843.

Art. I. *Des Alliances possibles de la Reine d'Espagne.* Par le Baron Billing. Paris.

ONE of those political cameleons so numerous in France has just undertaken the task of demonstrating to Europe that a son of Louis Philippe is the only person fit to be the husband of the young Queen of Spain, and capable of securing the tranquillity and happiness of the Spaniards. Baron Billing, who was the confidential secretary of Prince Polignac when ambassador, and afterwards prime minister, was met immediately after the revolution of July in the salons of the new minister for foreign affairs, and got appointed first secretary of embassy at Naples. A few years afterwards he was recalled, and, till now, remained unemployed. This explains the principal object of his present performance.

We will not examine the speculative lucubrations of the Baron; our readers would take very little interest in such a discussion. It is better, to show the claims of Louis Philippe and his family to the government of Spain, by exhibiting the origin and causes of the succession of calamities which have befallen that beautiful but unhappy country.

The arrival of the Constitutional Regent of Spain in this country, as a refugee, in consequence of one of those insurrections so frequent in the Iberian peninsula, is of course represented as another practical demonstration of the evils resulting from the establishment of a Constitution, and of the unfitness of the Spaniards for political freedom. It supersedes for a while the use of worn-out arguments, derived from the catastrophes of the French Revolution, to terrify the people into resignation to their present condition, rather than advance any further in that career of innovations which invariably ends in the ruin of all.

We cannot allow such representations to go forth uncontradicted. We must not let these accusations against the Spaniards and against the true representative system of government, remain unconfuted; and, having for the last thirty years been attentive observers, and frequently in some sort actors, in the events of which Spain was the theatre, we are bound to declare and to demonstrate that it is not to the Spanish people, but to the bad faith and to the intrigues of foreign governments, and principally of the French King, that Spain owes all her misfortunes. In fulfilling our task, we will say nothing but what we have personally witnessed, or what we have the very best authority for affirming.

Ever since the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty on the Spanish throne, the country has been in a state of progressive decay, owing to its bigoted and absurd government. At the beginning of the French revolutionary wars in 1792 and 1793, the King of Spain joined the coalition of the European Sovereigns against the new Republic; but he was soon put *hors de combat*, and compelled to remain in close alliance with the successive rulers of France until 1807, when a new era opened upon the Spanish peninsula.

A stupid King, a most profligate Queen, three badly educated and heartless children, an adulterous and overbearing favourite exercising the royal authority, and a Court unparalleled for immorality and venality; such was the Spanish monarchy when English and French interests and intrigues entered into competition at Madrid. The result of that competition was the attempt of Ferdinand on the crown, and perhaps the life, of his father; the surrender of the whole family to Napoleon; the invasion of the country, and that war of independence which first tarnished the star of the French conqueror and prepared his ruin.

In Spain, as everywhere else in Europe and also in America, whilst the Courts and the aristocracies remained in their habitual ignorance, the doctrines of the eighteenth century had enlightened the minds of a large portion of the people, and had widely promulgated amongst them the rights and the duties of men. The Spaniards began by doing their duty. Deserted by their King and his family, they nobly fought for the independence of their country, and even for the maintenance on the throne, of that family which had proved so unworthy of it. At the same time, being warned by the wretched state of their once glorious and prosperous country, and still more so by the events which had involved them in such a desperate conflict, of the disastrous results of absolute power, they claimed the right of controlling the exercise of the royal authority, and of confining it within its just limits. Oh! it was a noble spectacle, to see

the faithful representatives of Spain, blocked up in Cadiz, their last retreat, surrounded by a numerous army accustomed to conquer, discussing the constitutional laws of the Spanish Monarchy, uninterrupted by the thundering roar of the artillery which shook the walls of their palace, and determining the conditions on which they should restore to Ferdinand the crown of a country which was almost entirely conquered, when in the name of liberty they had expelled the conqueror.

For once, the good cause triumphed. No doubt, the assistance of England greatly contributed to its triumph; and no Spaniard will deny that, but for that assistance, Spain would have been subdued. At the same time, it must be admitted that Spain had entered into that unparalleled contest, not only at the instigation of England, but also at a time when the imperial and kingly allies of Great Britain had all, in turn, abandoned her; and that, had it not been for the determined resistance of the Spaniards, England would have been left alone to contend against Napoleon in alliance with all the princes of the continent, or compelled to submit to a humiliating peace. This is undeniable; and we unhesitatingly declare, that Europe owes to Spain an irredeemable debt of gratitude.

How was that debt repaid? The fall of Napoleon had freed all the royal slaves of the European continent. They all, without exception, no sooner found their crowns secured on their heads, than they conspired to enslave their liberators. No age ever witnessed such a general display of imperial and royal ingratitude and immorality. Twenty-nine years have elapsed since that epoch; and yet, at the thought of the nefarious transactions of those crowned conspirators, we still burn with the same uncontrollable indignation with which we first viewed them. The dastards who had so long and so repeatedly humbled themselves in the presence of the successful Corsican, who did not dare to face him arms in hand, even after the disasters of Moscow, who continued to tremble in their palaces, while their people, at the cry of freedom and national independence, were everywhere rising against foreign domination, and who at last yielded to the popular impulse, from fear of other dangers, and followed their enthusiastic phalanges with promises of representative constitutions,—these pusillanimous princes were hardly rescued from their degrading vassalage, when they broke all their engagements, insolently proclaimed their divine right to misrule the people at pleasure, and, in order to secure one another against the consequences of their tyrannical misdeeds, entered, in the name of the Most High, into an abominable compact, which they styled the Holy Alliance!

Ferdinand VII. was not behind his imperial and royal brethren in this race of despotism. Nay, more; as he had been the most basely subservient to the tyrant of Europe, he showed himself the most tyrannical, the most cruel of all. On setting foot on the Spanish territory, he abolished the constitution, which had been acknowledged by all the governments of Europe, and under which the whole of Spain had rallied to fight and conquer for him. The authors of that constitution, the men who had signalized themselves by their talents, their courage, and their patriotism, were exiled, thrown into dungeons, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death, and executed; a few only of them escaping an ignominious doom, by fleeing into foreign countries.

That the continental despots should have countenanced these atrocious cruelties, is no matter of surprise, for it enabled them to boast of their own moderation. But England and her government, who, since 1808, had been in close alliance with Spain, and who had guaranteed the maintenance of the constitution of the country, were bound to interfere, to prevent Ferdinand from violating his promises, and from encroaching upon the acknowledged rights of his people. Unfortunately, England could do nothing. During the protracted lunacy of the king, the exercise of the royal authority had devolved upon the profligate Prince of Wales; and, while the modern Sardanapalus was devoting the whole of his faculties and of his time to the pursuit of the most disgusting pleasures, to the gratification of the most immoral propensities, the direction of foreign affairs was abandoned to the most unprincipled of political men, whose name, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, must be branded with everlasting infamy. Ferdinand was allowed to pursue his bloodthirsty career; and Great Britain, which, in concert with Spain, had prepared and achieved the liberation of Europe, was reduced to move as a satellite to the Holy Alliance!

The Spaniards could not tamely endure the tyranny of their king. Many were their attempts to free themselves from his absolute and cruel despotism, each successive attempt adding new victims to the vengeance of the savage monarch, until at last, in 1820, the whole army, rising at the call of Riego and Quiroga, proclaimed the constitution of 1812, marched on Madrid, greeted everywhere by the acclamations and blessings of a grateful population, and compelled Ferdinand to renounce his pretended divine right, to submit to the national will, and to swear allegiance to the constitutional laws of the country, as the only condition on which he should exercise the royal authority.

The only matter of just reproach to the Spaniards, for their conduct at that epoch, is that they left the crown on the head

of Ferdinand ; but they were not aware then, as all the nations of the continent are now, by a long and cruel experience, of *the utter impossibility of reconciling constitutional institutions with old royal dynasties* ; and, moreover, the leaders of the revolution were anxious to give to the world an example of clemency and moderation, which, in their opinion, would contrast with the severity of the French revolutionists, allay the terror with which national insurrections are viewed, and even be an inducement to the continental sovereigns to rely on the indulgence and on the forgiveness of their people.

Here, again, they deceived themselves. The greater their circumspection, their condescension towards Ferdinand, and their leniency towards his accomplices, during the six years of his uncontrolled sway, the greater was the probability of the extension of such revolutionary principles. That the Holy Alliance clearly saw. ALL the sovereigns entered their protest against the Spanish revolution, and prepared to subdue it by immediately assembling their armies ; but, similar movements taking place successively in Naples, in Portugal, and in Piedmont, while at the same time the popular feeling in France seemed to prognosticate another outbreak, the allies were under the necessity of altering their plans, and they resolved to pave the way for military intervention by diplomatic perfidy and corruption of all kinds.

They succeeded in Piedmont, in Naples, and in Portugal ; and, towards the middle of 1822, they met in Congress at Verona, to concert the invasion of Spain, and the restoration of Ferdinand to absolute authority. The British government was still in close alliance with European tyranny. The profligate regent had become a king ; the infamous Viscount Castlereagh had not improved in character on assuming the higher title of Marquis of Londonderry, and was still minister for foreign affairs. The rest of the ministry were equally hostile to popular institutions, and readily took part in the royal confederacy against the liberties of Spain. The Duke of Wellington was considered by them as the most proper person for representing them in the councils of the royal conspirators ; and his Grace was sent to Verona as the plenipotentiary of England.

But the people of England were indignant at the meditated attack against an independent nation, which had so bravely fought for the common cause. All the organs of public opinion, without exception, united in the most severe censure upon the compliance of the government of a free country with the pretensions of foreign despots. Public men of all parties agreed in deprecating the threatened invasion, and in denouncing, as a violation of the principles of the British constitution, the part

taken by the minister in the proceedings of the Holy Alliance. Lord Londonderry seemed to have no alternative, but either to go all lengths with the allies, in defiance of the voice and of the interests of England, or to oppose their views, in contrariety with his previous conduct and with his positive engagements. In either case, the unavoidable result was the disclosure of a series of shameful and libticide transactions, by the disappointed diplomats and sovereigns, or by the two houses of the British parliament, and his own expulsion from office, if not an impeachment, which no political man in England had ever more richly deserved. His guilt preying upon his mind, and the certainty of nominal degradation, unrelieved by any religious feelings, drove him to suicide; and he was entombed in Westminster Abbey, under a verdict of lunacy.

The news of his death stopped the British plenipotentiary in Paris, and filled with apprehension the whole band of royal conspirators; but their consternation was extreme when they heard that, in spite of the hatred of George IV., Canning, who had just proclaimed as the political gospel of our era, 'Civil and religious liberty all over the world,' was created minister for foreign affairs.

Canning would have relieved the Duke of Wellington from the fatigues of his mission, had the state of parties permitted him to do his whole duty, at the risk of personal offence to the illustrious negotiator: he was obliged to content himself with giving new instructions, according to which, his Grace was to oppose the projected invasion; and, in case the Congress should decide in favour of that measure, to protest against it, and to secede. The confessions publicly made by Chateaubriand* seem to establish that these instructions were not strictly obeyed. The invasion was resolved upon, and its execution confided to the French Government. It took place; and Ferdinand was re-installed in the plenitude of absolute power, which he exercised as he had done before, in violation of all laws, human and divine, and of his solemn promise to the Duke of Angoulême immediately after his liberation; and, as if twenty-five years of his life employed in torturing and ruining his country had not satiated his evil disposition, he, before dying, bequeathed to them, as a legacy, the germs of new calamities, and of civil and foreign wars, by abrogating the law of succession to the throne.

From all these facts, now incontrovertible, and which are every day receiving fresh confirmation from the posthumous revelations

* As nobody can rely upon the spoken or written evidence of Chateaubriand, we think it proper to give as our authorities the late Charles Butler and the late Earl of Morley.

of the actors in that horrible drama, no other consequence can be inferred than this: that the misfortunes and the convulsions which have so long afflicted, and are still afflicting Spain, are to be attributed, not to the Spanish people, but to Ferdinand, to the continental monarchs, and principally to the British government.

Ferdinand and the continental monarchs, in violating their engagements with their subjects, in opposing the establishment of representative governments, in combining to overthrow, by violence, such of those governments as were established, and in punishing with the utmost cruelty the attempts of noble-minded individuals to free their fellow-men and settle on an equitable basis the social institutions of their country, acted according to the laws of their depraved nature. Their education from their infancy, their habits, the baseness of their courts, so completely monomanize their understandings, that they know no law but the immediate gratification of all their fancies. Nothing but selfishness, pride, avarice, and violence can be expected from them. Moral sense is extinct in them; or, rather, it has never been awakened in them more than in wild beasts, to which every weaker animal seems a legitimate prey; and, such being the case, they can hardly be held responsible for the consequences, how disastrous soever, of their own actions.

But a widely different conduct was to be expected from the British government—a government resting on a revolutionary principle, on the sovereignty of the people, the right of choosing their king, on the enactment of laws by the representatives of the people, and on the execution of those laws by a responsible ministry. It is undeniable that the part taken by the ministers of the time, in the settlement of European affairs, was high treason against the British constitution.

Let it not be said that the British government could do nothing, and that it was of no moment to England whether European states obtained liberal constitutions or not. It is admitted by all men of any intelligence, that the restriction of royal authority within proper limits, the intervention of the people in the affairs of the state, and a strict controul over the administration, are the safest guarantees for the tranquillity and welfare of a country, and for her peaceful, amicable, and profitable relations with other countries. England, therefore, was interested in seeing constitutional governments established everywhere on the continent, according to the pledged faith of the allied Sovereigns.

The plea that England could do nothing to effect that purpose is no more admissible than the first objection. We all know that, from 1815 till 1823, the whole European continent was

engaged in a moral struggle against absolutism, and that such was the determination of the people in many parts of Europe, that their rulers were compelled to yield to their demands, and to grant them representative institutions. If that was done in certain countries without foreign aid, what might not have been obtained had England, taking the lead of the civilized world, proclaimed the rights of mankind, and had her statesmen unfurled seven years sooner the standard of civil and religious liberty? No European prince was in a situation to resist the just and firm claims of his subjects, backed by the moral influence of England; and, instead of the internal dissensions and national antipathies which now rage and threaten everywhere, Europe would present the consoling spectacle of an immense constitutional family united for the common welfare.

That which could easily be done on the continent, was still much easier in the Spanish peninsula; and there it was the bounden duty of England to interfere for the maintenance of that constitution which she had acknowledged, and which had so efficiently assisted her in the struggle against the French invader. Not only was not that duty fulfilled, but the usurpation of absolute authority was approved of by the Government, and imitated in Portugal by an English Viceroy. In 1822, at the Congress of Verona, already referred to, an opportunity was offered to repair the injustice of a former period. Nobody, perhaps, better than the Duke of Wellington could have deterred the Sovereigns from their abominable projects, had he told them, 'I am sent to protest, in the name of England, against your interference with Spain. Her cause is just, and it is dear to my country. It must also be particularly dear to me, who have fought for her independence with her noble-minded sons, who, with them, conquered the modern Attila, and rescued you from his domination. If you march your armies against them, you will find your generalissimo of 1815 among his old companions, ready again to fight and conquer in the same cause.'

Had such words been uttered, the hope of monarchs would have been annihilated. Spain would have been saved. The convulsions, the bloodshed, the atrocities of the last twenty years, would have been prevented. Such a victory would have eclipsed that of Waterloo; and the gratitude, not of Spain only, but also of all other nations, would have loaded with honours the old age of the man who now, for the first time in his life, mindful of the principles of the British constitution, does homage to national sovereignty by paying his respects to the exiled Regent of Spain.

Thus far we have explained the primitive causes of the series of revolutions which have convulsed Spain during the last thirty

years ; but these causes, which were at first productive of such dreadful results, have, during the last ten years, been superseded by another cause, which it is now our duty to disclose. It is no longer the Holy Alliance, though still as hostile as ever to the principles of free government ; it is no longer legitimate and absolute monarchs, who contend in Spain against the establishment and consolidation of popular institutions, for the sake of the principle of divine right. It is a revolutionary king ; it is a man whose only title to the crown is the insurrection of the people against the elder branch of his family, and the mockery of a popular election, by a portion only of the representatives who had no right to elect him, who, indeed, were no longer invested with legislative power. It is a pretended constitutional king, who, by the most corrupt devices, has succeeded in enslaving France, and who, for the last ten years, has done all in his power to extend his sway over Spain.

As it is of the utmost importance, in present circumstances, to keep in view all the transactions which have led to the late insurrection, if we desire to act as honour and duty command us to do toward our Spanish allies, it becomes indispensable to unravel all the relations of Louis Philippe with Spain.

The Duke of Orleans had, in 1797, bargained with the French government for the liberation of his two brothers, and for a pension of 12000*l.* to his mother, who had retired into Spain. On these terms the duke and his brothers pledged their honour to settle in America, and never to return to Europe, or take part in any intrigue against France. A few years afterwards he was in England, the pensioner of the British government, and was constantly annoying the ministry with plans of all sorts against the French ; in the execution of all which plans, he uniformly requested to be allowed to take a principal share. But, notwithstanding the support of General Dumouriez, (whom he prevailed upon to come over to England, at the instance of Mr. Pitt, to prepare the defence of the country against the invasion with which it was threatened in 1803,) and of Count d'Entraignes, all his attempts to play a prominent part under the British government failed. With the exception of the late Duke of Kent, who entertained for him a brotherly affection,* and of the late Mr. Canning, the rest of the royal family and the ministers distrusted him, as much as did the French exiled princes and the emigrants. So that, until the invasion of

* Nothing can equal the kindness of the Duke of Kent and of the Countess de Montgenetz (known in England as Madame St. Laurent) towards the Duke of Orleans. He had nothing which he was not ready to share with his captivating friend. He put him into possession of the lodge in the park of Hampton Court, to save him the rent of a house.

Spain by Napoleon, he was kept in a state of inaction, perfectly agonizing to a man of his character.

The insurrection of Spain against the conqueror, till then, of all the other nations of the continent, seemed at last to offer him a chance of gratifying his ambitious views; and he was determined not to let it escape. He represented to the British ministry, that, in the absence of all the members of the royal family of Spain, then prisoners of the French ruler, there was some danger of the Spaniards organizing a republican government, and that the presence in Spain of a prince of the house of Bourbon was the only means of preventing such a result; that the *Comte de Provence* (Louis XVIII.) being impotent, the *Comte d'Artois* (Charles X.) having, in all circumstances, proved himself a coward, the *Duke d'Angoulême* being an idiot, while the Duke de Berry was treading in the steps of the Duke de Bourbon, and was given up to the most degrading pleasures, there was nobody but the Duke of Orleans himself to be depended upon, to undertake the direction of the political and military operations of the Spanish nation. All this was very true; nobody could deny it; and yet, notwithstanding the advocacy of his claims by Mr. Canning, in the cabinet, the Duke of Orleans could not succeed in getting himself sent to Spain. Nay, more; he was given to understand that his undertaking that journey on his own account, would not be viewed with pleasure by the British government.

This was like sentencing his royal highness to the torments of Tantalus. A vacant throne within his grasp, which he could not seize—it was, indeed, beyond endurance. After loudly complaining of the bad policy and the injustice of the administration, the duke resolved to gain his point by other means. He sent to Spain a confidential agent, Chevalier de Broval, a gentleman of the highest abilities, and the most sincerely devoted servant that any prince ever had. He was to organize an Orleanist party, and, with the assistance of that party, to persuade the supreme junta of government to call the Duke of Orleans and invest him with the principal military command; and, in order to be ready at hand, to obey the first summons, his royal highness thought it expedient to settle at a shorter distance from the centre of his political operations.

Circumstances furnished him with an opportunity of escaping from the hospitable eyes of the British government, without losing his pension. The elder of his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier, had died in a decline;* and his second brother,

* He is buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory.

Beaujolais, was rapidly sinking under the same disease; and, in the vain hope of reviving a decayed frame under a more congenial climate, his royal highness took his brother with him to Malta, where the young prince breathed his last a short time after his arrival.

Freed, by the untimely end of his brother, from family cares, the Duke of Orleans devoted all his thoughts to his *Châteaux en Espagne*. Considering the island of Sardinia as the most appropriate waiting place, he repaired to it; and, in order the better to prepare for the result of the negotiation of his agent, he meditated a matrimonial alliance with one of the daughters of the king. But his reception was not such as he anticipated. Notwithstanding the plea of youthful impetuosity, the pardon granted by Louis XVIII., and the promise of better behaviour for the future, the obstinate King of Sardinia would recognize in him nothing but a member of the Jacobins, a republican general, and the son of the infamous EGALITE; and the doubly disappointed suitor was quickly bowed out of the island.

He repaired to Palermo, where the royal family of Naples continued to govern under the protection of England; and, thanks to Lord William Bentinck, his reception was much more favourable than he expected. The duke was not a man to neglect such an opportunity of realizing his views. He paid his court to Princess Amelia, was accepted, obtained the consent of the king, and, in a very short time after his arrival, washed off, by marriage with the daughter of a legitimate reigning Bourbon, the stigma of his republicanism in 1792 and 1793. Being already in the meridian of life, he had no time to waste in delay.

This matrimonial alliance removed all the obstacles which Chevalier de Broval had to contend with in his negotiations. The Bourbons of Naples had the priority of claim in case of a vacancy of the throne of Spain; and, by becoming the son-in-law of the king of Naples, his royal highness acquired, in some sort, a double right to interfere in Spanish affairs, for the preservation of the reversionary interests of his father-in-law, and of his own, in the Spanish crown. He was the natural representative of the two Bourbonian branches which came after Charles IV. and his children. To these considerations, the negotiator added very forcible reflections on too great a dependence upon England, which would leave the Peninsula at the mercy of her powerful ally, and of the general of the auxiliary armies; the result of which would be, to reduce Spain to that state of vassalage which had been the ruin of Portugal. To obviate such an event, the Spaniards wanted a leader interested in the preservation of the honour and independence of the Spanish

crown: such was the Duke of Orleans:—a leader of acknowledged bravery and of superior military abilities; so that, instead of being under the controul of foreign military chiefs in their own country, the Spaniards should be the principals, and the foreigners the auxiliaries, all acting under the direction of the Spanish chief: such was the Duke of Orleans:—a leader who, after the triumph, would not restore the old system of despotism, but, sincerely attached to the cause of real freedom, would support those constitutional institutions which are the birthright of the people: such was the Duke of Orleans. But, besides all these advantages, the choice of such a leader would immediately put an end to the war. The French would not fight against him. The best marshals and generals of Napoleon had been the camp companions, the friends, of his royal highness; they admired his bravery, they respected his character, they still loved his person, and, at his voice, they would abandon Napoleon. As to the soldiers, they would be but too happy, on receiving their discharge from him, to throw down their arms, to leave Spain alone, and to return to their ploughs.

The supreme junta could no longer resist the solicitations of a party which promised such results: a frigate, with two deputies, the brothers Carnerero, was sent to Palermo, to carry and present to the Duke of Orleans his appointment as Captain-General of the Spanish armies in Catalonia, and to convey him to his destination. The duke gratefully accepted the appointment, and immediately sailed for Spain. On arriving at Tarragona, he took the command, and published a proclamation to the French armies, calling upon the generals, officers, and soldiers, to yield to the friendly voice of an old comrade, to abandon the Corsican tyrant, to give peace to Europe, and repose and freedom to France.

This was hardly done, when an order came from the supreme junta at Cadiz, depriving his royal highness of his command, and enjoining him immediately to leave the country, without awaiting the effects of his proclamation. Indignant at such treatment, the Prince embarked, and went to Cadiz to obtain satisfaction from the junta. Not being allowed even to land, he wrote and sent an eloquent protest, and went back to Palermo, denouncing the perfidy of the British ministry, the jealousy of Lord Wellington, and the ingratitude of the Spaniards.

The fact is, so secret had been the negotiations, that the British ambassador knew nothing of them until the appointment of the Duke of Orleans was publicly announced. Mr. Wellesley investigated the causes of that measure, discovered all the details of the transaction, and sent the particulars to Downing-street.

The consequence was, that the junta was told that either his royal highness or the British army were to abandon Spain.*

Thus ended the first relations of the Duke of Orleans with Spain; and his royal highness determined not to return to England, where his conduct might have been closely investigated, and have exposed him to disagreeable consequences. Even in Palermo, he was not allowed that participation in the direction of political and military affairs for which he thought himself so well qualified, and his ambitious aspirations evaporated, all his hopes and wishes being limited to a restoration in France, where he would be too happy to resume his rank as first *prince du sang*. These hopes were realized in 1814. The Restoration took place. The Duke of Orleans, after some negotiations with Louis XVIII., was allowed to return to France, and was re-installed in all his dignities and possessions.

If his reception at court was cool, and even haughty, principally on the part of Louis XVIII., his royal highness found some compensation in the welcome he received from the old leaders of the French armies, Marshals Kellerman, Macdonald, Mortier, Suchet, Beurnonville, and the most distinguished generals of Napoleon, most of whom had begun their military career at the same time with him, and had fought for the same cause. He was the only member of the royal family they knew, and with whom they could have any community of feelings and opinions. The simple and familiar manner in which they were treated by him contrasted so much with the stern and proud politeness of Louis XVIII., or the evident dislike of the Count d'Artois, that the Palais Royal was by them preferred to the Thuilleries, where there was hardly room for them in the crowd of emigrants of all ranks and conditions who claimed and obtained the precedence. Besides this, the political system of the Restoration, both before and after the return of Napoleon from Elba, was well calculated to cement and to increase that partiality in favour of the Duke of Orleans, who certainly neglected no opportunity of enlisting them all in his cause.

We cannot now enter into the details of the system (it cannot be called conspiracy) adopted by the duke and his friends, to bring about a change of dynasty in France. This may become the subject of another article; and, if we have briefly alluded to

* Colonel Gurwood has curtailed the correspondence of the Duke of Wellington. In many instances, he could add some letters of his Grace relating to these transactions, which would confirm this account. Those letters were lately given to him, and yet are not included in the second edition of his work. The fear of giving offence is prejudicial not only to truth, but to the welfare of mankind. The honest and gallant Colonel, as well as the Duke, ought to be above such considerations. We want the whole truth.

those circumstances, it is only to prepare for the conclusion, that so early as in 1818 the general disposition in France was, to allow Louis XVIII. to die on his throne, but to expel Charles X., and give the crown to the Duke of Orleans. No doubt existed from that epoch that such a revolution would be accomplished, and the duke ceased to think of his eventual claims to the crown of Spain, except for a younger member of his family.

The system adopted by Ferdinand VII. was well calculated to revive in his royal highness the hopes so unexpectedly disappointed in 1811. It was natural to expect that the cruel persecutions suffered by the most intelligent and the most patriotic classes in Spain would bring about a revolution, and the expulsion of Ferdinand, and of his brothers, who were no better than himself. Nobody was prepared for the extraordinary, the misapplied clemency of the Spaniards towards a man who had repaid their heroic devotion with such cruel ingratitude; and, whilst the friends of liberty admired the magnanimity of the Spanish people, they could not conceal their anxiety on seeing the royal authority continued to a man who had deserved the heaviest penalties that national justice could inflict.

The Duke of Orleans applauded the revolution of Cadiz in 1820. He knew too well the public opinion in France, and in the southern part of Europe, not to be convinced that the example of the Spaniards would soon be followed. After the revolutions of Naples and Portugal, he wrote to a friend:—'*La Révolution Espagnole est comme la Mère Gigogne : un enfant n'est pas plutôt sorti de dessous ses jupes qu'il en sort un autre. Après Madrid, vient Naples ; après Naples, Lisbonne ; après Lisbonne, — J'attends sans inquiétude et prêt à tout événement.*'

The blank in his royal highness's letter was intended for France; and, if France did not follow Lisbon, if General Berton failed, it was because, far from being *prêt à tout événement*, the prince thought proper to secede, and, it is said, to turn informer, because his share was not what he expected.

He nevertheless continued to manifest the utmost zeal in the cause of the revolutions abroad, corresponded both personally and through devoted agents with the leaders of those revolutions in Naples, in Spain, in Portugal, and in Greece; forwarding everywhere plans of military organization to resist the invasions with which the several countries were threatened; and, almost certain that the attack on Spain in 1823 would prove the ruin of the elder branch of the Bourbons, he tried to dissuade Louis XVIII. from that expedition, fully convinced that, as he himself said, Louis XVIII. would act in direct opposition to his counsels.

Contrary to his expectations, these revolutions, excepting that

of Greece, were everywhere subdued, without causing a revolution in France; and the Neapolitan and Spanish despots, reinstalled in their absolute authority, began again to exercise it in such a manner as to bring about and justify new revolutions.

At the end of 1823, thousands of Spanish liberals who had succeeded in escaping from the vengeance of Ferdinand, were scattered all over France and England. The partizans and agents of the duke set to work upon them in both countries, to bring them to the unanimous resolution of preparing another revolution, in which they should not again fall into the fatal error of clemency towards their bloodthirsty sovereign. That was a very easy task; but the next step presented some difficulties. A large proportion of the exiled patriots had concluded, from what had occurred, that a republican form of government was the best; nay, more, the only security for the liberties of a people. The majority of these republicans, the most violent of whom were Florez-Estrada and Isturitz, had taken refuge in England. Those who were for a constitutional monarchy, were by no means unanimous. Many of them were in favour of the Infante Don Francisco, who, since 1820, had been acting in Spain the part which the Duke of Orleans was acting in France, and others were for a new dynasty; anything but a Bourbon. It took a long time, both in France and in England, to convince the leaders of the several parties, that the Duke of Orleans was the only man they ought to look to for the recovery and maintenance of the liberties of Spain. Chevalier de Broval, general director of affairs and chancellor of the Duke of Orleans, and J. Carnerero, one of the two brothers who had been sent to the Duke at Palermo, and who, then an exile, was pensioned by the prince,* succeeded at last, by exhibiting the past conduct of his royal highness, his liberal, his republican principles, and the hostility of the elder branch to him, in the best possible light.

The republicans in England had no objection to offer, when they were shown in the handwriting of the duke such sentences as this:—*‘ Dans le siècle ou nous sommes, la Royauté ne peut plus être que la présidence héréditaire de la République. ’* The chief of them, (we do not mean the most violent,) considered such a maxim, in a letter, which did not allude to the affairs of Spain, (though written for that purpose,) but to those of France, as the most convincing proof that they could rely upon the prince; and they at last consented to act in his favour, and a most devoted partisan of his royal highness was requested to communicate their disposition. This gentleman, it

* The duke had contrived to have him, though an exile, employed at the Spanish embassy. By that channel he knew everything that passed between the two governments.

has since been suspected, knew beforehand the answer which the duke would give, and proposed him to the choice of the leaders of the refugees only to furnish him with an opportunity of endearing himself to the French patriots. His letter, dated Paris, 11th May, 1826, contains this sentence :—‘ J’ai vu le Prince hier soir à Neuilly. Il m’a dit qu’il était reconnaissant de votre confiance, qu’il était tout dévoué à votre cause, rempli de respect pour votre noble caractère, mais qu’il ne changerait pas son titre de Français pour la plus belle couronne du monde.’ When told that, in that case, the Spaniards would proclaim the Duke of Chartres, his eldest son, he answered :—‘ Chartres est d’âge à penser et à agir comme moi, ainsi que Nemours, et ils le feront.’

Of course these noble feelings, so forcibly expressed, were widely circulated in both countries, and did not fail to produce their effect both on the French and on the Spaniards. Such a patriotic prince cannot but make the best of kings, said the former ; the sons of such a man, educated by him, said the others, are all we want ; and, at a meeting of the leaders of the Spanish exiles, it was decided that, unless the duke should himself offer one of his sons, they would choose the youngest, the Duke of Montpensier, and that the government should be carried on in his name, even without the assent of the father, until the young prince was eighteen years old.

Thus the Duke of Orleans had secured the support of the most influential Spaniards ; and, in some sort, acquired a new title to the confident devotion of the French liberals, by a line of conduct which did not in the least compromise him, which exempted him from taking any part, or making any sacrifices, in whatever the parties might choose to undertake, and which enabled him quietly to wait for events and reap all the benefits of them.

Towards the autumn of 1829, after the journey of the Duke of Orleans to England, and after the installation in France of the Polignac administration, at a re-union in Paris of the leaders of the French patriots, at which patriots of all countries assisted, it was resolved that, instead of partial, unconnected, and successive insurrections, a general movement should be prepared, to be effected, simultaneously, in France, in Belgium, in Poland, in Spain, in Piedmont, at Milan, and at Modena ; in fact, in the whole of Italy, which was to be united in one federative republic. Every where the patriots were set to work to prepare and dispose the people, and with such activity, that in May, 1830, everything was ready, and the Italians, the Spaniards, the French, the Belgians, the Poles, waited only for the landing of the exiles in Spain and in Italy, to rise at the same time. A modification of the projected organization of Italy had, in the

meanwhile, been rendered necessary by circumstances. The Duke of Modena was able and willing to provide the sinews of war, to a large amount, on condition of his being proclaimed King of Italy, which was acceded to by the leaders in Modena, Parma, Milan, Florence, and Turin. The agent of the prince arrived in Paris at the end of May, and was in London in the middle of June, to obtain the assent to this plan, not only of the Italian, but also of the Spanish refugees, which, being first obtained from Mina, after much reluctance, and afterwards from Quiroga, Torrijos, Florez-Estrada, and some others, the agent went back in the middle of July to report progress to the Duke of Modena, and send the funds necessary for the purchase of arms, and other expenses of the expedition. The Duke of Orleans was apprised of these arrangements.

The fatal ordinances of Charles X., which were not expected to be issued before the 20th of August, disconcerted the whole plan, notwithstanding the success of the revolution which their publication provoked. In the first moments which followed the triumphs of the people, and the downfall of Charles X., the Duke of Orleans, alarmed at the threatening language of all the foreign ambassadors, including Lord Stuart de Rothsay, immediately took the only resolution which his situation, the interests of France, and the welfare of mankind dictated; namely, that of hastening to unfurl, on all its frontiers, the standard of universal freedom. A short letter, 'Envoyez moi Mina,' was received in London on the 2nd of August. Mina was then at Clifton in bad health. The note was sent to him. He immediately started for Paris, where, a few hours after his arrival, he was visited by Marshal Gerard, the new minister at war; and, a plan of operations being agreed upon, and means being placed at his disposal, Mina repaired, in the course of a few days, to the Spanish frontier, to combine his movements with his partizans in the interior, and wait for the arrival of all the refugees and French volunteers, who were provided with funds from Marshal Gerard, and from Guizot, then Minister of the Interior.

The noble-minded Mina was too sincerely devoted to liberty and to his country, to accede to the demands of which Marshal Gerard was the bearer; and, had not the Duke of Orleans been under the necessity of threatening in his turn, no doubt he would not have allowed Mina to leave Paris. But when his demonstration had obtained the desired effect, when the diplomatic language became less comminatory, then the burst of enthusiasm in England compelled Lord Stuart to abandon his colleagues, and when, finally, he anticipated a conciliatory transaction, his first care was to counteract the dispositions of Mina, and to prevent him from exercising in the direction of the

movement that paramount influence to which he had a right. For that purpose, all the military chiefs of any note, who successively arrived in Paris, were allowed to enlist followers, and sent on the frontier, each independent of the rest, and all at liberty to act as they thought proper. The consequence was, that disunion and disorganization soon pervaded the expeditionary force. Torrijos and Colonel Valdes refused to act upon the plans of Mina, who wanted a delay of two or three weeks, to afford his friends in Navarre, Arragon, Leon, and Galicia, sufficient time to prepare for a simultaneous rising on the entrance of the illustrious warrior on the Spanish territory. The rash Valdes, in the full persuasion of becoming the Riego of the new revolution, made his fatal attempt, and failed. Mina, from fear of being accused of selfish views, flew to his rescue, before his partizans in Spain were ready to join him; and his small band was defeated, he himself escaping by a sort of miracle. Thus ended the long wished for movement of the patriots.

The foreign ambassadors, once free from all anxiety upon that point, resumed their insolent tone. They reproached the new King for having organised the movement, and for having furnished the refugees and the French volunteers with arms and money. The King and Guizot could not deny it, but claimed credit for having brought about by skilful management the ruin of a project, in which the popular impulse had compelled them to take part. The ambassadors, not satisfied with that explanation, demanded that all the refugees and volunteers should be disarmed, and removed from the frontiers into the interior of France. The order was immediately obeyed; and Mina, who was detained by illness at the waters of Cambo, was arrested and brought to Bayonne by gens d'armes, who were removed on his promise of repairing to Bordeaux.

The indignation of the Spanish patriots was loudly expressed and re-echoed by the independent press. From that moment, Louis Philippe, knowing that the wrongs he had inflicted upon them would never be forgiven, became their most inveterate enemy. The majority of them, whom distress prevented from returning to England, were subjected to the most vigilant surveillance of the police, and to all sorts of annoyances, as a sine qua non of the small allowance granted to them by the legislative chambers during the three years which elapsed from that time to the death of Ferdinand.

That event, which brought about the third interference of the French King in the affairs of Spain, placed him at first in the most perplexing situation. He had protested with the Bourbons of Naples against the abolition of the Salic law by Ferdinand, and therefore he was bound not to acknowledge the vali-

dity of the will of Ferdinand, leaving his crown to his infant daughter, and the Regency to her mother ; but then, the throne would have been filled by Don Carlos, a man still more bigoted and more cruel than Ferdinand, and who would have proved a determined enemy. Moreover, the government of Don Carlos would most probably have soon provoked a revolution, and the triumph of the liberal party, from which he had not less to fear; while, by acknowledging and supporting the Queen and her mother, the niece of his own Queen, he would not only possess a considerable influence in Madrid, and be enabled to repress the liberals, but would also have a chance of realizing his old plan, by placing one of his sons on the Spanish throne. This consideration decided his choice.

He well knew that the continental powers would take another view of the case, and would most probably favour the attempts of Don Carlos to vindicate his claims ; but he relied on the assistance of England, who had acknowledged Isabella, and, to make that more secure, he proposed the quadruple treaty, which was concluded according to his views. Notwithstanding this, the authority of the Queen and of her mother were soon placed in jeopardy. The legitimists of Spain and the clergy rose in favour of Don Carlos ; and it was soon perceived that the partisans of the Queen were the most inert portion of the people, always ready to declare for any established order of things, but never making any sacrifice, or fighting for its maintenance. Patriots alone can do this ; and, in order to obtain their support, the Queen Regent was advised to grant a general amnesty to all the exiles, in the hope that they would immediately embrace her cause, and attach to it all their friends in Spain. But the leaders of the refugees refused to take advantage of that amnesty, declaring that to accept a pardon was to confess guilt, while they had been cruelly persecuted for having done their duty to their country. Such was the answer sent by Mina from England ; and Quiroga and others did the same. Enraged at this determination, Louis Philippe ordered that all the allowances granted should no longer be paid, in order to compel them to return to Spain. Galiano, since an apostate from liberty, before submitting, although poor, came from his residence at Tours to London to concert with Mina ; and, on his way thither, consulted the author of this article*. All at last submitted ; but, as may easily be imagined, were none the better disposed to serve a cause which was neither their own nor that of the country, but the cause of another absolutism in the hands of a woman, instead of being in those of Don Carlos. Wherever they went, and

* We learn that Galiano is in London ; and he cannot deny this.

when at last in the bosom of their families, they loudly proclaimed their principles, and declared that they would take no part in the struggle, unless liberal institutions and a representative government should be secured to the country.

The Queen Regent could not but see that concessions were necessary, that the last will of her husband could not be carried into execution, with regard to the form of government, and with such men as he had thought proper to impose upon her; and she was disposed to yield to necessity, when Louis Philippe advised her to adopt a middle course, to give fair promises, and to form a sort of doctrinaire ministry, the principal member of which was Torreno, certain that the liberal cause would gain nothing by the change, though the presence of an exile in the council might conciliate some of them. Torreno acted upon the instructions received from Paris, and according to the examples he had witnessed in that capital. A man without any principles, he administered the finances of the country so as to give momentary satisfaction to the stockjobbers of all countries, and to derive an immense profit from his transactions; while his liberal innovations were restricted to a few insignificant concessions, which the Spanish Lord John declared *final*.

In the meanwhile, the Biscayans, who had risen in arms for the restoration of their *fueros*, and who had declared for Don Carlos, on his promising that restoration, had succeeded in expelling the queen's army from their country; and it was clear that, if the insurrection was not speedily put down, it would spread all over Spain. Mina seemed to be the only man who could so check the Carlist bands, and he was called from England to take the command of the national army. He had no sooner assumed that command, than he discovered the real motives of the French king in assenting to his appointment. All his plans were counterplanned by the government at Madrid. He had but a small army, without the means of increasing it; and that small army was almost constantly without pay, without provision, without clothing, and sometimes even without ammunition. It was plain that the object of the French and Spanish governments was to destroy the prestige attached to the name of Mina, to ruin his character as a military chief, and thus to annihilate the influence which, they well knew, would have been exerted solely for the cause of complete freedom and national independence. The son of Egalité, when serving under Dumouriez, in 1793, had been taught that lesson by Robespierre and Marat: the king of the Barricades could not but practise it in perfection. Mina, at last, fully convinced of the perfidy of the two governments, baffled their intentions by resigning his command; and again left Spain,

with disgust, almost in despair, and in an alarming state of health.

Cordova, who ultimately assumed the command, could not be suspected of too liberal leanings. An humble officer in 1823, he was among the *banditti of the FAITH*, who assisted the French invaders in overthrowing the constitutional system, and in subjecting his country to foreign influence. This was a title to the confidence of the Spanish and the French rulers. All the means which had been refused to Mina, were profusely placed at his disposal; but they were wasted without any advantage, by a man whose courage and military talents were no greater than his patriotism. The Carlists not merely maintained their ground; they obtained important success, increased in number, extended their operations, and even menaced Madrid.

The civil administration being conducted on the same principles, by men of the same stamp, and with the same success, anxiety, discontent, and finally indignation, pervaded all classes in Spain. A change of system, and a change of men; liberal measures, with tried patriots, were the only means of preventing the triumph of Don Carlos. Mendizabal himself, notwithstanding his previous engagements when called to office, and the trammels of the *statudo reale*, was adopting that line of policy, and even offered seats in the ministerial council to two of these tried patriots, Isturitz and Galiano, who declined the offer, because the basis of the system was not in accordance with their constitutional principles; but, at the same time, assured Mendizabal that they would support him in his parliamentary struggle against the partisans of the *status quo* and against the court. They fulfilled their promises; but, at the beginning of the following session, these same patriots, gained over by the court, took the lead of the opposition against Mendizabal, compelled him to resign, and were appointed in his place.

The foreign powers, not knowing the intrigues which had brought about the coalition between these liberals and the court, imagined that the immediate consequence of their accession to power would be the proclamation of the constitution of 1812; of which, Isturitz and Galiano had been the firmest supporters. The French king, already alarmed enough by the probability of such an event, and disposed to prevent it at any cost, was still more urged to do so by the representatives of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who indignantly reproached him with having prepared that dreadful event, by his acknowledgement of Isabella, by his quadruple treaty, and by the assistance which, in compliance with that treaty, he had given to the Christinos against the Carlists. Thus circumstanced, he immediately ordered his ambassador Renneval to declare to the new

administration, that, if any alteration of the governmental system took place, he would consider the quadruple treaty as at an end, and instantly withdraw the French auxiliary forces; that, no doubt, England would do the same, from fear of arraying the great powers against her; and that they would soon be subdued by Don Carlos, assisted as he was by all the absolute monarchs of Europe.

This declaration was made, and it produced the desired effect. Then came promises of friendly interference with the continental sovereigns for the recognition of Isabella, provided the Spanish government enabled him to defend their cause, by discountenancing the constitutional tendencies of their former friends, by confiding civil or military posts to such men only as were determined to oppose every proposition for changing the order of things, and to punish with the utmost severity those who dared to make any attempt for the establishment of a constitution. The tried patriots promised to act upon these principles, and faithfully fulfilled their promises. It is asserted, not without reason, that pecuniary arguments had great weight in these negotiations; and what we know of the circumstances of one of the individuals alluded to, justifies the report, and proves its accuracy.

This interference of the French king was generally known in Madrid, where the ministers themselves confided it to their former companions in exile as an excuse for their conduct. It was known to the French liberals, some of whom managed to get acquainted with the most secret intrigues of the palace.* It was equally well known in England to the political men of both parties. Louis Philippe himself said to Col. Gurwood, who was presented to him on his return from his mission with Lord Elliot, 'Vous pensez bien que je ne puis pas permettre que les Espagnols aient plus de liberté que mes propres sujets.'

The consequences of that system were such as might easily have been anticipated—an insurrection, and the re-establishment of the constitution of 1812. Louis Philippe, at the news of the revolution, was thunderstruck. To the first emotions of consternation succeeded a violent rage; and he resolved to abolish that constitution, even, if necessary, by another invasion. Fortunately for Spain, the representative of England at Madrid was a man of superior mind, well acquainted with the state and the wants of the country, a warm friend of true liberty, a contrast

* One of those gentlemen, relying upon the patriotism of Isturitz, wrote to him immediately after his appointment to warn him against the guilty intrigues of Renneval, and concluded his letter in these words: 'Saisissez les preuves, montrez les lui, et ensuite pendez-le.' Honest Isturitz is said to have given the letter to Renneval to be sent to Paris. It is certain that when the insurrection, which overthrew Isturitz and Galiano, broke out, Renneval died, literally from fear of being hanged.

to the former, and a model to future ambassadors; the only man, in our opinion, to whom the direction of the foreign relations of this country can safely be entrusted. Mr. Villiers, now Earl of Clarendon, obtained from the British government the recognition of the constitutional government of Spain, and thus not only thwarted the vindictive designs of the French monarch, but also made him bear the consequences of his own perfidy. Far from allowing him to act against Spain, or even to make any demonstration against that country, the British government continued to demand the faithful execution of the quadruple treaty, while all the other governments, despairing of the cause of absolutism, upbraided him as being the sole author of the mischief. This situation was certainly the most distressing that any sovereign could be placed in: he had no resource but to yield with reluctance to the demands of England, demands which were eventually reduced to the observance of a strict neutrality. Hence arose that hatred of England and her government, which he gratified by new acts of perfidy.

After some time consumed in lamenting the past, he began to reflect upon the means of recovering a portion, however small, of his former influence. He could no longer directly and officially communicate his intentions and give his orders to ministers appointed by the Cortes; but it was still easy for him to govern the Queen Regent, the niece of his own Queen, by keeping her in perpetual alarm respecting the disposition of the absolute monarchs, by lamenting in his correspondence the loss of her authority, by inspiring a desire for its recovery, by proposing the means of effecting that end, by advising her how to deal with her ministers, and how to obtain representative and electoral majorities. He thought of all this, and immediately set to work; never suspecting that, after having, by his treacherous direction, brought about the expulsion of four successive ministries and the overthrow of the almost absolute monarchy, he was thus paving the way for the expulsion of the Queen Regent, and perhaps the abolition of royalty.

He was encouraged in this course by the success which attended the first attempt on the new order of things—the modification of the constitution and the establishment of two chambers; and the Queen Regent was induced, by that victory over the old constitutionalists, to rely more and more upon the abilities of her royal Mentor, and to act entirely according to his advice, the burden of which was, not to allow the old patriots to be appointed to any of the principal offices, not to hesitate to oppose her ministers when their plans were in opposition to the instructions received from Paris, and, if they did not yield, to threaten them with her abdication, which would be considered by the

whole of Europe as the result of compulsion, as a step towards the establishment of a republican government, and would instantly be followed by a coalition of all the other governments against Spain.

In the meanwhile, the war against the Carlists was still carried on with but little advantage. The incapable Cordova was deprived of his command, which was transferred, not to a tried patriot, to one of those generals distinguished by great achievements in the preceding struggles for the liberties and independence of Spain, but to Espartero, who, although a brave officer, and possessing some military ability, did not inspire with entire confidence the true friends of liberty, who had never seen him in their ranks, nor even the army, which would have made another choice. Mina, who had been called by the Barcelonese, and by them appointed captain-general of their province, when they began the new revolution by declaring themselves independent of the government of Madrid, was then rapidly sinking, after a long illness, under the most poignant sufferings; but there were still four or five other generals who would have been preferred by the army to Espartero. Louis Philippe and the Queen, however, thought otherwise.

The distrustful feeling of the army and of the liberals at first embarrassed the operations of the new general, who, however, by his conduct, gradually gained upon the confidence of the army, both officers and men, and, after several well-directed engagements in which he displayed his gallantry, succeeded in compelling the Carlist chiefs to capitulate, and Don Carlos to fly to the French frontier, where he was seized by the French authorities, and carried into the interior as a prisoner.

The success of Espartero, which endeared him to his army, appeared to Louis Philippe as most favourable to his political system, and to the continuation of his influence over the Spanish government. His advice to the Queen Regent was: Load Espartero with honours and dignities; captivate him by your attentions, and through him captivate the army. He, being a *moderado*, will be regarded with envy and hatred by the *exaltados*, and in return will hate them, and assist you in crushing them. Organize a strong administration, weaken and gradually destroy local influences, and substitute for them the influence of central authority, by such municipal and provincial laws as will leave to the government the choice of all the administrators; and, if the fear of Espartero and of the army do not induce the ministry and the Cortes to comply with these views, tell them that you will retire, and that I will let slip Don Carlos. But Espartero, now created Duke of Victory, would not lend himself to the realization of such projects. Although attached

to the Queen Regent, and by nature and habits little disposed to very liberal tendencies, he understood too well the state of parties, the feelings and the wants of the country, and his own interests, to go all lengths with the Queen in the accomplishment of her plans; and when, having, in carrying those plans into execution, raised against herself a formidable opposition in the legislative chambers and throughout the whole kingdom, she threatened to resign, and in fact did resign, her power and station, she was surprised to see her resignation calmly and coolly accepted, instead of being refused in alarm.

She then clearly saw the folly of her conduct, and the rashness of the advice she had acted upon, and not only expressed her resentment against the author of her misfortunes, but even would not accept of his proffered hospitality, and repaired to Naples. Her reception by her own family, however, was not such as to induce her to prolong her stay among them, and she was obliged to seek in France the asylum which, in her anger, she had spurned. The French king forgave her indiscreet complaints, in consideration of the advantages which the residence of Christina in France promised him, received her with the utmost kindness, and engaged to do all in his power to reinstate her in her authority, though the march of events in Spain did not at all countenance the hopes with which he flattered her. The Cortes had met, had appointed Espartero regent, and the young queen was confided to the care of Arguelles, a man whose intellectual, moral, and political character is spotless, and of the widow of the noble Mina, a lady admired for her accomplishments, as well as for the manner in which she had fulfilled her filial and conjugal duties in the most trying circumstances. Everything went on quietly, and promised the speedy return of the nation to concord, order, freedom, and prosperity. But this could not be permitted by the French monarch. It would have proved that a people may be made happy without a king, by temporary rulers of their own choice; and such an example could not be allowed to be given in Europe. The best security of thrones is the state of fermentation, discord, and anarchy, the convulsions and calamities of those countries where there is no throne, or where the throne is in some sort unoccupied. Therefore Spain must be thrown into that state at any cost; in order, first, to be a bugbear to other nations against all changes in government; and, secondly, to afford foreign governments a pretext to interfere in the affairs of Spain, notwithstanding the opposition of England. After some delay, for the purpose of combining with the absolute kings and emperors, the royal intriguer began his operations against Espartero, at the same time, and by the same instrument, by which he acknowledged him as regent.

Knowing, from his own experience, that insults from foreign ambassadors to the head of the state, bring upon him the contempt of his people, and excite the envy and raise the hopes of his competitors for power, he sent to Madrid, as plenipotentiary, Salvandi, with orders to disparage the character and dignity of the Regent, by insisting on presenting his credentials to the infant Queen in person, and even to deliver to her Majesty, in private, letters from her depraved mother.

After some negotiations entered into by the Regent, for the purpose of inducing the French envoy to modify his pretensions, Salvandi, who would not depart from his instructions, returned to Paris, leaving his secretary at Madrid. Thus Louis Philippe accomplished a double object. He had insulted the head of the state, and he had contrived to introduce and settle in Madrid a manager of his political intrigues. In these circumstances, the Regent seemed to forget what was due to himself and to the Spanish nation. Any man of high spirit and sound judgment, or even a mere politician, would, as soon as Salvandi declared his pretensions, have ordered him to quit Madrid, with all his suite, within an hour, and the Spanish soil within two days. By taking this course, the Duke of Victory would have properly resented the offered insult, and would have risen in the estimation of foreign nations, and even of their proud rulers themselves.

Louis Philippe's second move against the Regent and against Spain was, to persuade the Infante Don Francisco, to return to his country, certain that a new party would soon be formed after his arrival, in a country already divided into so many parties. Don Francisco, in order to disguise his object, prefaced his demand of admission by an acknowledgment of the authority of the Regent, and obtained leave to return. Espartero, instead of yielding to a feeling of vanity on being recognised by a prince of the blood, the uncle of the Queen, ought to have answered—'I need neither your recognition nor your support. I am elected by the people. As to your coming here, I have objections. You have taken no share in our struggles for freedom and independence under the sceptre of your niece; and your presence here cannot but afford a pretext for new intrigues, and perhaps new struggles, which it is my duty to prevent. Remain, therefore, where you are.'

The weakness of character and want of foresight shown by the Regent on these occasions produced the natural result, opposition to his views on the part of all the factions which divide Spain. Like all rulers of empires in similar situations, instead of considering only what is true and just, and steadily sticking to what is right, he thought only of what is expedient;

pursuing what is called a system of conciliation, which is nothing but the sacrifice of right and justice to private interest. The most sincere friends of liberty were dissatisfied, and found themselves under the necessity of opposing the measures of the Regent, who, unfortunately for himself and for Spain, began to adopt the maxim of the French doctrinaires, that the want of a people is not *liberty*, but *order*.

Order, in governmental language, is blind compliance with the orders of the rulers, whatever those orders may be. This cannot be obtained in perfection, but when every part of the country is under the control of local authorities appointed by the government, which authorities promulgate and carry into execution all the measures resolved upon by the central authority. The Regent attempted to establish that kind of organization which is productive of *order*, but which is destructive of municipal and provincial rights. In his attempts he was supported by the Spanish doctrinaires and by the absolutists, who well knew that they would reap the fruits of those measures. Notwithstanding a formidable opposition in the Cortes on the part of the tried patriots, who, of course, are called *exaltados*, *exagerados*, and so forth, the laws infringing upon individual, municipal, and provincial rights, were passed.

From that time, we confidently anticipated the speedy downfall of Espartero, and therefore we are not disappointed. In all parts of Spain, the friends of freedom expressed their discontent, and prepared for resistance; and they were everywhere joined by their political opponents, who, after helping the Regent in his attacks against popular rights, had now the gratification of assailing him as the avengers of those same rights. Against the general coalition, the only support of Espartero was the army. Barcelona gave the signal, and set the example of resistance in November last,—Barcelona, the city of freedom, to which Spain always looks for the liberation of the country from impending dangers. The Regent lost no time in marching, at the head of a numerous army, against the Barcelonese, before the insurrection had extended to other provinces. The siege began on the 3rd of December. In the course of twelve hours, eight hundred and seventy-five shells had been thrown into the city with destructive effect. An unconditional surrender was insisted upon by the Regent, and submitted to by the inhabitants, who were afterwards treated with unheard-of severity. This could not but excite commiseration, and increase disaffection, in every part of Spain. The deputies and senators, in all the provinces, remonstrated against the conduct of the government. Foreseeing that the Cortes would, on their meeting, call him to account, Espartero dissolved the chambers, in

the hope that his victory over the Barcelonese would turn the elections in his favour. In this he was disappointed. All parties, encouraged by the French and Portuguese official residents, voted against his candidates. The first act of the new chambers was the expulsion of the ministry; and it was followed by attacks upon the personal prerogatives and acts of the Regent, who ventured to dissolve again the national representation.

No sooner were the representatives among their constituents, than another insurrection was prepared. It first burst forth again at Barcelona. The Regent, whose natural disposition inclines towards mildness, and who had not approved of the uncalled for severity recently shown, hesitated to recur to the same means. His hesitation was represented as fear; and the insurrection, rapidly increasing, increased his indecision in the same proportion. At last he marched at the head of some troops, in order to assemble a formidable army; but, in many provinces, both generals and regiments had already joined the people. The insurrection became universal. Part of the insurgents marched upon Madrid, while others went to attack the troops commanded by the Regent himself, and which deserted his cause; and he, the Duke of Victory, closed his military and political career as a fugitive, by the uncalled-for and unavailing bombardment of Seville. He is now an exile among us, and respect for misfortune stops our pen.

What will be the end of those convulsions which we have fully developed in their origin, in their causes, and in all their phases? Alas! we see no end to them, even through the interference of all the European powers, which is now spoken of. Quite the reverse. Had Europe left Spain alone, she would not be in her present situation; and another interference will but increase the difficulties and prolong the struggle, while, if successful, it would end in the ruin of Spanish freedom and independence. But we are firmly convinced that it would be unsuccessful, and that it must even endanger every throne on the Continent, by hastening the establishment of the peninsular Iberian Republic, whose energy, maddened into frenzy, would again teach the crowned heads of Europe this grand lesson—

‘Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere’—*libertatem*.

Art. II. *Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical: being an Inquiry into the Scriptural Authority of the leading doctrines advocated in the Tracts for the Times, &c.* By William Lindsay Alexander, M.A. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. pp. 445. 1843.

It is often admitted, both by Roman and Anglo-Catholics, that their religious systems do not seem to harmonize with that which is exhibited in the New Testament. They of course assert, that there is nothing in the sacred oracle to disprove the doctrines, or condemn the practices, on which they insist; and that, on the contrary, many passages may be, with due learning, shewn to support them. But they allow that the representation of Christianity, given by the evangelists and apostles, is not exactly like that which is given by the principal writers of the church in after times, to whom they are accustomed to appeal. The efficacy of the sacraments, the authority of ecclesiastical rulers, the excellence of celibacy and fasting, the importance of uniformity in creeds and ceremonies;—these, and other matters, are set forth by those who are called the Fathers of the church, in a manner unquestionably different from that in which they are alluded to by the inspired servants of Christ. To account for this difference we are informed, that the Christian system, though ever essentially the same, was gradually unfolded, and did not attain to its perfect development till the third century of our era, or even a much later period. This is certainly a strange doctrine. The primitive religion which our first parents brought with them from paradise, and delivered to their descendants, soon became so corrupt, that scarcely any trace remained of its original character. The pure faith and worship, which were preserved in the ark, when all false religions were destroyed by the waters of the deluge, in a few centuries were transformed into the absurdities and abominations of heathenism. The divine institutions given by Moses to the chosen people, suffered a similar deterioration, and the highest authority has declared, that the law of God was made void through the traditions of men, by which professedly it was explained and completed. It was expressly predicted that false teachers would arise in the Christian church, teaching damnable heresies, and seducing many to follow their pernicious ways; and therefore men were warned against every deviation from the doctrine of the apostles, or addition to it. These things are well known, and yet we are required to believe, in opposition to them all, that by the changes which took place in Christianity during the first three centuries, it was merely developed and not deteriorated,—that the traditions of the ancient church are necessary to the right understanding of holy writ,—that if we would

learn what Christianity really is, we must not sit at the feet of our Divine Master, or even of St. John, or St. Paul, but rather at the feet of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Chrysostom; and that if we would see the church of Christ in its completeness of truth, and perfection of beauty, we must not view it when under the immediate influence and direction of the apostles of our Lord, but when for some ages it had enjoyed the fostering care of men entitled their successors. If the lessons of experience are to be reversed, and the sacred Scriptures to be interpreted by contraries, then these things may deserve our credit. We will believe them, when we find that the light of heaven becomes brighter after passing through the misty exhalations of earth; or when the waters of a clear fountain are made more pure by moving through the muddy channel of a troubled stream.

Probably few would have ventured to entertain notions so strange and unreasonable, but for the remarkable agreement which exists in the opinions and practices of various communities of professed Christians in ancient times; and the unquestionably wide diffusion of those peculiar tenets by which the church of the Fathers is distinguished from that of the Apostles. The most extravagant statements have been made respecting this agreement, and it has been described by some as entire and universal. Now it is plain that little less than omniscience would be necessary to enable one to declare what all Christians have believed in any single age or country. The means of forming a correct judgment of the doctrines and services of the church, in the times immediately following those of the apostles, are acknowledged to be most imperfect and unsatisfactory. What is seen in our own country at the present day, most clearly proves that the formularies of a church do not always accord with the faith of its ministers; and that their creed is not invariably that of all the members of their several congregations. The uniformity of opinion and practice which existed in the ancient church was certainly very much less than what it has been pretended to be. Still it cannot be denied, that in many points, which appear to be at variance with the written word, this agreement did exist to a great extent. The fact must be obvious to all who have any acquaintance with Christian antiquity; and it requires explanation. By those who call themselves Catholics, it is said, that this harmony can only be accounted for by the oneness of truth—the oneness of apostolical tradition,—that the several creeds which exhibit the same doctrines, and the several liturgies which present similar forms and ceremonies, must have been the legitimate expansions and applications of one apostolical pattern. If this were the only

explanation of which the phenomena admitted, it would certainly deserve to be received as true; and if we reject it, some other not less probable must be substituted in its place.

This explanation may be, in part, afforded by the influence which, in every age, individuals of superior talents, though with no pretension to inspired authority, have exerted on the sentiments of their fellow-men. The instances of Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine, in former ages, and of Luther, Calvin, and others, in later times, are sufficient to show that an almost unlimited confidence is often placed in those who have no claim to infallibility; and that much agreement, even in most doubtful matters, and in opinions unquestionably false, may be secured merely by the influence of their names. But the full explanation of the agreement which existed among the ancient churches in those matters which are not revealed in the Holy Scriptures is, we think, to be found in the accordance of these opinions and practices with the common tendencies of mankind. There is a oneness in human nature, which has occasioned the independent production in different ages and countries of precisely similar opinions on the most important subjects of human speculation; and this will satisfactorily account for the general, and even universal reception of many errors. We cannot conclude that the agreement of any number of persons in certain views of Christian truth has resulted from the one source of heavenly wisdom to which they have all professed subjection; unless it be shown that it could not have resulted from the one earthly nature which they have all possessed, and by which all must have been in some degree influenced. As well might the prevalence of idolatry in the world be urged to prove its accordance with human reason, as the prevalence in the church of baptismal regeneration, or any similar dogma, be alleged to prove its accordance with the word of God. The wide diffusion of popery, its prolonged duration, and the powerful influence which it has exerted on men of various climes and customs, in various stages of intelligence and civilization, evince its affinity to human nature. It has gained everywhere a ready acceptance, because there was so much in the heart of man disposed to give it welcome. It has secured a wide and steady empire, because both its exhibitions and requirements were adapted to some of our strongest tendencies. May we not attribute to similar causes the rapid spread in the present day of a form of Christianity distinguished from popery in title, but essentially the same? It were unreasonable to suppose that any very large portion of those who, within the last few years, have adopted this system of religion did so after sufficient inquiry. The number of the new converts is, we think, to be attributed much more to the congeniality of the doctrine than to the con-

clusiveness of the evidence. The general acceptance of any form of religion among men, in the present time or in former ages, may be, with much more probability, regarded as proving its accordance with the inclinations of men than with the truth of God. The latter supposition can only be received when, from the circumstances of the case, the former is inadmissible.

A cursory view of some of the chief features of that church system which has of late been revived among us will, we think, satisfy every candid and intelligent mind that there is a peculiar accordance between it and those principles of our nature which are more remarkable for their strength and commonness than for their purity and excellence. Without attempting anything like a discussion of this subject, we beg to offer a few remarks to our readers.

The most obvious, and perhaps the principal, characteristic of what is named the Catholic system, is the great importance which it attaches to the rites of Christianity, more especially to the sacraments. The system of the New Testament differs in a remarkable manner from that of the Old in this particular. While in the former dispensation many rites were expressly enjoined, the times, places, and manner of their observance fully prescribed, and the persons by whom they should be performed; in the latter dispensation there is scarcely anything of this kind. A few simple precedents are given, without any general precepts. A cordial reception and diligent consideration of the truths of the Gospel; entire confidence in the Saviour; humble prayer for his blessing—for the Spirit he has promised; honest and persevering efforts in the performance of every Christian duty; and fraternal association with the followers of Christ: these are the means of improvement, the way of salvation which the New Testament exhibits. All these requirements are intellectual and moral; they are adapted to man's spiritual being. By addressing the highest principles of our nature, they tend to purify and ennoble it; and they have that obvious yet wonderful accordance with the laws of our mental constitution, which evince most clearly and impressively both the wisdom and goodness of its Divine Author. The so called Catholic system resembles the Jewish economy in those points in which the latter differs from Christianity. It even surpasses Judaism in the strict regard it inculcates for external ordinances; for what St. Paul describes as beggarly elements, rudimentary instruction of this world. It gives to Christianity a ritual, minute and comprehensive, operose and imposing. While acknowledging the utility of religious instruction, and of purely spiritual exercises, it attributes the highest efficacy to outward ceremonies, and thus tends to lessen men's regard for what is mental and moral by the extravagant

estimate it teaches of what is material and formal. It is, we are told, through the effusion of holy water, through the imposition of priestly hands, through the reception of consecrated bread and wine, that the best spiritual blessings of Christianity are to be enjoyed by men. All these means are admitted to have no natural fitness whatever for the ends which they are said to accomplish. There is in them no display of the divine wisdom. They are mysteries before which we must reverently bow, and which it would be impious to presume to examine. Mysteries indeed!—that by water a soul should be morally renewed, and yet grow up in sin—that by the touch of episcopal hands the Holy Ghost should be given, and yet the subject remain inconsiderate and worldly—that by eating a little bread, Christ should be spiritually received, and yet that there should be no moral resemblance to his character, or grateful devotedness to his service. We need not wonder that they who teach such doctrines should also teach that it is our duty to trust before investigation, to believe without proof, and that the service which has in it the smallest portion of intelligence is the most acceptable we can render to the only wise God.

It might be supposed that only the strongest evidence could produce a general conviction of the truth of these dogmas, if it were not that every page of history shows that there is in man a strong disposition to attach excessive importance to the forms of religion. Superstition has, in almost every age and country, given rise to convictions similar to those which have so extensively prevailed in the Christian church. Nor is it difficult to account for such facts, however deplorable they may be. The parade of spectacles is agreeable to all men; corporeal exercises are to most much more easy and pleasant than any mental exertion; the real existence and permanent influence of what is merely spiritual, can hardly be conceived by many; the passage from symbolical to mystical services is very short; that which was first designed, as significant of truth, to exert a beneficial influence on the minds of men, when it fails of this end, being still thought useful, and therefore considered either as a charm to act on the mind of God, or as a task-work acceptable and meritorious in his sight. The disposition to assign undue value to religious rites is one of the lowest and most vulgar of the tendencies of our nature, and it has produced innumerable pernicious delusions. Pilate washed his hands to free himself from the guilt of ordering the crucifixion of our Lord. The Jews of old thought that they could purify their souls by similar external ablutions, while within they were full of iniquity. In all heathen countries the service of God has been supposed to consist chiefly of lustrations and sacrifices, the repetition of forms

of words, priestly incantations, and so on. Strange indeed it would be if that were the holiest part of Christianity which most resembled the absurdities of paganism. We admit that there is much in the ritual of the ancient Catholic system which is not satisfactorily accounted for by what we find in the pages of the New Testament. Can we hesitate whether we should attribute this to a supplementary verbal instruction of the Apostles, in character very unlike to what their writings exhibit; or to those superstitious tendencies which, in every age and country, have given birth to similar productions, to which, moreover, from early habits and associations never quite dissolved, many of the churches of ancient times were especially liable.

Another characteristic of the ancient church, is the subjection of the people in matters of faith and practice to ecclesiastical authority. Whatever tends to elevate in importance the rites of religion, must equally tend to exalt in power and dignity the persons by whom alone these rites can be properly performed. In addition to the influence which they must necessarily have as the dispensers of the sacraments which gave salvation to the souls of men, many of the clergy in ancient times assumed an almost universal dominion over the minds of their fellow men. When we look to the New Testament, we cannot see that any such authority was ever given even to the apostles, or ever exercised by them. They were warned against the assumption of any such power as the Jewish Rabbins claimed; and were taught that the exclusive authority of their Lord required that all his followers should dwell together as brethren. The apostles did, unquestionably, receive a commission, but this was merely to deliver the doctrines and precepts of their Master. They asserted his authority, and not their own; and they appealed to the works which they did in his name, as the proof that the words they delivered were from him. No other personal superiority is recognised in the New Testament, but that of moral excellence. No submission is there demanded for any office except that which the order of every social institution requires should be rendered to those who preside over its affairs. But in the ecclesiastical system we have, avowedly, not only the doctrines and precepts of Christ reported to us, but very much besides which is only connected with his authority, by the assumption that those by whom it is delivered are appointed by him to legislate in his church. The teaching of Christ himself is depreciated, that the teaching of the clergy may be extolled. The rays of light which beam with heavenly lustre from the pages of scripture, are represented as being so faint and confused, that they must be collected in the focus of some creed to meet the necessities of men. We are re-

lieved from the trouble of obeying the direction of our Lord, 'Search the scriptures,' by the kindness of the church, which professes at once to declare what is to be found there. And we need not now attend to the apostolical injunction, 'Prove all things,' since what is true and good the clergy have proved for us, and we have only to follow their guidance. Minute regulations, referring to daily conduct, are laid down, which serve to withdraw attention from the Saviour who has given principles, to the church which has given rules. A task-work is appointed, for which, since it is often of no earthly benefit, payment in heaven is naturally expected; and the mind is withdrawn from those motives which prompt to an obedience that is its own reward, and point to a perfection which here is never realized.

Now, whatever degree of excellence we may be inclined to attribute to the pastors or bishops of the ancient churches, we cannot suppose them to have been quite free from ambition, from that love of power over the minds of men, which is, perhaps, the last selfish principle Christianity subdues. They could not but claim more spiritual authority than was their due, and their people would, in most cases, readily yield to their claims. While nothing is more common than the profession of mental independence, few things are more rare than the reality. Men in general do not like the state of suspense which any inquiry demands, nor the effort of mind which reflection requires. They are thankful to those who will release them from the toil of thinking, from the labour of forming their own opinions; a task which is always arduous, and which is attended with peculiar anxiety, when men happen to be brought up under systems, where certain principles are most confidently avowed, and yet many strange deviations from them are practically admitted. It is, then, a great comfort to be assured that things apparently irreconcilable are in perfect harmony, and that there is a necessary sequence, where we can ourselves discover no kind of connexion. We may thus complacently imagine that we are following a heavenly guide, without the cost of relinquishing early prejudices, opposing natural propensities, or doing any violence to our sympathies and affections. If the clergy had all united to give honour to Christ, rather than to the church; if they had combined to abjure, not only the honours and riches of the world, but the more tempting lures of sacerdotal dignity and power, ministering to the people committed to their charge, according to the sacred rule, 'He that is greatest among you let him be the servant of all,' we should not doubt but that this was from an apostolical tradition, both because it would not be natural, and because we have the tradition preserved in the sacred scriptures, from which such conduct might proceed. But

because they united in ancient times to claim dominion over the consciences of men, and set themselves as lords over God's heritage, and took upon themselves to decide authoritatively on every disputed question of belief or practice; we really cannot feel sure that herein they followed any tradition of the apostles. On the contrary, in this assumption of the clergy, and submission of the laity, however general it may have been, we can only see the most melancholy instances of that unjust tyranny, and degrading servility, which mark the history of priestcraft in every age of the world.

The profession and practice of asceticism is another characteristic of the ancient church. The piety which consists in a right and thankful use of all the gifts of God, in the enjoyment of them, and in the diffusion to others of our own happiness, though commended both by the example and the discourses of our Lord, is not that which has been in general most esteemed by his professed followers. The renunciation of common pursuits and pleasures he has taught us to deem valuable, only when made subservient to the attainment of higher objects. But the energy of character, indicated by self-mortification of any kind, itself secures no little respect and reverence; and the supposition seems very natural, that he who will deny himself innocent pleasures and submit to painful exercises for the purpose of discipline, will not readily fall into temptation. But the severities and self-control of Christian ascetics, are far inferior to that of some of the ancient stoics, or of the fakirs of the present day; they, therefore, cannot prove any high spiritual excellence. The rigid observance of a rule, to which pride and obstinacy may bind us, is much more easy than the correction of any wrong disposition of mind. Almost any degree of physical suffering is more readily endured than the effort of patient thought, which is often necessary to the full understanding, use, and application of Christian truth. The most severe ascetism has been associated not unfrequently with the grossest sensuality, and it is commonly combined with the most offensive conceit and uncharitableness. A guilty conscience has often urged men to the wildest excesses of self-torture, and has made them willing to submit to any cruelties which others might prescribe. The supposition that by making ourselves miserable we render to our heavenly Father an acceptable service, can only dwell in the minds of men, who know so little of the gospel of Christ, that they see not how greatly it differs from the characters which fear and guilt have inscribed on their hearts. The notion that corporeal austerity tends to produce humility, to awaken benevolence, to excite gratitude, to purify the soul from any sinful disposition, or to strengthen any holy affections and desires, is as

contrary to the laws of our constitution and the lessons of experience, as it is to the genius of the gospel, and the precepts of its divine Author.

Another characteristic of this catholic system is, the stress laid on agreement in things external, such as the use of the same creeds, liturgies, modes of worship, and style of dress. One of the great designs of Christianity was to effect union among men; first reconciling them to God, and then combining them in mutual affection and devotedness to their Master's cause. The existence of this union is made the sign of the existence of Christ's church on earth; it is required for sympathy and mutual aid, for the confirmation of the faith of those who believe, and the advancement of religion in the world. For the accomplishment of these ends, an exact accordance of opinion is not necessary; and the whole history of the church proves that such a unity is not to be attained. An exact accordance in ceremonies and forms of worship might, without difficulty, be obtained; but this has no resemblance to the unity of the church of Christ; it has no tendency to secure those ends for which the church was established, and for which its unity is so much to be desired. A uniformity of creeds and confessions may also at times be produced, and the more readily where worldly wealth and power are used to promote hypocrisy and falsehood, and a prevalent indifference to truth and religion favour these unholy ends; but neither is this Christian union. The union which the first disciples exhibited, and by which the kingdom of Christ was so much advanced, resulted from their common faith in him, and their common devotedness to that service which was the imitation of their Lord's example. It consisted of that love to the Saviour, and of that mutual affection, by which they were prompted to aid and comfort one another, as fellow-labourers to toil in their Master's vineyard, as fellow-soldiers to contend for his truth, sharing in the same work, hoping for the same reward. But while the moral unity which flows from the influence of the same principles, and the practical unity which arises from the pursuit of the same ends, are set forth in the New Testament as supremely desirable, no other unity is referred to as worthy of our regard. Not the least provision appears to have been made by the apostles for securing that ecclesiastical uniformity so much contended for in later times. Where in certain matters diversity of opinion existed, they did not seek to crush it by the weight of their authority. They appear to have considered it better that their converts should learn to apply for themselves the great principles of the gospel, rather than that these applications should be made for them; and that the early church should exhibit a pattern of that unity of spirit which

may be maintained amidst many varieties of opinion, rather than that by their decisions a unity of judgment should be produced, of little value itself, and necessarily transient. Instead therefore of declaring, *ex cathedra*, what every one should believe and do in the application of the great facts and principles of Christianity, they left men to the independent convictions which corresponded to their several positions and stages of spiritual development—'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' But for this union of principle and affection, which the acknowledgment of Christ as their Lord, and the reception of his Spirit must produce in all true Christians, the church system has substituted a union of a very different kind; the result of very different causes. The same tendencies which have led men in political affairs to fix on names and colours as badges of distinction, have in religion induced many to adopt similar marks as appropriate indications of the unity of the church of Christ. Nothing is more natural than the use of common signs, to indicate the possession of common principles; and then it not seldom happens that the former is prized much more than the latter; and men will even fiercely contend for the sign, when the principle has long been renounced, forgotten, or it may be opposed. It is, therefore, but a very ordinary process of thought, in which it is not surprising that many should agree; and where unity proves neither nobleness nor truth; that for spiritual submission to one heavenly Lord there should be set forth a verbal acknowledgment of one diocesan bishop,—for the reception of the same divine instruction, the repetition of the same form of words,—and for the exhibition of the same graces of Christian holiness, the use of the same robes and gestures in the services of the church.

The subject might be prosecuted farther did our limits allow, but these, we fear, have already been transgressed. The unity of the ancient church is a favourite theme with a certain class of writers, who represent all Christians as formerly free from dissensions; because there was then a general agreement in respect to some matters on which there is now much controversy; though then there was much controversy on other matters, in respect to which there is now comparatively little. To some minds no argument is so conclusive as the consent of the Fathers, no object more desirable than association with them. But their participation in the common errors and frailties of our nature cannot impart to them any truth or dignity. It is easy to have fellowship with good men in their faults, with great men in their infirmities. As protestants, we claim to be associated with the Fathers by all the scriptural truth which they held; and we seek to be associated with them by all the moral and spiritual excellencies their characters exhibit. We would follow them,

but only as they followed Christ. We wish not to add the absurdities of a former age to the follies of the present. Instead of seeking to be connected with the pious men of ancient times, by those formal and ceremonial peculiarities from which they long have ceased, we would be connected with them by what is moral and heavenly. These are the only characteristics that are esteemed desirable in the higher state of being to which they have passed, the only bonds of union that will not be destroyed.

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, is, we presume, already known to not a few of our readers. Mr. Alexander's name would lead many to obtain it, without waiting for our critical notice to commend it to their regard. To those who may honour us by thus deferring to our judgment, we most cordially recommend this book. It is not so short as to be superficial, nor so long as to be tedious. It does not bewilder the reader by wandering over the almost interminable range of topics which might be brought into this controversy, but judiciously confines attention to those leading questions which only are of real moment, and which are fundamental to the rest. The style of the work is simple and appropriate, serious as befits the grave subjects it discusses, clear and graceful as that of one accustomed to orderly thinking, and well practised in the communication of his thoughts to others.

The first chapter is introductory, treating of that simplicity which is a characteristic of the Christianity of the New Testament; and of that tendency to corruption, the appearance of which, in the early church, was foretold by the apostles, and which is described by the historians of the church in after times. The second chapter treats of the fundamental question of discussion, the rule of religious opinion and practice. It shows that there is no probability that the apostles ever published such little systems of divinity as some writers imagine, and that since the reasons which determined the character of their writings would have a similar influence on all their communications, we must conclude that they did not deem creeds and articles the best means for the religious instruction of men. It is then shewn that the alleged scriptural and ecclesiastical evidence for the existence of such doctrinal symbols is quite irrelevant, and that none were known to the earliest writers of the Christian church. The next section is, on the use and authority of tradition as preserved in the writings of the early church. Its real nature in reference to matters of fact, of which the Fathers were competent witnesses, and in regard to which we must be in some measure dependent on their testimony, is pointed out; and it is shewn that in matters of doctrine, neither

have they any similar advantage over us, nor have we such need of their aid. The right of private judgment is then vindicated, proved by positive arguments, defended from objections, and supported by the authority of those very Fathers whose works are now used to subvert the principles they themselves maintained. The third chapter is on the holy catholic church, where it is shewn that *the* church of Christ is a spiritual and not a visible society; that it consists of those who have received the truth of Christ, and are living as his followers; being the community of all who seek salvation through Christ; not a corporation of men giving out salvation to their fellow men. In the fourth chapter the claims and functions of the Christian ministry are discussed. The doctrine of apostolical succession is examined in reference both to its scriptural origin, and its historical validity, especially in relation to the English establishment. The value of episcopal ordination, and the claims of those thus ordained to the priestly office, are then investigated. In the fifth chapter, the views of the Anglo-catholics respecting the way in which men are introduced to Christian privileges are considered. The doctrine of justification and regeneration by baptism is refuted; and that of justification and regeneration by faith is maintained. In the sixth and last chapter, the author reviews the sentiments of his opponents in reference to the character of the Christian life, and the way in which we are to press on to perfection; shewing here, also, that Anglo-catholicism is not apostolical Christianity. Some important subordinate questions are noticed in an appendix, which contains many valuable quotations from early and later ecclesiastical writers.

Without professing to agree with Mr. Alexander in all the interpretations of scripture which he has given, or in all the views of truth which he has maintained, we think his work a most valuable addition to our religious literature, and a defence of scriptural doctrine highly serviceable. There are many books which are esteemed for the stores of learning which they exhibit, though they are sadly deficient in argumentative accuracy and power. And there are some which combine both of these excellencies, but are wanting in the courtesy and charity which the laws of good breeding, as well as the far higher principles of Christianity imperatively require. We have been delighted in perusing Mr. Alexander's book with the union of excellencies which it displays. We have the correct composition of a man of taste, the erudition of an accomplished scholar, the clear and forcible reasoning of a good logician, and withal the gentleness and fidelity becoming a minister of Christ. The nature of the work hardly admits of extracts: it cannot be estimated by fragments; but must be judged as a whole. Among the most valuable portions we reckon the

careful investigation of the meaning of all the principal texts of scripture adduced in this controversy, and we earnestly direct to these passages the attention of all who wish to form a judgment for themselves, on the important questions which now so much agitate the public mind. Those who are acquainted with the loose and unscholar-like fashion in which the writers of the opposite party are accustomed to quote scripture in support of their views will be highly pleased with the many admirable specimens of critical investigation with which this work abounds. Instead of assuming, on the ground of some slight analogy, or the occurrence of a single term, that the passages adduced contain a meaning consonant to his views, our author thoroughly examines the connexion and general bearing of his quotations, and thus elucidates and establishes their true signification.

The following passage, in reference to the alleged obscurity of the Holy Scriptures, will, we think, be acceptable to all our readers :

' Now, it is worthy of inquiry here, how far a knowledge of the system of the Christian theology, as a system, be *necessary* for the great interests of man as a sinner in the sight of God. Supposing it proved, that it is hopelessly beyond the reach of the mass of readers to construct, each for himself, a correct system of theology, in what way, and to what extent, is this a misfortune? Does it go the length of interfering with the individual's hopes of salvation? Or does it merely prevent his reaping the *advantages* which a systematic view of any science always confers upon those who are concerned in the application of its principles to practical ends? I can hardly conceive that the former part of this alternative will be maintained, for it would go to exclude from all hope of salvation many who, like the thief on the cross, are not in circumstances to receive a systematic detail of Christianity, as well as multitudes whose limited faculties, or unfavourable mental habits, positively incapacitate them from grasping a systematic view of any science. But if the latter be adopted, it follows that the sole use of authoritative teaching in the church is to help men to such an acquaintance with their Bible, as may enable them to become not good Christians, so much as good theologians. If this latter result be thought desirable, by all means let it be recommended and aimed at; but let it not be confounded with the former, nor let the discipline which may be thought requisite for this, the more difficult attainment, be pleaded as a barrier in the way of the other, the easier, but unspeakably more valuable of the two.

' But I am not prepared to admit, save for the sake of argument, that the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion regarding the system of truth revealed in the Bible, is so great as to preclude any man of sound judgment and common industry from attaining this advantage. Let there be an honest desire to discover truth; let the inquiry be prosecuted with care and perseverance; and let devout prayer ascend continually to God for the enlightening influences of his Holy Spirit, and I am bold to say, there is nothing in scripture to prevent any man of in-

telligence from arriving at as full and clear an apprehension of its truths, not only in themselves, but in their relative order and harmony, as could possibly be conveyed to him through the medium of any creed that has been, or may yet be penned. The task is not so unspeakably difficult that we should despair of its being accomplished if the conditions above specified be complied with. If passages be taken in the obvious sense which their grammatical construction, and the context in which they stand require—if one passage be compared with others relating to the same subject in other parts of the sacred volume—if the aid which judicious commentaries and notes on scripture supply be wisely used—and if the light be faithfully reflected upon scripture which may be borrowed from the practical experience of the people of God, as recorded both in the inspired narratives, and in the biographies of Christians of more recent times—it seems hardly conceivable that any person of ordinary intelligence, who looks for the assistance of the Divine Spirit in the study of the Bible, should ultimately fail of attaining a satisfactory acquaintance with its contents.* Nor are we left in this matter to mere conjecture. Holy men there are, and pious women not a few, even in the humbler walks of life, whose studies of the sacred page have made them wiser than their teachers, and given them to understand more than the ancients. With such it has been my privilege often to meet; and comparing what I have heard from them of the meaning of God's word with what I have learned in the same department from the writings of the Fathers, I have no hesitation in saying, that the latter against the former is but 'as the small dust in the balance.' To talk of the hopeless obscurity of the scriptures if they be not interpreted by creeds, seems to me the mere cant of sacerdotal assumption. That book which Timothy, whilst but a child, could know so as to be made wise thereby unto salvation—that book which it forms part of the business of every pious parent to expound to his household around the domestic hearth—that book over whose choicest treasures thousands of the poor, the illiterate, the despised, are rejoicing, not only in this country, but in lands which, but a few years ago, were covered with the gross darkness of heathenism—that book whose most hidden depths have been explored and expounded by men on whose minds the light of tradition never dawned—that book can be 'hopelessly obscure' only to those who are either too idle to study it, or too proud to learn what it inculcates.'—pp. 117—121.

There are a few points on which we cannot altogether agree with our author. In some we think he has erred, from the very proper desire to concede to his opponents every advantage which they can fairly claim. We rather object to the courtesy which

* * If the sense of the scriptures, as to any important point, may fairly be doubted by honest and sensible men, it seems to me no better than a mockery to call them the rule of faith; and it is imputing an obscurity to God's revelation, such as attaches to the works of no philosopher and no human legislator; for where is the philosopher whose main principles are not to be made out by his own disciples? where is the law whose main enactments are diversely interpreted by those who honestly study them?—*Arnold's Sermons*, vol. iii. *Introd.* p. 28.

has yielded the designation of Catholic to persons, many of whose views are peculiar to themselves, and whose spirit is most sectarian and uncharitable. We think the importance of the difference between the Anglo and Roman Catholics is in some passages overstated. The consent of the early Christian writers to the doctrines of the Anglo-Catholics ought not, in our opinion, to have been admitted. The Apostolical Fathers and a few others, are acknowledged not to exhibit these views, and probably many who are described as heretics received this title for protesting against the popular corruptions of their day. The value of the writings of the Fathers is, in our judgment, somewhat overrated. We demur especially to the statement, that they are to be revered as those who first put us in possession of certain facts of revelation, in the shape of doctrines or laws of divine truth. The comparison between them and the philosophers who first put us in possession of natural laws appears to us quite inappropriate. We have little reason to suppose that the Fathers were the first to exhibit the true doctrines which they taught, or that any extraordinary sagacity was requisite to the first deduction of these doctrines from the sacred volume. The facts of gravitation had been for ages before the view of mankind, but it remained for the genius of Newton so to combine them as to exhibit the general law; and though now any ordinary intelligence may verify his conclusions, we suppose that without his aid, or that of some one of similar intellectual superiority, the great truths he discovered would have remained unknown. This seems to be the reason for the reverence and gratitude considered to be due to philosophers, and we cannot see how it will apply to the Fathers. We agree with Mr. Alexander, that in regard to them there has often been 'a great deal of foolish talking, and much jesting that is anything but convenient.' This is but the natural consequence of the extravagant pretensions made on their behalf. But we think whatever allowances may be made for them on the ground of their necessary participation in the errors of their age, that still the low views of moral and spiritual subjects which prevail in their works, the puerile and fantastic interpretations of Scripture with which they abound, and the absence, except in a few cases, of the indications of clear and vigorous intellect, prove that their claims on the veneration of mankind, as teachers of religion, are very small; and from the rather undue importance assigned to them, (p. 72), we appeal to the passage already quoted from (p. 120), where a rather different, and we think a more correct, estimate of their worth is given. We must also dissent from the episcopalian interpretation, which makes the angels of the churches, in the book of the Revelation, the presiding presbyters of the

church, rather than the associated presbyters. If the poetical character of the book be regarded, and the symbolical representation of the angels, the stars of the lamps, the latter interpretation will, we think, appear more probable. We think, too, that a little more should have been advanced, on the principle 'that the order prescribed by the apostles in the churches which they planted is that which Christians in all ages are bound to follow,' than that 'the maintenance of this principle is indispensable to all who would place their church polity on any other basis than that of a fluctuating and uncertain expediency.' That expediency is to some degree fluctuating we admit, because the state of society is ever changing. That it is therefore peculiarly uncertain we do not see. And we can find no easier, more sure, or more Christian rule for the determination of many doubtful matters than this of expediency, in the highest sense of the term, conduciveness to the honour of our Lord, and to the best interests of men. Scriptural precedents indicate what was most expedient in apostolical times, and there is a strong presumption, human nature abiding the same, that what was best then is also best now. So far they are evidently obligatory, but not further. Of course no reference is here made to whatever in itself may be right or wrong. The distinctions of moral good and evil are independent of circumstances, and never vary. But what was chosen on account of its tendencies by the apostles, should be chosen by us for similar reasons. And if it be possible that things might be most useful then, and not most useful always, then apostolical practice cannot be regarded as universally applicable to guide, or as ever having authority to command. We know not on what other principle Mr. Alexander would defend the system which he himself maintains, against those who would revert to that of the Corinthian Church, with all its consequent disorders. To the statement, p. 328, that it is not faith that gives us an interest in the atonement of Christ, but the act of accepting God's offer to which faith naturally leads, we must also dissent. This acceptance being, in our opinion, on grounds both philological and theological, not the result of faith, but one of its essential elements.

But these points do not in the least invalidate the conclusions which Mr. Alexander's work so ably establishes. The subjects which it discusses are some of the most momentous which can engage the attention of an intelligent being. The controversy now carried on in relation to them is one of the deepest interest; its influence is already felt in almost every part of the country, and will extend to distant ages. We know of no book better suited than this to give a correct view of the chief doctrines of the Anglo-Catholic party, and by a just examination of Scrip-

tural evidence, to fortify against the assaults of error, and to enable all in their several stations to 'contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.'

Art. III. *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Honble. Charles Lord Sydenham, G.C.B., with a Narrative of his Administration in Canada.* Edited by his Brother, G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P. 8vo. pp. 498. London : J. Murray.

THIS volume consists of three parts, a biographical sketch of Lord Sydenham by his brother, extending to 106 pages, a narrative of his lordship's Canadian administration by Mr. Murdoch, his civil secretary, of 202 pages, and an appendix of 190 pages. The first portion is necessarily deficient in details, and does little more than furnish an outline of what we should like to have known. The journals and correspondence from which it has been principally drawn up are, we are informed, very copious, but 'it has been found impossible to introduce much matter from them in an original form without a breach of the restraints imposed, when dealing with such very recent times, by a sense of what is due to the feelings of other parties, and to the sacredness of private and confidential intercourse, although relating to public affairs.'

We are not disposed to quarrel with the rule which has been observed. On the contrary, we honour the feeling which regards the claims of the living while portraying the character of the dead, at the same time that we would urge a careful preservation of the documents in question, in order that a succeeding generation may be benefited by the political lessons which they contain. One serious disadvantage attending the biography of public men recently deceased is, that the whole truth cannot be told, that their motives and actions, their rules of conduct and political alliances cannot be fully disclosed, without violating the honourable understanding on which social and political compacts are formed, and thus inflicting on individuals more pain than there is good effected for the public. There will always be much in the machinery of political organizations which ought, for a time at least, to be concealed : whilst the journals of a public man, if at all voluminous, will be sure to contain many allusions to the opinions and procedure of associates, the early publicity of which would betray an utter want of delicacy and good faith. The very characteristics which render such documents invaluable to posterity, unfit them for immediate publication. They should be com-

mitted to wise and trustful keeping, in order, on the one hand, that they may be preserved from destruction, and on the other, may be guarded from being prematurely communicated to the public. We are the more solicitous in the present case, as from the habits of Lord Sydenham, the important events with which he was closely connected, and the singular characteristics of some of his associates, we are disposed to attach high value to his journals. Whilst, therefore, we regret the imperfect character of the sketch furnished by Mr. Scrope, and think that something more than a mere detail of measures and votes should have been given, we commend the scrupulous delicacy which has been observed.

Mr. Poulett Thomson—for by this name Lord Sydenham is best known—belonged to a class of men very different from that out of which our statesmen have usually been selected. One of the evils incident to an aristocracy, of which we have largely partaken, is the monopoly of public offices conceded to its members. Their political position has given them a weight in the legislature far exceeding their merits, to the exclusion of men greatly their superiors in talent, industry, and knowledge of the public weal. Placed in a position from which the ordinary motives to self-improvement are withdrawn, confined within a clique, and necessarily ignorant—save in rare cases—both of the character and of the wants of their countrymen, the vast change to which their opinions are subjected, and their rapidly progressing views, they are yet taught to regard office as their own, and to anticipate the division of its spoil as their rightful property. The exceptions admitted are few, and answer a serviceable end. They are just sufficient to lull public suspicion, to keep up the farce by which our credulous countrymen are deceived, and to invigorate, by the infusion of new blood, what would otherwise become a decrepid and loathsome body. The splendid talents of a Burke may occasionally force its way within the aristocratical circle, but for the most part, and as the standing rule, the gains, though not the labours of office, are distributed amongst the scions of a class widely estranged in habit and feeling from the great body of the people.

The aristocratical tendencies of the English mind are visible on every hand, and may, not unfrequently, be seen in a form of contemptible sycophancy or of arrogant assumption. Nor is the fault restricted to one political party. It belongs to the Whigs equally with the Tories; indeed there are some indications of its pertaining to them even in a higher degree*. The latter party have usually been more prompt and liberal

* The history of Mr. Burke affords a confirmation of this opinion. On the formation of Lord Rockingham's administration, in 1782, considerable sur-

in the patronage of rising talent, as if aware that their only chance of maintaining their position was in securing the services of men gifted with the higher endowments of intellect. However this may be, it is sufficiently notorious that aristocratical connexion, rather than personal fitness, has been the usual inlet to political offices amongst us. Mere talent, though combined with unquestioned integrity and large political knowledge, has availed but little, unless aided by the patronage of the dominant class. We are not without hope that this state of things is passing away. It has already endured too long, and has been productive of incalculable mischiefs to the community. The estrangement of the great mass of our people from the government, an utter want of confidence in the integrity and wisdom of their rulers, an intense desire of change, and a growing resolution to achieve it, are amongst the fruits which it has produced. The process is still going on, and the events which have recently transpired, both within the walls of Parliament and without them, are adapted greatly to accelerate it. The hollowness of party, on the one hand, has been combined with a purification of popular political principles on the other. The elements of future beneficent change have been rescued from the hands of unprincipled demagogues, whilst the strifes of faction have been so exhibited as to reveal their selfishness, and thus destroy the last vestige of that reverence with which party names were formerly viewed by our countrymen.

The Memoir before us affords a not unpleasing evidence of the truth of some of the observations we have offered. As is remarked by the biographer :

‘The public life of Lord Sydenham indeed offers a rare, perhaps an unexampled, instance of the rapid attainment of eminent station by the

prise was felt at his not being included in the cabinet, and the principal reason for his exclusion was, as stated by Mr. Prior, ‘the necessities of his party, which required the cabinet offices for men of greater family and parliamentary interest, though of far inferior talents.’ * * * * ‘Were a man in this country,’ remarks Mr. Burke’s biographer, ‘of greater capacity and attainments, though of little influence or fortune, such, for instance, as Mr. Burke himself was—deliberately to choose his side in politics as he would a profession—that is for the advantages it is likely to bring—he would probably not be a Whig. That numerous and powerful body is believed to be too tenacious of official consequence to part with it to talents alone—and too prone to consider high rank, leading influence, and great family connexion, rather than abilities of humbler birth as of right entitled to the first offices of government. They are willing, indeed, to grant emolument, but not to grant power to any other than lawyers, who do not materially interfere with their views on the chief departments of government; an opinion which, notwithstanding the profession of popular principles, is believed to have made them sometimes unpopular in the great market of public talent, and to have driven many useful allies into the ranks of the Tories.’—*Prior’s Life of Burke*, 3d edition, pp. 232, 233.

force of personal qualifications alone. Without any peculiar advantages of birth, rank, fortune, or connexion, by the unaided exertions of his talents, industry, and tact, he had, before the age of forty, sat for fifteen years in Parliament—ten of them as the spontaneously selected representative of the great manufacturing capital of the country, Manchester—had been minister of state ten years, in the cabinet five, and occupied the station of Governor-General of all the British North American Colonies; being rewarded for his brilliant administration of this high office by a Peerage and the order of the Bath.—*Pref.* p. vii.

Mr. Thomson was the third son of John Poulett Thomson, Esq., a respectable Russian merchant in London. He was born on the 13th of September, 1799, and derived probably from his mother the constitutional weakness which characterised him in subsequent life. In infancy he was remarkable for grace and beauty, and attracted in 1803 the special attention of George III. during a visit of that monarch at Weymouth. An anecdote illustrative of a pleasing trait in the character of the aged king, is recorded in connexion with this early period of Mr. Thomson's life.

‘His elder brother yet remembers the terror inspired when at their first meeting with the Sovereign on the parade, General Garth was dispatched to bring the children to the presence, and they were subjected to a rapid interrogatory from the impatient Monarch as to their names, birth, and parentage. After this the King became so partial to Charles, the youngest, then not quite four years old, that he insisted on a daily visit from him, often watched at the window for his arrival, ran down himself to open the door to let him in, and carried him about in his arms to show all that could amuse the child, in the very ordinary lodging-house then occupied by the royal party, and especially the suppers laid out for the children's balls, which their majesties frequently gave for the amusement of their young favourites. On one occasion, the King being on the pier-head, about to embark in the royal yacht upon one of his sailing trips, and having the child in his arms, he turned round to Mr. Pitt, who was in attendance at his elbow, having probably hurried down from London for an audience on important business, and exclaimed, ‘Is not this a fine boy, Pitt? Fine boy, isn't he? Take him in your arms, Pitt; take him in your arms: charming child, isn't he?’ Then suiting the action to the word, he made the stiff and solemn premier, weighed down as he seemed to be with cares of state, dandle and kiss the pretty boy, and carry him some minutes in his arms, albeit strange and unused to such a burden. The circumstance, though trivial, had so comical an effect, from the awkwardness and apparent reluctance with which the formal minister performed his compelled part of nurse, as to make an impression on the writer, who stood by, though but seven years old himself, which time has never effaced. Pitt, although no doubt fretted by his master's childish fancy, which exposed him to the ill-suppressed titter of the circle around, including several of the younger branches of the royal family, to whom the scene afforded great amusement, put the

best countenance he could on the matter, but little thought, no doubt, that the infant he was required to nurse would, at no very distant time, have the offer of the same high official post which he then occupied, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and would be quoted as, perhaps, *next to himself*, the most remarkable instance in modern times of the early attainment of great public eminence by the force of talent alone; equally purchased, alas! by premature extinction, at the zenith of a brilliant career.'—pp. 2—4.

At the age of seven he was sent to the preparatory school of the Rev. Mr. Hannington, at Hanwell, whence he was removed three years afterwards to the Rev. Mr. Woolley's, near Tamworth, and was subsequently placed under the charge of a clergyman at Hampton, with whom he remained till the summer of 1815. Being designed for business, he was then, in his sixteenth year, sent to a branch of his father's firm at St. Petersburg, where he continued upwards of two years. His education was consequently limited to a small private school, and yet he was subsequently found to be eminently gifted with many of those qualities which are supposed to be the exclusive growth of our public schools and universities. The truth would seem to be, that the indulgence with which he was treated in early life, acting upon a kind and generous disposition, failed to produce its usual evil results, and gave rise to a self-confidence and decision which, as regulated by a sound judgment, was highly conducive to his own and the public good. The question so long disputed respecting the comparative benefits of private and public education, is not so simple or easy of solution as some imagine. There are advantages attaching specially to each, though the general rule is subjected to considerable modification from the disposition and early associations of individual minds. It is impossible to calculate with certainty on the result of any system of training in particular cases, though in general it may be predicted that the almost solitary life of a private pupil, exempted as it must necessarily be from collision with other minds, and free even from the stimulus of healthful competition, will fail to prepare for the hard labour and continuous struggles of real life. Indecision of purpose, an exaggerated notion of the attainments made, a light consideration of the views and feelings of others, and an ignorance—to an extent sometimes deeply injurious—of their character and schemes, are amongst the not unfrequent characteristics of private education. It is not, however, unmixed good on the other side; there is a large infusion of evil mingling with the advantages obtained at our public seminaries, and in very many cases more than counterbalancing them. The attributes of individual character should therefore be taken into account—the minuter points both of disposition and of intellect should be

attentively considered, before a youth is subjected to the all but omnipotent influences of either system. In the case of Mr. Thomson, the choice—as shown by the result—was a wise one, though there are probably but few who, had they been cognizant of his future career, would not have recommended a more public system of training as best fitted to develope and mature his powers.

In the northern capital the young merchant was introduced to the highest and most polished society. His brother informs us—

‘ His personal recommendations soon rendered him a special favourite with those of the Russian nobility and diplomatic corps then resident at St. Petersburg, who had the good taste to open their doors to the English. It was no doubt in these circles, and especially in the close intimacy which he was permitted at this period to enjoy with several polished and highly cultivated individuals then residing at St. Petersburg, such as Count Woronzoff, Count and Countess Sablukoff, (very old friends of his family,) Princess Galitzin, &c., that he began to acquire that peculiar charm of manner, and polished tone of society, which distinguished him through life, and was no mean aid to advancement in his political career.’—p. 6.

He was also greatly indebted to the vigilant watchfulness of an affectionate and intelligent mother, the value of which can only be estimated by those who, removed from parental oversight and guidance, have shared these angelic ministrations. Innumerable instances go to prove, that of all the elements which contribute to the formation of sound principles and a healthful moral character, none is so potent as that which is ministered by enlightened maternal solicitude. There is a charm in counsels ministered by lips from which we have been accustomed to hear only the accents of kindness, which disarms opposition, and guards the heart against temptations under which it would otherwise inevitably fall.

A failure of health having required some cessation from business, Mr. Thompson left St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1817, and spent the greater part of the following year in the north of Italy and Switzerland, whence he repaired to the counting-house in London.

‘ After so long a holiday, spent in the amusement and excitement of foreign travel, it was quite natural that the young man should feel the confinement and dull routine of a London counting-house extremely irksome; and his letters at this period contain many complaints of the kind. His anxious desire, indeed, both then and for some time after, was to exchange the occupation he had so far engaged in for that of diplomacy for which both his natural and acquired qualifications, as well

as the habits of foreign travel, and the society in which he had for some time moved, peculiarly fitted him. He had a remarkable knowledge of many languages, speaking French, German, Russ, and Italian, almost like a native; and his manner and address were courtly, refined, and fascinating. At his earnest solicitation endeavours were made by his friends with a view to obtain employment for him in some foreign embassy, fortunately without success. It was not long before he had reason to congratulate himself on the failure, and to discover that in an age and country of so practical a character as this, the knowledge of facts and habits of business to be acquired in commercial pursuits, by a mind endowed with faculties of a high order, are far more likely to lead to station and power than any familiarity with foreign courts or diplomatic intrigue. Had his wishes been fulfilled, and his career consequently changed, he might, and probably would have grown grey in the pleasant but somewhat idle occupation, of a *chargé d'affaires* at some petty foreign court, without ever attaining one-tenth part of the reputation or power, to which his mercantile education and information, gathered in the busy marts of British industry, speedily elevated him.—pp. 8, 9.

Failing in these efforts, he returned to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1821, where he remained nearly two years, perfecting himself in the knowledge of commercial pursuits, and in that acquaintance with the reciprocal interests of different nations, which proved so conducive to his public usefulness afterwards. He finally returned to London in 1824, where he thenceforward 'permanently fixed himself, taking his share in the business of the counting-house, and occasionally conducting it wholly himself, in the absence of his elder brother and partner, Andrew.'

The following year was one of the most eventful epochs of British commerce, and Mr. Thomson, in common with many others greatly his seniors in age, suffered severely from the bursting of the bubbles which were then afloat. This period was, moreover, distinguished by increased attention on the part of the legislature to the faulty character of our protective duties. Mr. Huskisson was mainly instrumental in drawing public attention to this subject, and had to contend, as is well known to those who are familiar with the history of the period, with a host of objections which even Colonel Sibthorpe would now be ashamed to utter. Commercial reform made certain though slow progress, and the spirit of the times obviously called for men of practical experience in commercial pursuits. It is no wonder therefore that Mr. Thomson began to turn his attention to St. Stephen's, and to contemplate the possibility of his there finding a more appropriate sphere for the exertion of his talents, than the counting-house supplied. His political principles were, moreover, of a liberal complexion.

'These principles,' his biographer remarks, 'were entirely self-formed. Those of his family, of his father certainly, were rather of the c'

complexion. But whether acquired by reflection during his residence among the despotic, and consequently stagnating states of the continent, or from his course of reading, or from the general bent of his mind, or, as seems most probable, from all these influences combined, certain it is that his political principles were from the first of a very liberal character, and led him to cultivate the society of those who entertained similar views on questions of public interest. He thus became acquainted about this time, among others, with Dr. Bowring, Mr. Mill, Mr. Warburton, and Mr. Hume, and was occasionally admitted to the hermitage of the eccentric and amiable Bentham. He likewise studied the science of Political Economy with Mr. M'Culloch, and frequented the Political Economy Club then lately instituted.'—pp. 13, 14.

In the summer of 1825 he was invited to offer himself as a candidate on the liberal interest for Dover; and in the canvass which followed, was greatly assisted by some of the leading members of the utilitarian school. 'Bentham himself had taken so great a liking for him, that he broke through all the habits of his hermit-like existence—actually took up his residence at Dover, canvassed daily for him, opened his house and allowed himself to be accessible to all Mr. Thomson's friends, and mingled in the contest in a manner which surprised all who knew his retiring disposition, but which strongly marked the interest he took in his young friend's prospects.'

The dissolution did not take place till May, 1826, when Mr. Thomson was returned by a considerable majority, though at an expence of three thousand pounds. In taking this decided step he was opposed both by his father and his eldest brother; indeed, so far did the remonstrances of the latter proceed, as to threaten a dissolution of partnership. Referring to these circumstances, Mr. Scrope observes:—

'His father and eldest brother remonstrated against the undertaking, as tending to withdraw his attention from the city business, to which it was desirable that he should devote himself. Neither, it is clear, had at this time the least idea of the powers possessed by him, and before long to be brought into active exertion—powers which, applied in the career of public life, enabled him subsequently not merely to reflect lustre on his connexions and on the mercantile class to which he belonged, but materially to benefit the general interests of British commerce, and advance the welfare and prosperity of his country.

'He himself was evidently gifted with a juster appreciation of his capacities. And here that happy self-confidence which has already been mentioned as one of the main elements of his success, was eminently useful in fortifying his resolutions in favour of a public life against the remonstrances and dissuasions of some of his nearest connexions.'—pp. 15, 16.

One of the earliest votes of the young senator was in support of Mr. Hume's motion, March 16th, 1827, embodying the prin-

ciple of a free trade in corn under a moderate fixed duty. The minority with which he ranked on that occasion consisted only of sixteen, which sufficiently betokened the decision of his views, and the independent course he was disposed to pursue. He took little part at first in the debates of the House, wisely confining himself to an observation of its character, and seeking to familiarize his mind with its usages and laws. In support, however, of the commercial policy of Mr. Huskisson he spoke at considerable length in a style which commanded the attention of the House, and was alluded to in terms of warm eulogy by that distinguished statesman. He advocated also the adoption of the ballot, and voted with Lord John Russell for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Referring to the latter subject, in a letter to his brother, dated Feb. 28th, 1828, he says,—

‘We had a *triumph*, in which I was an unit, on Tuesday. The greater, that it was wholly unexpected, for ministers had made such exertions to bring up all their troops, that a defeat of Lord John Russell’s motion was considered certain. Peel’s opposition was intelligible, at least the motive (for the reasons he gave were certainly not so); but some who avow themselves friends of religious liberty, were pitiful in their conduct. It will be delightful to see men who act so disgracefully reap the just reward of their bad deeds, for the dissenters will be in arms against them, and pay them off at the next election. God forbid we should have one just now; but things look ominous. The king has, certainly, been very bad for some time, and those about him begin to allow that he is not immortal. *God save him!* for a general election would be a very ugly thing.’—p. 21.

His attention throughout this period of his parliamentary life was specially devoted to questions pertaining to the trade and commerce of the country, at the same time that he was a zealous supporter of all measures tending to the enlargement of popular rights. It was soon ascertained that he was thoroughly informed on the commercial topics to which he addressed himself, and the usual result followed. He was listened to with attention, and steadily rose in the estimation of the House.

On the accession of Earl Grey to office in 1830, the post of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, with the Treasurership of the Navy, was offered to Mr. Thomson, and accepted by him. He had by this time established for himself a reputation, which clearly pointed him out as the best qualified person for such an office, and to this honourable distinction he was indebted for the appointment.

‘The part,’ says his brother, ‘he had taken in the debates of the House, and in the proceedings of its committees, on questions connected with commerce and finance, had proved him to possess not only a clear

practical acquaintance with the details of these subjects, but also principles of an enlarged and liberal character, and powers of generalisation and a comprehensiveness of view, rarely found combined with the former qualities in the same individual. The loss of Mr. Huskisson had been severely felt by the public, and especially by those who looked for the further extension of those enlightened principles he had begun to introduce into our commercial legislation; and in Mr. Poulett Thomson they thought they saw (and his further career justified the expectation) one imbued with the same enlarged views and liberal principles, with natural sagacity, energy, activity, and habits of business, fully equal to those possessed by Mr. Huskisson, together with an intimate knowledge of commercial concerns, acquired from opportunities of practical insight and foreign travel, advantages which that statesman had never possessed. Added to which there were indications of a firmness and determination of character, coupled with tact and discretion, the want of which in Mr. Huskisson was perhaps more injurious to his successful career than any of the external circumstances he had to contend against.'—pp. 41—42.

We pass over the dry details of his official engagements; simply remarking that they were characterized by unwearied industry, and by a faithful application of the principles advocated when in opposition. Referring to the reductions which he effected, his biographer tells us, and it is bare justice to the memory of the deceased to keep the statement in mind, that—

' His practice was to ascertain from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the proper period in each session, the largest sum that he could be permitted to dispose of for this purpose. He then applied himself, by careful and searching inquiries, to determine how the boon could be most advantageously bestowed;—in other words, what reductions could be made in the multifarious articles of the Tariff, so as to secure the greatest benefit to the productive and consuming classes, without risking any larger amount of revenue. The result was an annual improvement sensibly felt by the public throughout the minutest ramifications of trade; while the effect upon the revenue was comparatively trifling.

' Even where financial or political considerations stopped him from carrying his reductions further, Mr. Thomson had established principles and set an example of system in the arrangement of our Tariff, which his successors at the Board of Trade have found it necessary to carry on to still further improvements of the same nature.

' The records of the Board of Trade, and the evidence of the able officers permanently employed there, such as Mr. Macgregor and the late Mr. Deacon Hume, attest that the more recent enlarged alterations of the Tariff effected by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone are, to a great extent, but the realization of projects and the carrying out of principles laid down by Mr. Poulett Thomson during his official connexion with that board, as *desiderata* to be secured whenever the government had the power to do so.

' The main principles, for example, of the *abolition* of all *prohibitions* on imports, the *reduction* of duties on raw materials employed in ma-

nufactures to a nominal amount, and on manufactured articles and objects of consumption to a per centage which would defy the competition of the smuggler, were specifically laid down by Mr. Thomson as the true principles of our Tariff, in more than one speech and document.'—pp. 65—67.

In the general election of 1832 he was returned both for Dover and for Manchester; in the latter case 'without having solicited a vote or issued an address, nay, without having even given any sanction to his nomination.' This was a proud event, honourable alike to both parties; and as an earnest of the public judgment on the measures of the Administration could not but be highly gratifying to Mr. Thomson's colleagues.

'Unconnected by business or residence with the district, unknown to the electors personally, known only to them by his public character and parliamentary conduct, he had been spontaneously selected as one of their representatives in Parliament, upon the first occasion of their exercising the franchise conferred by the Reform Act, by the constituency of the most important seat of manufacturing industry in the empire. Instances of such elections, it is said, occasionally occur in France. But in the history of parliamentary elections in England such a mode of selecting a representative, so honourable to both parties, the constituency and the object of their choice was, we believe, wholly unprecedented.

'To Mr. Poulett Thomson, the honour thus conferred was, from many circumstances, peculiarly gratifying. He had earned it by his own exertions, unaided by rank, station, or influence, without a pledge, without even a promise, beyond that which his past conduct held out. It confirmed, by the unquestionable seal of public approbation, the high opinion that had been formed of him by his friends now in office. It amply justified their recent selection of him as a colleague. It moreover proved the truth of what they had always maintained through the struggle for reform, as to the worthiness of the constituency which their measure created; while, at the same time, it imparted to them a new element of moral strength, in the unsolicited support and adhesion of a community capable of making so noble an use of its newly acquired franchises.

'It was impossible for Mr. Poulett Thomson to hesitate in the choice he had now to make of sitting either for Dover or Manchester. Though he had formed many attached friends in the former place, and could not but feel regret at the dissolution of his connexion with them, yet the borough had been too deeply imbued with the vices of the old system of election, not to be always a source of very great trouble and expense to its representatives. And, under any circumstances, the representation of Manchester, by far the most important manufacturing constituency in the kingdom, was a station not to be refused; a position which would necessarily give him an increase of weight and influence, both in the councils of the Government and in the House of Commons, of the highest importance to the efficiency of his exertions in the public service. These were motives to which every other consideration must yield. And accordingly, in pursuance of them, Mr Poulett Thomson issued without

delay a farewell address to the electors of Dover, and started for Manchester, where preparations were making on a scale of extraordinary magnificence for a public entertainment to the new members.'—pp. 54, 55.

We are surprised to learn that in 1833 the Irish Secretaryship was offered to Mr. Thomson, and are at a loss to divine for what ends it could have been proposed to remove him from a sphere for which he was so eminently qualified, for one in respect of which he had shown no special fitness. His biographer throws no light on this subject, and we are somewhat curious to know whether the *Journals and Correspondence* of the deceased are equally silent.

On the secession, in 1834, of Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham from the administration of Earl Grey, Mr. Thomson became President of the Board of Trade, in the place of Lord Auckland who was removed to the Admiralty, and retained the same appointment on the accession of Lord Melbourne in the July of that year. On the reinstatement of that nobleman, after the brief administration of Sir Robert Peel, he returned to the same post, and was admitted to a seat in the Cabinet.

The period which succeeded is passed over lightly by Mr. Scrope, as furnishing few materials for elucidating either the character or measures of his brother. Every man in taking office loses in some degree his individuality. His conduct resolves itself into that of the Administration to which he belongs. Each member is required to give up something, and limits are in consequence prescribed in conformity with the basis agreed on, rather than with the views and predilections of individuals. To this, when restrained within the bounds of an honourable consistency, no valid objection can attach; indeed it is absolutely needful to the co-working of any number of men. The mischief is, when the plea of necessity is urged to cover personal delinquency; when great principles are merged in the pursuit of petty details; when independence and the public service are bartered for the gains or influence of office. The character of public men has been seriously damaged on many occasions by the readiness evinced to coalesce with any parties, and on any principles, in order to obtain the ends of a selfish ambition. We need not recur to the times of North and Fox in confirmation of these remarks: the Upper House just now furnishes an instance in point. Who would have thought, some few years since, that Henry Brougham could ever become the most active and zealous of the Tory allies; that he would bid so high for office as to surpass the least scrupulous of his new associates; and that, forgetting former professions and former services, he would do all that in him lay to retard the

cause of popular freedom by securing a long tenure of office to its sworn and hereditary foes. But so it is; disappointed ambition, envenomed by personal hostility, has thrown him into associations from which he would formerly have indignantly recoiled, and that too at the sacrifice of all he was accustomed—in profession at least—to hold most dear.

‘ No Tory trusts him, knowing what he was,
While Whigs abhor him, for he left the cause.’

On the question of the corn laws, Mr. Thomson maintained an honourable independence. With his views of our commercial system it would have augured ill of his rectitude, had he yielded on this point to the dictation of his colleagues. It would have been a surrender of principles long entertained and regarded as of vital interest to the welfare of the community. These principles lay at the foundation of his views, and to abandon them, therefore, would have been to discard a policy, the adoption of which he had been accustomed to represent as needful to the salvation of the empire. He therefore required that the repeal of the corn laws should be left as an open question, and though with considerable difficulty, he carried his point. The policy of Lord Melbourne’s cabinet on this question has been severely censured, and we are not about to defend it. At the same time, we should in justice remember, that in delaying their proposition till the eleventh hour, they were not acting against the combined and magnificent array of public sentiment which now demands, as with a voice of thunder, the enfranchisement of our commercial policy. Had the members of that cabinet been equal to the crisis which impended, they would, doubtless, at an earlier period, have assailed the strong-hold of monopoly; but we need not be surprised that they shrunk from a task in which immediate success was hopeless, and utter defeat more than probable. Mr. Thomson’s views on this subject, and the course he pursued, are thus described by his biographer:—

‘ The important principle of free trade, to the advancement of which Mr. Poulett Thomson devoted every effort, could not, therefore, be generally and fully carried out without affecting interests too powerful for a Minister of Trade to touch, requiring the consent and co-operation of the entire government. And this he failed in obtaining, but not through want of energetic and persevering remonstrance.

‘ On the Corn Law question especially, the citadel of the Protectionist party, it can be no secret that he exerted himself to the utmost for a series of years to induce the government to propose a change founded on the principles of a moderate fixed duty.

‘ And, individually, he never lost an opportunity of advocating the same principle by his voice or vote. In 1827 and 1828, as has been shown, he supported Mr. Hume and a numerically insignificant section

of the House of Commons in denouncing the fluctuating scale then established, and recommending a low fixed duty in its place. In 1830, when called on to accept place under the government of Lord Grey, he declined it unless with the stipulation that he was to be at liberty to speak and vote for an alteration of the existing corn law. In 1834 he vindicated that right, and in the face of the cabinet, of many of his friends who strongly dissuaded him from the course, and of much public and private attack, he spoke powerfully in favour of such a change, in direct reply to his colleague in the government, Sir James Graham. In 1835 he joined the government again on the same condition, and in 1839 he spoke at great length and voted in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for a committee.

His two speeches of 1834 and 1839, which will be found in the Appendix, contain the most unanswerable arguments upon this question, and in fact will appear, upon examination, to exhaust the subject, comprehending the substance of all that has been since so repeatedly, but never more ably or lucidly, put forward in spoken or written essays, by the recent and numerous advocates of the repeal of the Corn Law.

It was therefore in no degree owing to any lukewarmness or deficiency of zeal on his part upon this most vital question, that the delay took place in its advocacy by the government of which he was a member. That delay may be far more justly imputed, if blame exist any where, to the parties most directly interested in the question, the manufacturing and commercial classes, who so long slumbered over it, and could not be roused from their torpor by the remonstrances of Mr. Thomson himself, and other more far-sighted members of those classes, until the crisis which he and they anticipated had actually arrived, when the diminished demand of foreign nations, prevented by the Corn Law from becoming our customers, had brought on an amount of pressure and distress, threatening the decay and destitution of large portions of our manufacturing and commercial industry, which depend for their existence on foreign demand.

So long as this torpor existed, so long as the public out of doors appeared careless of the matter, Mr. Thomson could not but yield to the argument of his colleagues, which was based on the indisputable fact, that to bring it forward was to break up the government; and whilst other matters of great importance to the welfare of the people remained unsettled, and could be accomplished only by a liberal ministry, it appeared to him, and to those who agreed in his opinions, right to suspend their determination, and defer the irrevocable step of a ministerial declaration in favour of a great change in the Corn Law.—pp. 85—87.

In the spring of 1836, the impaired state of his health suggested the necessity of obtaining some relief from the long night-sittings of the House of Commons. A removal to the Upper House was at one time contemplated, but difficulties, not specified by his biographer, prevented this, and on the elevation of Mr. Spring Rice to the peerage in 1839, he was proffered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, or the Governor-Generalship of Canada. He accepted the latter

appointment, and on the 18th of September embarked at Portsmouth, in the Pique frigate. An entry in his private journal discloses his view of the state of parties at this time, and his little hope of such measures being carried in the British parliament as he deemed absolutely needful.

'Saturday, Sept. 21, 1839.—I have thought a good deal within the last few days of my position ; and, upon the whole, I think I have done right, both on public and on personal grounds. I have a better chance of settling things in Canada than any one they could have found to go ; and if I had not taken it then, as I could not well have got out of the Government, I should have shared in the disgrace next session. It is a *great field*, too, if I bring about the union, and stay for a year to meet the United Assembly, and set them to work. On the other hand, in England there is little to be done by me. At the Exchequer all that can be hoped is to get through some *BAD* tax. There is no chance of carrying the House with one for any great commercial reforms, *timber, corn, sugar, &c.* ; party and private interests will prevent it. If Peel were in he might do this, as he could muzzle or keep away his Tory allies, and we should support him. If he got in and had courage, what a field for him ! But he has *not* !'—pp. 101, 102.

Such of our readers as are desirous of informing themselves on Mr. Thomson's Canadian Administration, may be referred to Mr. Murdoch's able narrative, which forms the second part of the volume before us. Our limits preclude our entering on the topics which it suggests, but we should be wanting in justice to Mr. Murdoch if we did not place on record our high opinion of the ability, temper, and judgment with which he has executed his task. It has seldom been our lot to examine a document which commands so completely the respect and confidence of the reader.

The triumphant success of the Governor-General's administration was rewarded by his being called to the Upper House, under the title of Baron Sydenham, of Sydenham, in Kent, and Toronto in Canada ; but his death, which speedily followed, prevented his enjoyment of the honour conferred. His health suffered severely from an aggravation of the gouty attacks, to which he had long been subject, and began in 1841 to assume an appearance which alarmed his friends. 'I do not recover strength,' he remarks, in a private letter, 'which hitherto I always did very rapidly after an attack. My work oppresses me as it never did before, and I am ready to hang myself half a dozen times a day.' His lordship consequently made up his mind to return immediately on the close of the colonial session. He wrote in the highest spirits to his friends, and evidently anticipated, with no slight satisfaction, a renewal of his intercourse with them. On the 4th September, however, as he was

returning from an excursion on horseback, his horse fell under him, and on recovering his footing dragged him some little distance. He was soon extricated from his perilous position, but the principal bone of the leg was fractured obliquely, and a large and fearful wound was inflicted above the knee. No danger was at first anticipated, though a continued restlessness and want of sleep betokened an unsafe and precarious condition. He continued his attention, during the intervals of protracted suffering, to public business, and forwarded his arrangements for leaving the colony. It soon, however, became evident that his shattered constitution was incapable of rallying from the injuries he had received. Mr. Murdoch's account of the closing period of his lordship's life, is given in the following terms:—

‘On the ninth day it became evident that no progress had been made towards the knitting of the fractured bone, and alarming symptoms began to manifest themselves in cramps, commencing in the leg and extending gradually to the stomach and throat—yet still the medical men considered him in no immediate danger. The prorogation of the Legislature had been first fixed for Wednesday, the 15th of September, but at the request of the Assembly had been postponed to Friday, the 17th. Up to Thursday night there was no apprehension of a fatal result; and during the whole of that day Lord Sydenham was occupied in deciding on the bills sent up to him by the Legislature, and in dictating the speech with which he proposed to close the session. On Friday morning he corrected his speech, and continued to transact public business; but he was evidently worse, and the prorogation was therefore postponed: in the afternoon of that day his medical attendants fearing that delirium might come on, he was advised to depute General Clitherow, the senior military officer on the spot, to prorogue the Houses. In the night, between Friday and Saturday the 18th, a change took place, which, for the first time, thoroughly aroused his family to his imminent danger, and showed that his sufferings were fast approaching to a fatal termination: all his symptoms were in those few short hours fearfully aggravated—the spasms by which for several days he had been tortured became more frequent and intense, and his strength was evidently fast failing. Those who had hoped most were now forced to allow that hope was no longer reasonable; and the only question was, how many hours he might still linger in agony.

‘He became very soon aware of his own state; yet even in those trying moments, when all worldly prospects were fast fading from his sight—when the reward of success and the discredit of failure were becoming alike indifferent, his sense of duty still kept alive his interest in public matters. With a calmness and tranquillity most astonishing to those who witnessed it, he continued between the paroxysms of pain to devote his attention to such public matters as required immediate decision. His faculties remained unimpaired; and early in the day he executed his will, in which, among other legacies, was one ‘in token of his friendship and esteem’ to Lord John Russell. When this part of his

will was subsequently read over to him, he repeated twice in a firm and emphatic tone, 'He was the noblest man it was ever my good fortune to know.' Among the many testimonies which, during his public life, Lord John Russell may have received, none can have borne more deeply the stamp of sincere attachment and admiration than these few words from the dying lips of his friend and fellow-statesman.

'In the afternoon Lord Sydenham invited all the members of his family to unite with him in receiving the Holy Sacrament. After the administration of that sacred ordinance he took leave of them individually, addressing to each some words of kind remembrance, accompanied by some token of his regard. He then desired to be left alone with his chaplain; and during the night he continued constant and fervent in prayer, and in preparation for the awful change about to take place. No murmur at his untimely fate ever escaped his lips, but in his death he evinced the same firmness and strength of mind which in life had been his distinguishing characteristic. Throughout the night his sufferings continued unabated, and repeatedly those who watched thought that his last moment was come; but it was not until seven o'clock of Sunday the 19th that he breathed his last.'—pp. 262—265.

'Never,' as the biographer remarks, 'had a more impressive lesson on the vanity of human life and the worthlessness of its ambition been read to the world.' The dying statesman was at the zenith of his fame; he had accomplished the difficult mission with which his Sovereign had entrusted him; had received the highest marks of her favour, and was about to return to a not inglorious repose in the bosom of his friends. A superior power, however, interposed, and these honours faded from his view, and the hopes he had cherished were at once and for ever extinguished.

We know nothing of Mr. Thomson's private character, neither has his biographer supplied us with any materials on which a judgment can be formed. Of this, therefore, we say nothing, nor is it our province to predicate anything of the future, yet we should fail in our duty as Christian journalists if we did not note, in terms of disapprobation, the delusive scene enacted in the chamber of the dying man. For what purpose were the symbols of the Saviour's death administered in the last and most solemn hour of life? Was it that his lordship had been taught to associate a mysterious efficacy with their reception, to regard them as a passport to higher honours and more permanent felicity,—an earnest and pledge of the pardon of sin and the attainment of heaven? It is a fearful thing that this simple institute of Christianity should be so grossly misused by our so-called national church. When will men learn to estimate religion aright, divesting it of everything partaking of the nature of a charm, and regarding it as a state of heart in unison with the spirit and principles of the Divine administration? The hierarchy, with its immense array of functionaries, is the great obstacle to such

a consummation, and must be removed out of the way before the religion of ceremonies will give place to that of inward conviction and sanctified affections.

Art. IV. *Sermons on Doctrinal and Practical Subjects.* By the Rev. James Henderson, Galashiels. pp. 366. 1843. Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant and Sons.

WE happen to know that by those of his brethren, who are privileged to hear him occasionally, the author of this volume has long been regarded as one of the finest preachers in the United Secession. Often have they wished that he could be prevailed on to favour the public with some specimens of his pulpit instructions; and we rejoice that he has at length overcome his somewhat excessive modesty, and yielded to the solicitations of his friends and congregation.

It frequently happens that sermons appear to less advantage, when perused in the closet, than when heard in the sanctuary; and especially is this remark likely to hold, if they contain any considerable admixture of description and embellishment. Nor is this a point difficult of explanation. An object which seems surpassingly radiant and beautiful, and which astonishes or delights us, if seen only for a few moments and then withdrawn for ever, will not awaken these emotions so vividly, if it awaken them at all, when placed permanently before the eye, and when opportunity is afforded to scrutinize it minutely, and to detect the defects and blemishes by which it is disfigured. Something similar to this holds with respect to intellectual and literary, if not also with respect to moral and religious objects. It may, therefore, be regarded as a sure proof of superior excellence, if pulpit discourses can stand the test just suggested; or even if, when read in private, they excite in a good degree that admiration, and awaken those devotional feelings, which they produced when enforced by the looks and tones of the preacher, and by the other auxiliary accompaniments of public delivery.

Now, without pretending to be altogether free from friendly prepossessions, but without being conscious of any unwarrantable partiality, we assert confidently that few sermons will sustain less damage from this ordeal than those before us. There are many preachers whose manner, we believe, is more popular than that of Mr. Henderson; but it is known also that the simplicity, the gravity, and earnestness, which characterize his delivery and his whole demeanour in the pulpit, are in beautiful accordance with the solemn and weighty instructions which he

is accustomed to proclaim, and contribute not a little to enforce and impress these instructions. If we are not egregiously mistaken, however, the discourses here published will not disappoint the anticipations of those who heard them from the lips of the author; nor will those of his readers, who have not heard him, wonder at the admiration with which his talents have long been spoken of by his friends and acquaintances.

The following are the subjects discussed in the present volume. Sermon I., 'Divine Condescension;' II., 'The Character of a Real Atonement;' III., 'Adoption by Faith;' IV., 'On the Influences of the Spirit;' V., 'On Spiritual Joy;' VI., 'The Lamb in the Midst of the Throne;' VII., 'The Glory of Christ given to his People;' VIII., 'The Last Supper;' IX., 'Professions and Engagements Remembered;' X., 'On the separate state of the Soul;' XI., 'On the Resurrection of the Redeemed;' XII., 'The Destruction of the last Enemy;' XIII., 'The Blessedness of the Pure in Heart;' XIV., 'Objects of promised Vision;' XV., 'The Believer's Prospects, and the Conduct to which they Prompt;' XVI., 'The Peace of Christ;' XVII., 'The Darkness at the Crucifixion of Jesus.'

From this enumeration the reader will perceive that while the topics here illustrated are highly important and interesting, they are marked by considerable diversity; and that several of them are somewhat uncommon, having seldom been treated before. He will perceive also that, with the exception of the last three discourses, they are arranged as nearly in systematic order, as their miscellaneous character will admit.

In attempting to characterize them more particularly, it is almost superfluous to say that they possess that cardinal and essential excellence, for the absence of which no other excellencies can afford a compensation. 'In doctrine they are incorrupt.' They present a full and faithful exhibition of 'the truth as it is in Jesus;' they are strictly evangelical; the doctrine contained in them is the doctrine of scripture,—the doctrine preached, we believe, with more or less clearness and ability, by every minister of the denomination of which the author forms a distinguished ornament.

Not only are the doctrinal sentiments of this volume sound and scriptural, but farther, it is with the grand and vital topics of Revelation, not with points of minor importance, or with questions of 'doubtful disputation,' that it is almost exclusively occupied. To state and illustrate, to enforce and apply the cardinal verities of the gospel, and the 'weightier matters of the law,' is manifestly the author's chief aim. Never does he permit himself to lose sight of the great objects of the Christian ministry,—the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints.

While he selects those themes which are transcendently momentous and interesting, he treats them in a manner suited to their sacred and celestial character; exhibiting them in those aspects in which they are most likely to be apprehended by the intellect, to impress the conscience, and to affect the heart. He often gives unequivocal proof of superior ability, and of accurate and extensive information in theology; but never, for the sake of displaying his ability or his information, does he indulge in philosophical dissertation or minute criticism, in fanciful speculation or irrelevant discussion. 'He preaches not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord.'

Much of what has just been said, might doubtless be affirmed, with almost equal propriety, of many other volumes of sermons published within the last forty or fifty years. But the question occurs, What are the principal qualities which distinguish Mr. Henderson as a preacher; and which constitute the leading features of the present volume? To answer this question is a pleasing, and not, we apprehend, a difficult task. We would say then that these discourses are not deficient in any of the requisites of good sermons; that they are not only scriptural, but clear, judicious, and affectionate; and that they exhibit a happy and harmonious combination of all the endowments of a vigorous, cultivated, and devout mind; for they exhibit a penetrating intellect, a sound and cautious judgment, great sensibility, a rich fancy, and a taste singularly correct and elegant. If we were required to select any one property, we should, without hesitation, mention *beauty* as their grand and prominent characteristic. Not that they are deficient in strength and substance; for without a body of solid and valuable thought, ornament would not constitute beauty, and would fail to impart pleasure as well as to communicate instruction. The sermons before us, as has already been hinted, are always marked by clearness and precision of thought; and not a few of them are distinguished by depth, ingenuity, and acuteness. Still, however, it is beauty rather than strength which forms their most conspicuous and attractive feature. At the loftiest flights of oratory the author does not often aim; but he is perpetually exemplifying the truth of the observation so justly applied to Dugald Stewart by Sir James Mackintosh, that 'the mild sentiments have their eloquence as well as the vehement passions.' Another remark made respecting the same philosopher, and made by Cicero respecting one of his contemporaries, might, with a slight modification, be applied to the author of the volume before us. 'He expresses refined thought in soft and transparent diction.' With great tenderness of feeling he combines a rich and poetical fancy; and we do not, at this moment, recollect any sermons

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The educated reader will scarcely need to be informed, that with the beauty now mentioned as characterizing the sermons under review, must necessarily be united many other kindred excellencies. To some of these it might be proper to advert, did space permit; but there is one which must not be passed in silence; and that is the air of ease and naturalness by which the composition is so strongly marked. It is hardly possible that a style so faultless and elegant could have been acquired without considerable care; but if there be truth in the remark that 'the perfection of art is to conceal art,' our author has been eminently successful in the work of composition. Whether it be the result of genius or of successful labour, we will not decide; but one thing is certain, that his discourses exhibit no indications of toil or effort, no affectation or extravagance, no ambitious straining after aught that is not attained. The thoughts are natural without being common-place; and they are expressed in that language which seems most proper and appropriate; which, by a common illusion, many a preacher will be apt to suppose would spontaneously have occurred to himself, but which, on trial, he will probably find to be beyond his reach.

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On the literary beauty of these discourses we have lingered the longer, not only because it is one of the most conspicuous of their characteristics, but because, in respect of this quality, they furnish an exception to a pulpit diction, which, for some time past, has been but too prevalent, especially in the southern part of the island. Without wishing to be unduly fastidious, in a matter confessedly of secondary importance, nay, with every disposition to allow all reasonable scope to the excursions of true genius, we cannot help thinking that the present style of preaching is not exactly such as any well educated man will contemplate with unmingled complacency. The late Dr. M'Call complained of a disposition to 'over-estimate the mere endowments of intellect and learning, and still more frequently the mere brilliancy of figurative illustration and play of fancy, so that, in comparison with them, the sober thought, the cool and temperate judgment, the honest simplicity, and the holy fervour, which were once held in the highest place, and must ever deserve to be regarded as the best and most legitimate distinctions of the ministry, because infinitely the most fitted for usefulness, have sunk almost into disesteem, and those who possess them are too frequently overlooked.'

Without being insensible to the transcendent talents and extraordinary merits of Dr. M'Call as a preacher, we may yet be allowed to remark, that he did not exemplify his own rules; and that those of his discourses which were most carefully prepared, were exceedingly deficient in that simplicity which he so warmly recommended. The fact is, that his unlimited command of words and images proved to him 'a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block.' And hence it is, that the leading truth which he aims at conveying is generally exhibited in aspects so numerous and diversified, or is accompanied by such a multiplicity of accessory ideas, that it is not distinctly perceived; and the mind of the reader, though almost always delighted and astonished, is not seldom dazzled and bewildered, instead of being instructed and impressed.

To refer by name to living preachers who have not appeared before the public as authors, would be indelicate and invidious; but of the published compositions of some highly and justly esteemed ministers, it may be said without offence that, while they contain much genuine, they contain also not a little spurious eloquence. The style is too ambitious, ornate, and diffuse; disfigured by hyperbolical amplifications and superfluous embellishments. If these blemishes are offensive even in writers of unquestionable ability, they must be still more so where they are not compensated by the redeeming qualities of superior talent and of much true eloquence. But it can hardly be doubted that a style such as that described, a style the reverse of simple

and natural, has of late years become far more prevalent than formerly. How few are there now who, we do not say, exemplify, but who even aim at the plainness, the directness, and terseness of Baxter. In short, if the definitions of Addison and Swift are correct, a pretty large proportion of the sermons preached and published in our time, and a pretty large proportion of other religious publications, will hardly be regarded as specimens of 'good writing.' It cannot be said of the sentiments and illustrations that they are 'natural but not obvious;' for they are often far-fetched and unnatural; and still less can it be said of the language, that it consists of 'proper words in proper places.'

In these remarks we have an eye more especially to the southern part of the island. Remarks somewhat similar will apply, if we mistake not, to Scotland. It is true that, in the sermons of Dick, and Wardlaw, and M'Crie, we have the doctrine of the gospel exhibited in a diction pure and classical; but it is equally certain that the example of the great orator, lately of the Established, now happily of the Free protesting church of Scotland, has had a most injurious effect on the style of preaching in that country, especially in the establishment. Dr. Chalmers may have many and great excellencies as a preacher, but he has also faults many and great; and with all his genius and eloquence, no writer or preacher was ever less deserving to be selected as a model. If he has done much good by reviving and extending a relish for scriptural and evangelical doctrine, he has done much evil by introducing a mode of instruction characterized by great extravagance and intolerable diffuseness, by a multiplicity of words and a paucity of ideas. This fashion, however, has reached its zenith, and is already on the decline; and it is to be hoped that the eminent person who has occasioned it, will live to witness its utter disappearance.

From all such exhibitions of tawdriness and turgidity, of extravagance and bad taste, it is refreshing to turn to a volume like that before us; which may be safely recommended to young ministers and students as a model of chaste and elegant composition. Having already said so much respecting the general characteristics of these sermons, it will be expected that we should notice a few of them somewhat more particularly. In doing this, we shall take them in the order in which the author himself has arranged them.

Had it not been purely accidental, it might well have been thought somewhat bold and hazardous, that in the first two discourses he brings himself into unavoidable comparison with two of the greatest preachers of this or of any age. The subject of the first discourse is the 'Divine Condescension,' and the text is Psalm viii. 4. 'What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and

While he selects those themes which are transcendently momentous and interesting, he treats them in a manner suited to their sacred and celestial character; exhibiting them in those aspects in which they are most likely to be apprehended by the intellect, to impress the conscience, and to affect the heart. He often gives unequivocal proof of superior ability, and of accurate and extensive information in theology; but never, for the sake of displaying his ability or his information, does he indulge in philosophical dissertation or minute criticism, in fanciful speculation or irrelevant discussion. 'He preaches not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord.'

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To refer by name to living preachers who have not appeared before the public as authors, would be indelicate and invidious; but of the published compositions of some highly and justly esteemed ministers, it may be said without offence that, while they contain much genuine, they contain also not a little spurious eloquence. The style is too ambitious, ornate, and diffuse; disfigured by hyperbolical amplifications and superfluous embellishments. If these blemishes are offensive even in writers of unquestionable ability, they must be still more so where they are not compensated by the redeeming qualities of superior talent and of much true eloquence. But it can hardly be doubted that a style such as that described, a style the reverse of simple

and natural, has of late years become far more prevalent than formerly. How few are there now who, we do not say, exemplify, but who even aim at the plainness, the directness, and terseness of Baxter. In short, if the definitions of Addison and Swift are correct, a pretty large proportion of these sermons preached and published in our time, and a pretty large proportion of other religious publications, will hardly be regarded as specimens of 'good writing.' It cannot be said of the sentiments and illustrations that they are 'natural but not obvious;' for they are often far-fetched and unnatural; and still less can it be said of the language, that it consists of 'proper words in proper places.'

In these remarks we have an eye more especially to the southern part of the island. Remarks somewhat similar will apply, if we mistake not, to Scotland. It is true that, in the sermons of Dick, and Wardlaw, and M'Crie, we have the doctrine of the gospel exhibited in a diction pure and classical; but it is equally certain that the example of the great orator, lately of the Established, now happily of the Free protesting church of Scotland, has had a most injurious effect on the style of preaching in that country, especially in the establishment. Dr. Chalmers may have many and great excellencies as a preacher, but he has also faults many and great; and with all his genius and eloquence, no writer or preacher was ever less deserving to be selected as a model. If he has done much good by reviving and extending a relish for scriptural and evangelical doctrine, he has done much evil by introducing a mode of instruction characterized by great extravagance and intolerable diffuseness, by a multiplicity of words and a paucity of ideas. This fashion, however, has reached its zenith, and is already on the decline; and it is to be hoped that the eminent person who has occasioned it, will live to witness its utter disappearance.

From all such exhibitions of tawdriness and turgidity, of extravagance and bad taste, it is refreshing to turn to a volume like that before us; which may be safely recommended to young ministers and students as a model of chaste and elegant composition. Having already said so much respecting the general characteristics of these sermons, it will be expected that we should notice a few of them somewhat more particularly. In doing this, we shall take them in the order in which the author himself has arranged them.

Had it not been purely accidental, it might well have been thought somewhat bold and hazardous, that in the first two discourses he brings himself into unavoidable comparison with two of the greatest preachers of this or of any age. The subject of the first discourse is the 'Divine Condescension,' and the text is Psalm viii. 4. 'What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and

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the son of man, that thou visitest him?' In handling this text, Mr. Henderson proposes to shew, I, 'That the fact of our comparative insignificance does not warrant any such conclusion as that God will not remember and visit us.' And, II, 'That he is actually mindful of our race, and hath visited us in mercy.' In proof of the first of these positions, the preacher adduces three considerations. '1. That if the objection referred to were allowed, it would, if carried round, go to deprive the whole of God's creation of any interest in his care, of any testimonies of his kindness. 2. That the immensity of the creation should always be viewed in connexion with the infinite greatness of its author. 3. That if we take a just view of man, it will not appear incredible that God should remember and visit him.' In illustration of the second head, it is remarked 'that God hath remembered and visited us: 1. In his providence; 2. In the mission and incarnation of his Son; and, 3, that in his grace he remembers and visits us when he comes to apply the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' The first department of this discourse contains a vindication of the Divine condescension and kindness as manifested both in providence and redemption; and may be regarded as a virtual, though not a complete and formal reply to the astronomical objection against the Christian revelation; the objection so ably discussed by Dr. Chalmers in his 'Astronomical Discourses,' and by Mr. Fuller in his 'Gospel its own Witness.' This sermon is one singularly beautiful, and may not unfitly occupy an intermediate place between the two replies just mentioned. Without possessing the ingenuity and ability, the amplitude and magnificence of the former, it has more of logical caution, force, and condensation; and if not superior in these latter qualities to the reply of Mr. Fuller, it possesses a splendour and beauty at which that excellent writer never aimed.

In the second sermon we have an able and interesting illustration of the 'Characters of a Real Atonement,' founded on Hebrews x. 4. 'For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin.' After stating briefly but clearly what is implied in 'the taking away of sins,' the writer illustrates the following qualities as essential to a sacrifice by which sin is taken away. It must be that of a willing victim: of a sinless victim: of one who is of the same nature with those whose sins are to be taken away: of one who has a perfect right thus to dispose of himself: of one who shall not ultimately sink or perish under the sufferings to which he may be subjected: it must be provided by the law-giver himself: it must be of such a nature that we cannot expect that it shall ever be repeated: and, finally, it must be such as to bring those who obtain pardon on the ground of it, under the power of prevailing motives to return to God, and to the ways of holy obedience.

On observing these particulars, the reader will perhaps be reminded of another discourse, which will suggest to him the exclamation of Milton.

‘That strain I heard was of a higher mood.’

The particulars just specified are nearly those employed by Robert Hall in his sermon on ‘the Substitution of the Innocent for the Guilty.’ But Mr. Henderson does not seem to have been aware that he was travelling over ground bearing the impress of such footsteps. And it is a high, though, we apprehend, not an unmerited eulogium, to say that his discourse, though not equal to Mr. Hall’s in force and splendour, may yet be read after it both with pleasure and advantage.

There is one passage from this sermon which we are tempted to quote, as it contains the sentiments of the author respecting the question, which at present is so keenly agitated in the Secession church, the question respecting the extent of the atonement. If the passage were duly pondered by the ministers of that respectable denomination, it might go far to convince them that the question originates chiefly in the ambiguity of the term atonement, and is little better than a pitiful logomachy. ‘The observations made,’ says our author, ‘will be profitable, if they serve to confirm our confidence in the efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice, as that by which atonement has been made. It is sufficient surely for the expiation of all human guilt. It has removed all legal obstructions out of the way of the salvation of sinners of our race. And if this be what we understand by its making atonement, then atonement has been made for all.’ —p. 43.

The third sermon, which is based on Galatians iii. 26, ‘For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus,’ presents us with a luminous, judicious account of faith, of adoption, and of the instrumentality of faith in constituting us the children of God. It contains, also, some truly valuable and reasonable remarks on a topic not unimportant, which of late has attracted a good deal of attention, viz. the assurance of personal salvation. In the compass of a single paragraph, it is shown clearly and satisfactorily, how a man may imagine himself to be possessed of faith, and yet be mistaken; and how, on the other hand, a man may be a believer, and consequently in a state of grace, and yet not be absolutely certain of the fact. On this discourse we have to offer two observations in the way of finding fault. In the first place, Mr. Henderson does not seem to have been aware of the precise import of the text. It seems to have escaped him that the Greek word translated ‘*children*,’ ought to have been rendered ‘*sons* ;’ that the apostle is here instituting a contrast, not between those who belonged and those who did

not belong to the family of God, but between the children of God in a state of nonage and in an adult condition ; and that in consequence of the mistranslation referred to, the text and the introductory verses of the following chapter seem directly at variance—the privilege specified in the former as transcendently great, being represented in the latter as comparatively unimportant. In the next place, excellent as is the account here given of saving faith, we have felt as if it were chargeable, if not with some degree of confusion and contradiction, at least with a want of perfect precision and consistency. The belief of the gospel is first represented as necessarily producing its appropriate effect on the heart and the conduct, (p. 54) ; next it seems to be intimated that this belief may exist and the effect not follow, (p. 55) ; and, lastly, it seems to be asserted that it is difficult to determine whether the two may or may not be separated, (p. 57.) The same appearance of incongruity is often to be met with in discussions on this subject. It may therefore be allowable to remark that this incongruity is occasioned, as our author himself seems to be aware, chiefly by the ambiguity of a single word—a word considered by many as so simple and definite as to be incapable of being misunderstood. The gospel consists of facts and doctrines of a moral nature. If, then, the *belief* of these facts and doctrines is understood to imply a proper perception of their moral character, and their infinite importance, it will, we apprehend, be productive of its appropriate fruits and effects. But, on the other hand, if the belief of these facts and doctrines is not understood to include this perception, it may exist without the acquiescence of the will and the heart in the overtures of reconciliation ; and this is the belief which is usually characterized as a dead, and barren, and speculative faith. It may not be altogether irrelevant to add that, to a similar origin, we are, in a great measure at least, to trace the controversy respecting the connexion between the assent of the understanding on the one hand, and the determinations of the will on the other. Indeed of this controversy, the dispute with regard to the connexion between an assent to the testimony and a compliance with the invitation of the gospel, is merely a specific instance. The general controversy, however, belongs to metaphysics rather than theology ; and though not without its difficulties, yet, in a practical or religious view, it is not of great importance. Instead of perplexing his hearers with it, the easier and safer course for the minister of Christ will be to impress on them, with the author before us, that whether the assent of the mind to the truth of the gospel may, or may not exist apart from a cordial acquiescence in its overtures, it is only when accompanied by the latter that it amounts to justifying and saving faith.

Sermon IV. is founded on John iii. 8th, and discusses the important subject of 'the influences of the Spirit.' In this discourse, as in the preceding, the author states with great clearness and precision the most essential particulars of the Scripture doctrine on the subject; exposes various prevalent misapprehensions respecting it, and solves very satisfactorily some of the principal practical difficulties connected with it. On one point, and on one point only, are we inclined to dissent from his sentiments, or at least from his language. While he admits unequivocally that in regeneration the Divine Spirit does not impart new faculties, and that the word, or the truth, is the grand instrument by which the Spirit operates, he maintains, with Dr. Dwight, and many other writers, that independently of the word, the Spirit must first communicate a spiritual taste or susceptibility, to capacitate the soul for receiving and relishing the impressions of the word. That in regeneration there is produced a new taste and relish for divine things, we readily allow; but we cannot so easily admit that this taste is imparted prior to, and independently of, the operation of the word. The supposition seems, in the first place, unnecessary; since amid all the darkness and depravity of its natural state, the human soul is not utterly incapable of discerning and relishing moral objects and qualities. It is susceptible of gratitude, of moral esteem, and of other similar sentiments; and these sentiments or principles, when brought by the Spirit under the influence of the objects revealed by the word, constitute, as we think, that spiritual taste which is a characteristic of the heaven-born soul. But further, the supposition under examination seems not only superfluous but dangerous; for if the human mind be, in the strict and proper sense, incapable of discerning and relishing the discoveries of the word till a new capacity be imparted to it, this capacity must constitute virtually a new mental faculty; and unless this new faculty be communicated, men cannot be blamed for their spiritual blindness and insensibility, or for their ignorance and their unbelief.

From this sermon we quote a passage, which furnishes a favourable specimen of Mr. Henderson's talent for imparting interest and attraction to an abstract topic, by illustrations and ornaments borrowed from the phenomena of material nature; and of the grace with which, to employ the words of a writer already referred to, 'he rises from a plain groundwork, to passages requiring greater animation or embellishment.'

'3. The effects of the Spirit's working in the regeneration of the soul are great, beneficent, and glorious; such indeed as bear testimony to him, as being their author. We see what mighty effects can be produced by the wind: though its lighter breathing may scarcely stir

the leaves, or ripple the surface of the waters, yet as it increases in speed and force and rises into the tempest, it can uproot the forests and whelm navies in the depths of the roused up ocean. And that yielding element of air, of whose existence when it is at rest we are scarcely sensible, when put in motion, may become the most powerful instrument of devastation. It is not, however, to its agency in destroying; but rather to that which it has to purify and refresh all nature, that the similitude before us, may direct our attention. Nor is this to be measured by its sensible force. Its gentler currents may avail to purge away noxious vapours, to fan and revive the decaying powers of life, to infuse as it were a new stream of vitality into the sickened and drooping frame. But how much greater and happier are the effects of the operations of the Divine Spirit, when they disperse the clouds that darkened the understanding—and purge away the pollutions that defiled the heart—and give life, and health, and joy, to the soul? 'The fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness, and truth.' Wisdom, purity and love, begin to appear where all was dark with the shadow of death, and foul with the dregs of corruption. The image of God is traced again on the soul that had borne the impress of a malignant spirit; and the affections which had been set on things base and perishing, now rise to the only satisfying and eternal good. We are ready to admire the power of God, as we see it displayed in the grand or brilliant forms of the material universe,—in the mountains which he hath set fast by his strength—in the sea which he hath poured abroad, and to which he sets bounds that it cannot pass with all its waves—in the firmament above, with its sun by day, and its stars that make it resplendent by night. But the souls which God has created are more illustrious proofs of his power than these; inasmuch as it is a greater thing to give life and intelligence, than mere form however vast, or splendour however dazzling. And if it was a more glorious effect of God's power to make man in his own image, than to make the bright sun and all the stars of light; what are we to think of that operation by which he quickens the soul that was dead in sin, and renders it capable of knowing, and serving, and enjoying himself—as the Father of lights, the fountain and fulness of all blessedness, but that it excels in glory? To restore his soul to the proper end of its creation,—to array it in the beauty of holiness, rendering it all glorious within, fitting it to behold his face in righteousness, and to be satisfied with his likeness,—must be regarded as the chief of his ways by whom it was called into being at the first, and by whom it is thus wonderfully redeemed. The agency which accomplishes such a change—which triumphs over the obstacles that oppose it—must be divine. It is a new creation, in which light is brought out of darkness—purity and strength out of the depths of corruption, and the impotence of death. It is a resurrection effected by such a mighty energy as that which wrought in Christ, when he was raised from the dead: that is, by an exertion of might beyond what was put forth in raising others, whom he who had the power of death might struggle less fiercely to retain, or who might be restored to a life less exalted and enduring—a resurrection from the grave which guilt and sin seemed to have sealed for ever against the return of those shut up in it, to the activities or enjoyments of the children of God.'—pp. 81—83.

Our limits will not permit us to characterize separately the remaining discourses. From the table of contents, already transcribed, the reader will perceive that a considerable proportion of them relate to the honours and blessings to be conferred on the saints at death, or at the resurrection. These themes seem peculiarly congenial to the mind of the author; and, in our judgment, the sermons on them, more especially the three on the 'Resurrection of the Redeemed,' the 'Blessedness of the Pure in Heart,' and the 'Objects of Promised Vision,' are among the most delightful in the collection. While no reader of intelligence and taste can peruse them without being inspired for the moment with elevating and pleasing emotions, they are pre-eminently adapted to soothe and tranquillize the hearts of those who are lamenting the loss of pious friends. Whether Mr. Henderson be entitled to the appellation, 'Son of Thunder,' is a point on which there may perhaps be a diversity of opinion; but no one will question his claims to be regarded as 'a Son of Consolation.'

On looking back to what we have written, we see little occasion to retract or modify our opinion. We repeat, then, that these sermons are deformed by comparatively few defects or blemishes; that they possess many excellencies; and that beauty is their most prominent characteristic. Occasionally we have desired a little more of point and variety, and of fire and impetuosity; but we have never had to complain of anything jejune, or puerile, or undignified; and we have always been instructed and delighted by good sense and solid thought, clothed in graceful and classical diction.

We have already intimated that the doctrinal views of Mr. Henderson are strictly orthodox. We may now remark, however, that we have noticed a few expressions which are somewhat ambiguous, and which will be apt to convey a meaning different from what the author intended. It does not seem, for example, strictly accurate to say, that the Saviour bore 'the very penalty' which sinners had incurred; and instead of saying that he 'makes intercession for sins,' we would rather say that he makes intercession for us.

Of the style, though generally pure and elegant, justice compels us to remark, that it is occasionally disfigured by minute grammatical inaccuracies, which are hard to be accounted for; more especially, as with some of them the author is systematically chargeable. He is rather unduly partial to that little word '*yet*;' and he uses the auxiliary *may* sometimes for *can*, sometimes for *will*, and sometimes where there is no occasion for any auxiliary whatever. In instances almost innumerable he employs the adjective pronoun *his*, instead of the substantive of *him*, as

the antecedent to the relative. 'His service who hath bought us,' &c. We doubt much whether the word *unmistaking*, (p. 66,) be sanctioned by classical usage. And finally, to be done with hypercriticism, in a few instances, though only in a few, his negative expressions are awkwardly placed. 'We can certainly lay him under no obligation to impart to us his enlightening and renewing influences,' p. 74. Would it not have been preferable to say, 'We certainly cannot lay him under any obligation,' &c. ?

Art. V. *The Egypt of Herodotus : with Notes and Dissertations.* By John Kenrick, M.A. Fellowes. 1841.

AMONG the causes which enable modern science to advance with unfaltering and even accelerated rapidity, we may give a chief place to the rivalry of many different nations in prosecuting the same objects. A university here or there may fall into senile delirium ; a government may be distracted by party spirit ; an order of privileged literati may luxuriate in the gardens of repose which were to its predecessors a field of toil ; but none of these untoward events can hinder younger spirits or other nations from starting afresh with all the discoveries, powers, hopes, aspirations, which have been already won or breathed by the past heroes of science. For astronomy, chemistry, magnetism, geology, physical geography, physiology, and all their branches or applications—and we may add political economy, as the most material of the moral sciences—concern the physical welfare and public splendour of nations so immediately and visibly, that no nation which is aspiring to be great can in modern Europe possibly neglect them. How much is it to be desired (we might sigh to ourselves in secret) that a like steady and fervent union of effort could be brought about for the pursuit of moral and spiritual knowledge—so that the weaknesses and prejudices to which both nations and individuals are liable might be neutralized by co-operation ! In truth, this is but in part attainable. In all moral inquiries, action is apt to step out too quickly after meditation to allow men to pursue such truth by the same slow and sure method. Passion is easily roused against existing error ; base timidity and wise caution alike dread the too rapid adoption of practical inferences. Or if a topic can be found in which this danger is avoided, the subject then is apt to have too little intrinsic interest to excite the simultaneous and persevering attention of a long succession of able minds. Physical science gives us material and tangible results as well as theoretic generalizations :

if moral science is ever to be long barren, it may seem hard to find cultivators of such a field.

No subject, perhaps, might once have seemed to an intelligent but inexperienced mind more likely to unite the energies of Europe in diligent research, than that of theology, or ecclesiastical history; namely, before the jealousies accompanying the Reformation had sprung up: next to this, perhaps, the antiquities of the several great races, whose influence and blood have spread through so many nations of the west. The latter investigation has its own peculiar value, destined, possibly, hereafter to be yet more fully developed. But, in the course of providence, a history and literature remote from us in time and place has called forth the persevering efforts of Dutchmen, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, English, Danes; and is likely to win for us an insight into the human mind, its tendencies, its foibles, its illusions, its weakness and its strength, such as might not, perhaps, have been gained from any other source. It is a great mistake to think that the utility of classical research is exhausted, and belongs to a past day. Much rather might it be said that hitherto we have been engaged with mere preliminaries, formal truth, 'beggary elements,' and have but little enlarged our minds to contemplate the inward spirit of the facts. Thankful as we must be to the old scholars for tilling the field and sowing the seed, it is yet to be believed that a harvest still remains to be gathered in. In fact, the literature of Greece furnishes abundant materials for contemplation, which not only have more safeguards against blind passion than can generally be obtained, but afford a common interest to several great nations, without being surrounded (as the history and literature of Israel is) by an atmosphere of reverence and solemnity which forbids the freest exercise of the inquiring faculties. For these reasons we regard this field as an admirable training-ground for the intellect in all its more abstract investigations of moral and historical truth. Hitherto, indeed, we hardly see the highest classical culture produced in its most natural spot, within the pale of our old universities; but of late much has shown itself on their very border. Their transplanted scions have flourished better in other soil; and there is great ground to hope that the more eminent few whom Cambridge and Oxford rears, will utter their claims by a silent voice which cannot be resisted. Nevertheless, before it is possible that the classics should stand on their just elevation, by the side of modern cultivation, with its positive knowledge and its ambitious grasp, it is essential that the older science, like the new, be studied by the undivided energies and whole literary lives of able men. As long as the CLERGYMAN domineers over the classics, we shall have, in the vast majority of instances, only

tolerable scholars, and perhaps both intolerable and intolerant divines.

Lamentable, indeed, it is, that this British nation has been so late in learning the uses of the knowledge, which its more aristocratic classes so laboriously acquire. Two great geniuses it produced simultaneously, in mathematics and in classics, who could not raise disciples worthy of them. *Newton* was born in England, and lectured in Cambridge; but *Newton's* real successors were found on the continent,—*Euler*, *Lagrange*, *Laplace*; and England long remained supine. *Bentley* appeared at the same time, and in the same university as *Newton*; but his splendid dissertations, his able specimens of searching and fertile criticism, were viewed rather with amazement than with intelligent admiration; and his immediate successors, of whom *Markland* is perhaps the most honourable name, could not sustain permanently the classical reputation of Cambridge. A far inferior school arose, headed by the great name of *Porson*; and, for a long time, few seem even to have guessed how very inferior *Porson* was to *Bentley*;—we do not say in intrinsic powers, but in the whole scope and tendency of his erudition. It became, alas, the humble ambition of learned men, whom we name not now, since several of them are still alive, to be regarded as of the *Porsonian* school! and a literary training came into vogue, which, if it had attained its highest success, must have turned its votaries into very learned scholiasts, such as for a thousand years together dwelt at Constantinople, doing nothing but comment eternally on the works of the ancient authors, without adding a thought of their own that was worthy to be known or remembered; nay, and without imbibing a spark of genius, without feeling a thrill of life, without appreciating and loving the delicate beauties, or admiring the noble sentiments which they quietly anatomize and explain. Neither the ardour of *Æschylus*, the sublimity of *Pindar*, the frankness of *Herodotus*, the pathos of *Euripides*, the wisdom of *Thucydides*, or the obscenity of *Aristophanes*, produce the slightest change in the apathetic commentator. His dissecting knife lays bare with equal coolness the foulness of one passage, and the fire or mysticism of another; and as far as a Greek scholiast can be known from his writings, we might pronounce him a man without a heart. It is wonderful to how great an extent the same peculiarities characterized the *Porsonian* school. They selected the Greek poets as their favourite subject of comment, yet it must be confessed that the frigidity of their criticisms, the prosaic vulgarity of their illustrative translations, their heavy mechanical conceptions of metre, are hardly less pervading defects than the utter barrenness of their annotations in all that

tends to make a reader think, feel, or truly understand; and even the notes concerning various readings and questions of grammar, in which they are occasionally so prolix, seldom impart any knowledge of the true philosophy of language, if they even imply a consciousness that it has any philosophy at all. Under such masters, classical studies in England might soon have dropped into their grave, if England had been alone in the world; but the name of Niebuhr, just twenty years ago, was sounded so loudly through the land, as to rouse from their apathy even those who thought they had long since obtained all the truth and knowledge, especially about antiquity, which was worth having. Inquiry was inevitable; and the great discovery was made, that while England had been asleep, the universities of Germany,—democratic, drunken, irreligious, neological, or whatever else they may be, or may be called,—had found out a new way of studying the ancient classics; and that we must either learn this 'New Calculus' ourselves, and enter the lists with them, or fall behind, worthless and despised.

The brilliant name of Niebuhr has naturally, and perhaps, inevitably, engrossed to itself in our country more than its proportionate and deserved fame. Some of us are apt to think of him as the great essential moving-spring of a revolution; the founder and father of a school of admiring disciples; as though, without his master-spirit, none of the same results would have been produced. Without the slightest disparagement to him, we cannot but think that this is an error. His genius and ardour, his great performances and greater aspirations, have given a vast impulse to inquiry in one direction, and have brought about *more rapidly* results, which, but for him, might have been delayed another half generation. But where there is a host of unfettered talent, there cannot be wanting a select band of genius; nor can we doubt that Muller, Wachsmuth, Welcker, would have worked out, in substance, the same *general* results, if Niebuhr had never lived. The scholar, however, whose merit has been on the whole most unfairly eclipsed by Niebuhr, is Heyne, who, perhaps, more than any other individual, deserves to be regarded as the parent of the more manly and sound criticism of the ancients, which studies them as materials for making *us* better informed, and wiser than *they* were; using their opinions as facts, while judging of their supposed facts for ourselves. He was not, like Bentley, born before his time, and he lived to see the fruits of his labours. It has been established that, in future all study of ancient nations shall be historical in its spirit and in its end. Their mythology, their poetry, their philosophy, their seriousness, and their jesting, their follies and their wisdom, are alike pressed into the service of the historian; and are contem-

plated, not as isolated phenomena, but as a part of the general blossoming of national intellect. Peculiar praise is due to Heyne for the views which he opened concerning mythology,* and for the care with which he taught to discriminate the sources of information possessed by ancient writers; but it is miserably characteristic of *our* recent state, that the 'Select Notes' by which alone Heyne is generally known to English students, have pared him down to the dimensions of a Porsonian critic.

The first work published in this country in illustration of an ancient classic, with the spirit of the new school, was the Thucydides of Arnold; the man, whose article in the Quarterly Review, on Niebuhr's 'Lectures on Roman History,' first published through England that now so familiar name. The work, excellent as it is, falls far short, in extent, of the design which its enterprising author had planned. The few dissertations which accompany the first volume, are, nevertheless, noble specimens of the use which may be made of the fragmentary and diversified history of the Greek and Italian states; and how, by combining it with the more recent history of the German race, a more profound insight may be gained into the structure of political society. Arnold was a great admirer of Hallam's work on the Middle Ages; and in these dissertations, showed that he could learn as well as admire, and teach as well as learn. His original genius, however, (we think his warmest friends will justify us in saying,) was rather political than logical, metaphysical, or philosophical; the truths which he apprehended with the greatest force and clearness were, the broad, the moral, and the practical; but in the more delicate questions of mental research, such as the mysterious formation of language and of popular belief, where the mind doubles on its own footsteps, he was a slow and a late learner; and although the continuous development of his intellect, almost to the hour in which he was snatched away, deepens our sense of loss; yet it must be admitted that his Thucydides fails to impart any very clear or steady light to the learner on the topics to which we have alluded. Nor in fact, in *such* an author, was this by any means the sort of illustration most needed from a commentator.

Without for a moment undervaluing the many excellent helps to the classical student which have been produced in the last fifteen years, or casting any undue slight on the editions of certain plays (with notes of more or less merit) which the press pretty regularly pours forth; we think we may reckon the volume now before us as next in order of time to Arnold's

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Thucydides, to which it is on the whole most similar in kind, and not inferior in merit. Herodotus is an author, to illustrate whom successfully must occupy a lifetime; and Mr. Kenrick has judiciously confined his attempt to a single episode of his history, which possesses a unity in itself; viz., his account of Egypt. We gather from Mr. Kenrick's statements that this has been with him, in the course of thirty years' experience of teaching, a habitual collegiate class-book; and every page bears witness to the elaborate diligence with which he has exhausted all the sources of illustration—literary, antiquarian, geographical,—and the leisurely caution with which he has matured and digested his own views. The very erudite and able dissertations here set before us, are, however, not confined to that portion of Herodotus's history which his volume comprises. The preliminary essays discuss the state of Greek history before Herodotus,—the Life and Writings of Herodotus,—and his Greek Dialect,—as well as the Egyptian history itself; while the curious and very elaborate appendix concerning the Cabiri, carries us deep into the whole question of ancient mythology, and exhibits, by example, if not by precept, the doctrines on this very important subject which have been embraced by the greatest minds of Germany. That Mr. Kenrick should have so decidedly thrown himself into these views, we regard as rather an interesting phenomenon; pointing to the very same conclusion as Dr. Arnold's slow and reluctant, yet steady approximation to the same results; viz., that however dimly we may now and then see our way through a haze of multifarious refraction, the general theory will ultimately be confessed as unhesitatingly by practical England as by speculative Germany. Mr. Kenrick's mind, we judge, is one in which caution, and we might almost say conservatism, exercises a powerful sway. He appears far more anxious to lay before his readers what is certain, than what is probable; and especially in the numerous historical riddles which rise before us in the contemplation of ancient Egypt, we are sometimes disposed to murmur that he has not given us the benefit of his conjectures and his speculations. It is the part of a generous teacher to set his pupils the example of guessing sagaciously, as well as of reasoning cogently; even though hereby he will run the risk of showing many vulnerable and feeble points in himself. In fact, as discovery precedes demonstration, so must divination precede discovery. Is not divination itself a faculty which ought to be trained? But perhaps we are here asking something alien to Mr. Kenrick's genius; which, in history, is possibly not fertile in combinations, though sound in judging of the evidence which is set before it. His introductory dissertation on the Egyptian

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History of Herodotus, though excellent as far as it goes, and, we apprehend, irrefutable in its reasonings, is yet altogether negative, and therefore disappointing, however instructive. This, he may reply, is the fault of his materials; and if that is really the case, such a defence is every way valid; or possibly he may urge, that Heeren has exhausted all that is positively to be ascertained from this history. Altogether, his mind seems to luxuriate exactly in those points in which Arnold was (comparatively) weakest; and his speculative tendency displays itself, not in solving historical difficulties or in moral creations, but in sounding the deep questions of lexicology, and tracing the vagaries of mythical fancy. While we should hesitate to express a universal assent to his conclusions, no one, competent to appreciate his learning, will fail to recognize the chastened discrimination with which he employs its subtle and treacherous materials.

In commenting on the mere words, and explaining the elementary difficulties of a classic writer, it is difficult to know what amount of knowledge or ignorance the writer should expect of his reader. As a general and rough rule, it is probable that Mr. Kenrick has conceived of his reader as moderately well acquainted with Attic Greek, but wholly ignorant of Ionic. If in hitting the difficult mark he has erred, many will think it has been on the safer side, of explaining too much. Perhaps his long experience in teaching has told both him and Arnold (on whom otherwise we might be inclined to make the same remark,) that the average attainments in Greek scholarship are somewhat low; or, to take another view of the case, it may seem far better to learn even elementary principles *from* and *in* the text of an author, where the memory is assisted by the imagination, than to expect that the first acquaintance with such matters—(say, the various meaning of prepositions,)—shall be learnt from grammars. When Mr. Kenrick gets beyond elementary questions of this sort, the students of his former grammatical works will naturally and justly take for granted that well defined and extensive knowledge constantly guarantee to us the safety of his guidance. Although in the more delicate inquiries it would be presumptuous in us to feel confidence in our own judgment; we are yet inclined, in a few instances, to impute oversubtlety to his decisions. Thus, in his very first section, we find τῶν ἰσχυράτων explained to mean ‘those of whom he had the *recently* acquired dominion.’ It does not appear to us that the examples adduced by him bear out this sense, nor can we satisfy ourselves upon it from other quarters. If this were a strictly classical journal, we might also be disposed to discuss the difference of σκοπεῖν and σκοπεῖσθαι, which

we hardly think he explains aright (p. 48), and that between *ἰδεῖν* and *ἰδίσθαι*, which seems to us one of dialect rather than of sense. We might abstractedly admit the meanings *ἰδεῖν to see*, *ἰδίσθαι to remark* [not '*to behold*'?], but it does not appear to us that the distinction can be generally sustained; and Mr. Kenrick's passage from Homer (Il. α. 262), which he adduces in proof, we should have quoted in disproof. In criticizing the style of one who does not write by any rules of grammar, it needs great judgment to seize the real spirit of his meaning, and not to waste our acuteness in over-fine nicety; a fault which we cannot help often imputing to the excellent Hermann.

The following quotations will have interest for readers who love speculations in pure etymology:—

'*Ἀνακάπτουσι*, 'gobble up,' *Κάπτω*, also written *χάπτω*, is one of a large class of words, of which the root is X; a letter which, *being guttural, and formed by a deep opening of the fauces, gives the general meaning of a Containing Hollow*. The simplest form is *Χω*, the root from which, by the euphonic prefix of σ, . . . came *σχεῖν*; of ε, *ἐχειν*; thence *χάω*, *χάος*, a gaping hollow; *χαίνω*, to yawn, *χῆν*, *χανδάνω* (*hand*) to seize; *χώρα* and *χῶρος*, vacant space, *χῆρος*, *χείρ*, *χηλή*, a claw; *χήμη*, *chama*, a gaping muscle; and a multitude of others. *Χάπτω*, with the guttural softened into an aspirate, is the Latin *habeo*. Having lost the aspirate, as in *κάπτω*, it is allied to *κάμπτω* in Greek, (for where there is a curve, there is a hollow,) and to *cavus* in Latin. *Χω*, after expanding into *Habeo*, collapses again in Italian into *Ho*.'—pp. 20.

Much of this is alike curious and certain: and we call attention by Italics to the important suggestive principle, as to the mode in which the organs of speech endeavour to mimic the idea conceived in the mind. Perhaps Mr. Kenrick does not mean to assert that *Habeo* is directly descended from *Χάπτω*, but merely that both flow in the same stream out of the same fountain. It appears to us that *χω χάω χαιω χαβιω*, would be a consecutive growth quite natural to the Greek and Latin languages; exactly, indeed, as in a case quoted by Mr. Kenrick, we have *κω, καιω, καφω, καπος, καφτω, Καβειρος* (p. 287). At the same time we venture to throw out the hint, that these families of words must not be *too fully* explained by help of Greek analogies alone; for it is certain that many of them have close counterparts even in languages of widely different genius. Thus, *cavus* and *κάμπτω* cannot be wholly dissociated from the Syro-Arabian *Caf*, curvature, nor *χῶρος* and *χόρος* from *Cós*, a cup, *Cúr*, to hollow out and make round.

The following may at first seem fanciful, but after fuller meditation will win assent:—

'The letters σ κ form the root of a large class of words, of which
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the general idea is that of inequality of the limbs. Σκαίος, *left-handed*, (scævus, scævola), the left, as the feebler, being considered the shorter; or *crooked*, (Germ. *schief*, Engl. *skew*), bent things being necessarily shortened: σκάζω, limp, as those whose limbs are unequal: *scando*, climb, the legs being of unequal length in climbing: σκάλλω, dig, accompanied by the same shortening of one leg: scala, a ladderstair: σκαληνός, a triangle which has unequal legs: σκάμβος, *scambus* (Sueton. Otho. 12) bowlegged: σκάνδαλον, 'a stone of stumbling,' because in tripping, the limb which meets with the obstacle is necessarily shortened.'—p. 24.

Let us warn our younger readers with what reserve and circumspection such seducing chains of inquiry must be pursued. In fact, it is only in languages with the *common* and *standard* etymology of which a good acquaintance has already been obtained, that we have a chance of being right in attempting to follow the *irregular* processes: and to speculate in this way upon languages which exist for us only in a fragmentary state is the sure way to blind our own eyes by fancies. In fact, we must *never* seek to detect the primitive meanings of words by such methods; but, knowing those meanings intimately, we proceed to build farther conclusions upon it, which shall be probable, if not certain.

Mr. Kenrick's notes have more than a few trains of thought similar to those which we have quoted. We cannot take upon ourselves to say how far his remarks on special families of words are original: in fact, in some of the older scholars, a great deal of this sort was poured forth in wild and indiscriminating profusion. In so far as Mr. Kenrick is indebted to them for suggestions, he nevertheless exercises a more chastised judgment upon them, and gives us the benefit of his selection. But it is in its application to mythology that his etymological speculations have most interest, and we believe we may say, most originality, however much he may be indebted to Welcker. He has himself remarked, (p. 270, note 2,) that Mr. Bryant had the merit of discerning that most of the gods and heroes of antiquity were a personification of religious conceptions, when it was not at all suspected by the learned in general: but Bryant's unfortunate and fundamental mistake was, to imagine that the Greek and Latin names were all derived from Hebrew. The school of Buttmann (with which we suppose we may rank Mr. Kenrick) has gone far towards putting us on the track of the real old Pelasgian language, so that we can pursue the maze of early Greek etymology with some confidence; and has dispelled in the best informed minds whatever lingering affection there was for Bryant's theory. It is impossible to read Mr. Kenrick's dissertation on the Cabiri without feeling a high respect for his

learning, his comprehensive views and discriminating criticism. Nevertheless, one who is not versed in this sort of reasoning will pause many times before adopting his conclusions. In order to judge fairly of them, the arguments must be viewed as merely parts of a whole; since many which are weak singly, become strong, and perhaps convincing, in combination. It may be well here to state concisely what are the manifold branches of this rather mysterious topic, the Cabiri, as treated by him.

These deities are heard of as worshipped in the Samothracian mysteries, and a factitious interest was once given to them by the fancy that they concealed a traditionary doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity. Mr. Kenrick sets forth at full (what is now no longer doubted) that they were pigmy and deformed idols, in the worship of which the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Pelasgians found an important point of connexion. The deity worshipped at Memphis, called by the Egyptians Phtha, by the Greeks Hephæsto, by the Latins Vulcan, with his assistants the Cyclopes, are identified with the Cabiri in many respects. The mystic rites which celebrated the invention of metallurgy gave rise to the grotesque idea that the god of fire was a *lame* smith, and as such he was worshipped peculiarly in the Pelasgian island of Lemnos, in common with the Cabiri. Not stopping here, Mr. Kenrick proceeds to maintain that a large part of the heroic history of Greece (which, in common with all the great modern authorities, he believes to have absolutely *no* historical basis) turns upon the worship of the Cabiri; and, if we may so express his views, he holds that, in no small measure, *when Greece became Hellenized, it mistook the religion of its Pelasgian predecessors for history*. We cannot do justice to his argument here, but must refer our readers to the book itself: yet we may venture a very few extracts by way of specimen:

‘That Æneas is a mythic and not a historic personage could hardly be doubted, from the circumstance that he is so connected with others whose mythic character is admitted on all hands: but why was the name Æneas, rather than any other, given to the person by whose agency the widely diffused traces of the worship of the gods of Samothrace, of Troy, and of Phenicia, were to be explained? If I mistake not, he is really a Vulcanian divinity, and his name is connected in root with $\alpha\omega$, $\alpha\iota\omega$, $\alpha\iota\theta\omega$, $\alpha\upsilon\omega$, [to blow, blaze, burn, &c.] The class of words to which it belongs has disappeared from the Greek, having apparently been supplied by $\chiαλκός$ and its derivations; but it remains in the Latin *æs*, *æneus*. . . . His father, Anchises, seems to have acquired his name *from the lameness which belongs to Vulcan*. In the Æneid (2, 647, &c.) and Hymn Hom. Ven. 289, [he is represented to have been struck by lightning, so as to paralyze or cripple him.] . . . ‘*Ancus*, according to Festus, signifies one who has a crooked arm which he cannot extend. The root *Anx*, is Greek, denoting not only the bend of the arm, but equally any

other curvature, . . . and therefore Anchises will be the same as 'lame,' and the supposed paramour of Venus only an alias of her lawful spouse. . . . This circumstance of lameness appears in a remarkable way in the heroic history, (as it is called,) of Thebes in the line of Cadmus.' [Mr. Kenrick has already given reasons for believing that *Cadmus* and *Castor* each mean 'the armed,' and are, like *Æneas*, fundamentally representations of the god of Metallurgy.] . . . 'Labdacus has been named from Labda, or Lambda, the letter of unequal legs, as the wife of Amphion, lame of one leg, was called Labda. *Laïus*, *lævus*, like *scavus*, *scævola*, denotes a lefthanded man; perhaps also one who has a corresponding imperfection in the legs; as *κολοβός*, *πηρός* are applied to both. *Œdipus*, lamed by the swelling of his feet, repeats the same idea.'—p. 276.

This quotation will give the reader an idea of the abundance of apt illustration with which Mr. Kenrick supports his views; indeed with a copiousness of etymological reasoning, which, with some, will injure his cause, by inspiring the suspicion that it is too ingenious to be true. Undoubtedly, mere etymologies must not be dwelt upon as in themselves proving anything. Granted that *Æneas* means 'the brazen one,' *Cadmus* 'the armed one,' *Anchises* 'the lame one,' *Colchis* 'the land of brass,'—such names may have been given to real men and real lands. But when a story has no pretensions either to historical evidence or historical consistency, while a mythological ground for its invention did exist, it is surely lawful to inquire whether the same origin will account also for the names given to the fictitious characters. If the last point, in addition to all the rest, should be made out, it adds the only remaining evidence which could be sought for, in proof of the purely mythical nature of the tale. And in this light, we have no doubt, Mr. Kenrick regards the etymological side of the argument; although, perhaps, he does not adequately warn his readers against over-estimating its value.

Having already stated that he has endeavoured to illustrate his author from every accessible source, we need hardly say that on such a subject as Ancient Egypt, the persevering researches of the moderns into the remains of its architecture, statuary and paintings, have occupied his diligent study; and although several meritorious works have of late given to the English public great additional facilities, it is a high service to set before the classical student, on each point as it comes before him in this fascinating author, the distinct facts ascertained by modern investigation.

We know not how it is with others; but we cannot read this fragment of a history, or rather this *would-be* history of Ancient Egypt, without a hundred speculations which we would fain

compare with the meditations of the well informed. The very pictures of antique ruin—of the temple at Tentyra—of the hall of Karnak—the obelisks at Luxor, force even the most cautious to theorize on the past fortunes of that great kingdom. We think also, that such theories are the more allowable, because in the extant accounts of the contemporaneous history of Palestine, we have some check on wild imaginations, and a few very distinct and positive notices concerning Egypt and the still more remote Ethiopia or Sennaar. On these subjects we find an entire blank from Moses to Solomon; and then we have the interesting information, that Solomon married the daughter of Pharaoh; that the latter monarch stormed the city of Gezer in Palestine, and presented it to his son-in-law; that his successor, king Shishak, pursued an opposite policy; fostered Jeroboam as an enemy to Solomon, and finally captured and plundered Jerusalem itself. After this remarkable adventure, Egypt vanishes from the scene; and we next hear of Zerah, king of Ethiopia, invading the kingdom of Asa, perhaps forty years later, with a huge host of Libyans. Another and longer interval follows, and then we learn that Hoshea, king of Israel, was intriguing with *So* (or *Seve*?) king of Egypt; and, very soon after, Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, marches down through Lower Egypt to meet Sennacherib on the borders. That *So*, or *Seve*, is identical with Sevechus,* the Sabaco of Herodotus, an Ethiopian invader, is very generally admitted. We seem then to have no small ground for believing that the Ethiopian conquest of Egypt lasted *at least* from Zerah to Tirhakah, or two full centuries. Within this period of chronology, Herodotus places the building of the pyramids of Memphis,—which are so often remarked upon as apparently the work of Ethiopians,—and the simultaneous dreadful sufferings of the whole Egyptian people are testified. We are disposed to conjecture that the struggle with Ethiopia began immediately upon the death of Shishak, (say B. C. 960) and did not end until the era known as the accession of Psammetichus, B. C. 670. In this interval, we think, the real ruin of the old Egyptian institutions and Egyptian grandeur took place; although it is impossible to imagine the invaders to have maintained their position so long without propitiating one or other of the two great castes,—the sacerdotal and the military, which we find still subsisting when an Egyptian dynasty returns. We regard it as certain that the priestly king of Herodotus, called Sethon, was no king at all, but at most a Memphian viceroy of the Ethiopian sovereign; if, indeed, he is not a mythical being, invented out of the statue,

* In Eusebius, Sevechus and Sabacon are two different kings; but that matters not. Allowing two, or even more, the names are probably the same.

'mouse in hand,' to which the author appeals. For the place held by Tirhakah in the Jewish account, proves that monarch to have accounted Lower Egypt as his own possession. We find no difficulty, therefore, in justifying the chronology of the reign of Psammetichus and his successors, as given in Herodotus, without questioning the truth of the author's statement that 'the Ethiopian' had put to death Neco, the father of Psammetichus.

We may, perhaps, venture to close this article by a rapid sketch of what appears to us to have been the successive revolutions in the state of Egypt. First, we have a wide spreading sacerdotal aristocracy, knitting together numerous states, which are nevertheless partially dissevered by differences of religious worship purposely kept up in the separate *nomes* or dioceses. Next, we must conceive of distant Thebes as the seat of a great monarch, who rules *by* and *in* the sacerdotal caste, into which he is adopted; while Lower Egypt is infested, overrun or possessed, by wild shepherd tribes, whose hostilities at length bind all Egypt into a single league of resistance. Thirdly, the united kingdom rises with a single well-defined nationality—Thebes its splendid head,—the monarch and the warrior-caste proportionately elevated by the extent of the administration, though still the priestly order retains a full allotment of reverence and ample share of power. This is the era of Egyptian grandeur, internal and foreign; the period of Osymandyas, Rameses, Sesostris, and all the other great conquerors whom monuments have recorded, and popular belief has multiplied. For the sake of fixing ideas, we may suppose it to last from B. C. 1600 to B. C. 1000, until farther knowledge of hieroglyphical writings shall decide something more distinct. Although *one* at least of the sovereigns who lived in this period, aimed at European conquest, it is certain that no persevering attempts were made in that direction; that no foot of land north of Pelusium was permanently added to Egypt; nor was any Mediterranean fleet kept up. The chief energies of this great dynasty seem to have been directed towards Ethiopia, or occasionally to Arabia. What induced the Theban monarch to remove the centre of his empire to Memphis, it would be interesting to learn. Was it the growing strength of Crete and Tyre? the growing boldness of Grecian marauders? or merely the immensely increased importance of the Delta, as its canals and its cultivation multiplied? Or did he think, by escaping from the old capital, to free himself from the thralldom of many religious rites, and to become more independent of the priesthood? We are led to place the change at a little before B. C. 1000, from the suddenness with which the king of Egypt then appears in the Jewish history; but we are

aware of the great uncertainty of the negative argument. Diodorus seems to have had no small reason for believing that this step caused the decay of Thebes. We are disposed to add, it also caused the disaffection of the upper province, and perhaps of the whole priestly order; and finally, occasioned the success of the disastrous Ethiopian invasion, which, as we have said, seems to us for near three centuries to have oppressed the energies of Egypt. When the Ethiopians were at length expelled, (B. C. 670) Egypt was left rent into many kingdoms;—which seems to imply that they were driven out in detail, by popular insurrections. The new monarchy of Egypt, which soon after raised its head, had a new capital, Sais, on the border of the sea; and as the kingdom was won, so was it permanently guarded by Greek mercenary troops, and by free trade with Greece. Such was the dynasty of Psammetichus; Greek in its general spirit, and naturally odious to the warrior caste of Egypt; indeed, bearing to all the natives the mark of slavery, in the prince's *foreign* body-guard. A happy modification of it was brought about when the haughtiness and cruelty of Pharaoh Hophra led to the successful rebellion of the native soldiery, under Amasis, B. C. 569. This remarkable man having won his throne by the overthrow of the Greek mercenaries, was yet too wise to dispense with a body-guard of Greeks, without whose aid his new power could not stand, especially against the priestly caste; still, as he fixed their station at Memphis, no longer at Sais, we may perceive that he had more of the spirit of a true Egyptian, and did not live on the border, as one looking to Greece for help. In the bluff pleasantry and undignified behaviour imputed to him, we may discern the *citizen-king*, as well as the rude soldier. His deportment towards Grecian states had nothing of Egyptian suspicion, and was every way honourable; while yet his zealous efforts in restoring and promoting the old Egyptian architecture may satisfy us that no social depression of the priests was aimed at. They were no longer in political authority; but under him they probably enjoyed an honourable position in society, and as much influence as was desirable. This eminently prosperous reign held out great promise of the future fortunes of Egypt; but, alas, it was a calm preceding a storm. It was followed instantly by the invasion of the Persians,—a nation thoroughly heterogeneous; whose occupation of the land for two centuries was one scene of contest or oppression, under which the glories of native Egypt sank, never more to rise.

Art. VI. *History of the House of Commons from the Convention Parliament of 1688-9, to the Passing of the Reform Bill in 1832.* By W. Charles Townsend, Esq., A.M. 8vo. Vol. I. London: Henry Colburn.

It is somewhat surprising, considering the book-making character of this age, and the attention recently paid to historical literature, that the niche which this work is designed to fill, has remained so long unoccupied. But so it is. 'A popular history of the House of Commons,' as is remarked by Mr. Townsend in his preface, 'furnishing biographical notices of those members who have been most distinguished in its annals, and describing the changes in its internal economy, powers, and privileges, appears to be still wanting in our literature.' The fact is the more surprising, as the subject is attractive, the materials belonging to it rich, varied, and accessible, and the interest awakened by it both extensive and permanent. There are few Englishmen above the lowest and least reflecting class, who are not solicitous to know something respecting the men who have acted a distinguished part in the deliberations of our representative assembly. The post occupied by such, their character and views, the dangers they have incurred, their patriotism and fearless bearing on the one hand, or their treachery and cowardice on the other, the high services they have rendered to the commonwealth, when faithful to their vocation, or the deep abhorrence they have excited when, forgetful of duty, they have bartered principle for place, and sacrificed honour and their country for temporary power, are amongst the manifold circumstances which give them an imperishable interest in the eyes of their countrymen.

The records of parliament are too voluminous to be examined by many readers, whilst general histories are too scanty of materials to furnish more than a meagre and unsatisfactory view of the men, to whose keeping our liberties have been entrusted. A bare outline of the scene enacted in St. Stephen's Chapel is thus obtained, a mere skeleton of the form which we want to see clothed with flesh and full of life. Even the reports of parliamentary discussions, invaluable as they prove to the historical student, are too scanty to supply the light which is needed, and too dry to attract the general reader. They inform us, it may be—though even here they are not to be implicitly trusted—of the views expressed, and the general policy pursued by individual senators; but the *personal* attributes of each, their inner and less obtrusive qualities, the influences which were around them, the political atmosphere they breathed, the reliance to be placed on their professions, the real amount of the sacrifices

made, and the value of the services they rendered, must be learnt from other and independent sources. Considerable progress has recently been made in the elucidation of these points, but industry and fidelity are needed for this, and that to an extent far exceeding what is common. The incidental light thrown on the character and policy of many of our leading statesmen, by the memoirs and letters published during the last twenty years, has wrought a marvellous change in the public mind. Many idols have been overthrown, the demigods of a former generation are despised, and the victims of political persecution, emerging from the cloud with which inveterate prejudice had encompassed them, are beginning to receive the admiration and homage which are their due. The *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*—one of the most beautiful and bewitching works in our language—has served to convince even the most prejudiced, that it was possible for a roundhead, and even for one of the judges of the king, to be both a gentleman and a Christian, a man of polished mind, of refined sentiments, of high honour and of sincere piety; whilst, on the other hand, the researches of our contemporaries have placed beyond doubt the incurable duplicity of Charles, the cruelty, superstition, and bigotry of Laud, and the false-heartedness and despotic sympathies of the Chancellor of the restoration. Even where an entire change has not been effected in the estimate formed of the men of other times, it has been greatly modified by the increased acquaintance with their character obtained through the medium of recent publications. We have learnt to admit the fallibility of those who were deemed impeccable, and to recognise some elements of goodness, some relics of a better though fallen nature, in the men whom we have been accustomed to regard as simply wicked. Cranmer, and the young prince whom he served, may be taken as an example of the one, and Mary, under whose authority the archbishop suffered, as an instance of the other.

With these views of the advantages attending an extensive knowledge of the secondary sources of history, we turned to the work before us, and although it contains some hasty judgments, and frequently expresses views different from our own, we have been pleased, and not uninformed by its perusal. The history commences with the convention parliament of 1688, and is designed to be closed with the second parliament of William IV., when the royal assent was given to the reform bill. The period intervening between these epochs, naturally divides itself into three eras, each of which is clearly distinguished from the other two. The first extends to the death of George I., and is 'characterised by master spirits, critical events, and stirring debate.' The second era, comprehending the reign of George II., pre-

sents an anomalous combination of good and evil. Official life tainted and corrupt, public morals miserably low, and the debates of parliament wearing scarcely the semblance of independence and wisdom; yet, the strong practical mind of Walpole, and the resplendent genius of Chatham, redeeming the nation from ruin and the senate from contempt. The days of Burke, Pitt, and Fox usher in the third of these eras, which, stormy in its commencement, and disgraceful in many of its measures, has yet closed full of promise, awakening both the hopes and the resolution of the great body of our countrymen. The volume before us is devoted to the first of these periods, constituting, in the words of the author, 'a monument, however imperfect, to the sayings and deeds of those patriotic legislators who framed the bill of rights, conquered France in her height of pride, established the union with Scotland, secured the protestant faith by the act of settlement, and with the septennial act confirmed the independence of the representatives of the people.'

After a brief retrospective history of the speakers anterior to the revolution, Mr. Townsend proceeds to his more immediate object, and has brought together with considerable diligence a variety of materials, illustrative of the character and times of the men most distinguished in the debates of the lower house. The reading displayed is extensive, and the power of combination and arrangement respectable.

Prior to the time of Elizabeth, the history of the Commons' House furnishes but little to gratify the friends of liberty. Indications of the future were occasionally exhibited under the influence of propitious circumstances, but in general the debates of the house were miserably deficient, and its votes little more than the register of kingly edicts. The very forms of freedom were only partially maintained, whilst its spirit was wholly wanting. Towards the latter part of her reign the religious element which had been kept down for a season by her iron rule, began to work mightily in the hearts of her people, and to show itself in the debates of parliament. This was an ominous indication, which the statesmen of that age were incompetent to understand. They were committed, together with their royal mistress, to the doctrine of *Finality*, and the consequence was that the times outgrew them, that the public mind passed on, notwithstanding their opposition, until at length its settled convictions became too powerful for their management, and laughed derisively at their threats. During the reign of James I., the old habit of adulation, though occasionally visible, gave place, for the most part, to language better becoming the representatives of a free people; whilst the monarch himself, in addressing his 'faithful Commons,' spoke in a strain vastly

different from his predecessors. 'The hollow murmurs of discontent had begun to rise in sullen echoes through the House; the harsh vaunt of prerogative was answered by the cry of privilege; and the ceremonial speeches of the king, and chancellor, and speaker, drifted on of as little worth, and prized as lightly, as sea-weed on the surging waters.'

Our readers are acquainted with what followed under Charles, whose headstrong violence and unscrupulous tyranny precipitated the crisis which had long been impending. Parliament after parliament was dismissed in anger, until at length the desperate resolution was taken of reigning without their intervention. The necessities of the king, however, compelled him again to appeal to his people; and the long parliament—so famed in history, so heroic in its early measures—met at Westminster to fulfil its vocation. Lenthall was chosen speaker, and by one honourable passage in his life, an incident of which the noblest patriot might be proud, has retained, far beyond his desert, a place in the memory and admiration of his countrymen. The reply of the speaker to the incensed monarch, when the latter with armed retainers, invaded the sanctity of the House, is known to every Englishman, but few amongst them will be prepared for the following acknowledgment of guilt, said to have been uttered by Lenthall at the close of life.

'He died in September, 1662, apparently very penitent; but some of the contrition may be ascribed, no doubt, to his fears, and part to the zeal of his confessor. 'My trouble is,' he said, in his last sickness, 'disobedience to the pater patriæ. I confess with Saul, I held their clothes whilst they murdered him; but herein I was not so criminal as Saul, for I never consented to his death. No excuse can be made for me, that I proposed the bloody question for trying the King; but I hoped, even then when I put the question—the very putting the question would have cleared him—because I believed there were four to one against it—Cromwell and his agents deceived me.'—p. 23.

We pass over the disgraceful reigns of the last two Stuarts, and hasten on to the revolution, when the real importance of the speaker commenced.

'From that auspicious era he has occupied his proper station at the head of English gentlemen. Ever since the statute 1 William and Mary, c. 21, he has constantly taken place next to Peers of Great Britain, at all times, both in and out of Parliament. In all public commissions he is so ranked, and has the precedence at the council table as a privy councillor. Though on common occasions the speaker gives place to Irish peers, and those who, by courtesy, take rank before some peers of the realm, as sons of dukes and marquises, yet in all commissions by act of parliament he is named before them, and so ought to be on all solemn and national occasions.* In the commission for the union of England

* * Hatsell's Precedents.

and Scotland, Mr. Smith, the speaker, was named immediately after the peers who were in the commission, and before the Marquises of Hartington and Granby, and signed the treaty before them, next after Lord Somers, the junior baron, and the first of the commoners. In 1694 it was ordered that in the procession at Queen Mary's funeral no person do intervene between the speaker and the house of lords. To secure his perfect independence, and to silence all imputations of leaning to the ministry of the day, he ceased, in George the Third's reign, to hold any office of profit under the crown; the great Arthur Onslow setting that excellent example to which his successors have invariably adhered. His impartiality and acquaintance with precedents have been insured by a fixed tenure of office, and his arduous duties justly rewarded, at the close of long service, with a coronet.—pp. 31, 32.

Mr. Henry Powle, then member for Cirencester, was unanimously chosen speaker of the Convention Parliament, which met on the arrival of the Prince of Orange. This honour had been fairly won by the magnanimous consistency and earnest zeal with which he had opposed the despotic policy of the previous reigns. 'I will not invade prerogative,' said the fearless senator, in illustration of his parliamentary career, 'neither will I consent to the infringement of the least liberty of my country.' His tenure of office was but brief,—the violence of political partizanship requiring a speaker more conformable to the views which were prevalent in the House. During his occupation of the chair, he conducted himself with dignity, and displayed considerable discretion and tact.

'When James II. wrote to him a letter to present to the house replete with appeals to their loyalty and feelings, the speaker relieved the country from danger by refusing to open the document. It was confessed by his rival, Sir Edward Seymour, that he kept order excellently well, and escaped censure in the single instance in which the privileges of the house appeared to be invaded—the apprehension of Lord Danby on a charge of treason.* His staff of office was broken at the dissolution of the parliament in 1690. A more unscrupulous partizan was required to propitiate in the chair a corrupt and factious majority. Sir John Trevor—whom he had supplanted at the rolls, the apt speaker of James II.'s solitary house of commons—succeeded, and even the seat of the discarded whig was wrested from him on petition. Notoriously partial as election committees then were, they decided that the majority of legal votes had been given in his favour; but their decision was reversed by the house, who, whilst they excluded their late head from a seat, paid him the tribute of dread, and proved in their iniquity how much they feared him.'—p. 52.

Amongst the many eminent men connected with the speakership of the lower House, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, holds a distinguished place. For twenty years his name exercised a talismanic influence over the House, and the effects of his policy

* Parliamentary History, vol. v.

are yet visible in the state of parties and the condition of the empire. The son of a republican puritan, who registered his name amongst the earliest signatures to the solemn league and covenant, and actively employed himself in removing from the churches those badges of superstition with which Laud had graced them; he was driven into opposition, if his political opponents may be believed, by the neglect of the court. In the convention parliament, he avoided pledging himself to either party, skirmishing on the outskirts of both; and thus gaining experience, whilst he displayed his ability and tact. His leaning, however, to the tory section of the House, was not long in showing itself, and he ultimately succeeded in establishing its supremacy. The concessions of the court were too late to be effective, and his admission to the councils of the whigs proved rather a source of mistrust than of augmented strength. Referring to this point, Mr. Townsend remarks:—

‘The trimming councils of William could not refrain from an attempt at conciliation, and installed the popular committeeman in the chair of the House. He preserved his speakership in the next parliament against the wishes of the crown, and was chosen speaker of a third parliament, an honour then unprecedented, on the accession of Queen Anne. Though whiggish councils still predominated, his abilities, influence, and moderation, were thought of such exceeding value, that for the last year of his remaining speaker he received the seals as secretary of state, and was reputed by courtesy, as in fact, the leader of the House of Commons. But, even when admitted to the cabinet, he was not cordially trusted by his colleagues, who doubted the sincerity of their versatile convert, and dreaded his aspiring ambition. He was accused of coqueting with the tories, through his friends Bromley, Hanmer, and Freeman, and of scattering hints, that the queen had become wearied with the tyranny of the whigs, and longed to be delivered. His intimacy with her majesty, to which ‘the intriguing cousin’ Mrs. Masham introduced him, his easy, polite, conversation, and insinuating address, installed him high in the queen’s favour, and supported him against the suspicions of the straightforward Godolphin, and the distrust of the wary Somers.’
—pp. 90, 91.

‘An extended and interesting narrative is supplied of the alternations of his varying fortunes, in which, however, his unrivalled skill in court intrigue is not sufficiently brought out. Harley is evidently regarded by Mr. Townsend in too favourable a light, and a discreet veil is consequently drawn over those parts of his conduct which admit of least defence. The whigs of his day were unquestionably open to serious charges, yet the nation had been indebted to them for the preservation of its liberties, and its martial glory was derived from the military genius of Marlborough. Harley, however, was dissatisfied with his subordinate post, and secretly plotted through the medium of Mrs.

Masham to supplant their influence and overthrow the fabric they had reared. The measures he adopted were those of intrigue and delusion; there was nothing open, manly, or statesman-like about them, nothing that indicated on his part fitness for high office, or betokened the spirit of a genuine patriotism. The petty arts to which he resorted in order to compass his end ought, in some measure, to have been disclosed, and his want of good faith and manly bearing to have been reprobated in terms distinct and forcible.

There was one feature in the character of Oxford to which we revert with pleasure. He was the patron of literature and of literary men, and possessed the rare quality of combining in attachment to himself those of various dispositions and of hostile creeds.

'None knew the art better *'desipere in loco,'* to throw aside his state robes for the morning gown and slippers of a sauntering lover of literature, to close the doors against matters of business, and snatch a few hours of festive ease, to spell signs, and cap crambo verses with Swift, or bask in the hay-field with Pope. The bantering, affectionate tone in which his friends mention him, when writing to each other, is worth a volume of laboured eulogy to prove the social amiability of the man, that in private life he was made to be loved.

'He subdued to a melting mood the rugged, suspicious, nature of Swift; attached the playful goodness of Arbuthnot; drew close to his side the philosophic simplicity of Wren; won over, without a bribe, the captious jealousy of Pope, and detained in friendship that synod of wits who all claimed affinity with the *'genus irritabile vatum,'* Prior, and Parnell, and Gay. To the honour of literary friendships, be it remembered, that they all clung to the dismissed and menaced minister in the autumn of his days and in powerless retirement, with as much devotion as they had ever evinced in the meridian sunshine of the court. The exiled Clarendon declared, on his expulsion from office, that he had no friend to brag of; but Lord Oxford withdrew from public life with that household company which nothing but his attaching qualities could have retained: those *'troops of friends'* who surrounded his old age, and shielded him from disgrace. Their testimony to his worth is the more unexceptionable, because he never weighed genius in a goldsmith's balance, or purchased their adherence by a bribe. It has been whispered, indeed, that he was a better companion than patron to literary men; and his conduct to Rowe, and even to Pope, has been glanced at in support of the imputation.'—pp. 137, 138.

Swift was indebted to Lord Oxford for his ecclesiastical preferment. He sought to raise him to the Episcopal bench, but the Queen had been persuaded—and well she might be—that he was barely a Christian, and too light in his discourse for a dignified divine.' All, therefore, which could be obtained was an Irish deanery, and the bestowment of such an office upon such a man does no honor to the working of our state-church

theory. While ecclesiastical preferment is dispensed by mere political men, it cannot but happen that other motives than those which are religious will regulate its distribution. The following correspondence between Swift and his patron, when the latter had lost all power, and was about to resign the seals of office, is honourable to both, and illustrative of the character of a distinguished contemporary :

' July 1, 1714. I always loved you so much the worse for your station ; for in your public character you have often angered me to the heart, but as a private man never once. So that if I only look towards myself, I could wish you a private man to-morrow ; for I have nothing to ask, at least, nothing that you will give, which is the same thing, and then you would see whether I should not, with much more willingness, attend you in a retirement, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at London, or Westminster. I will add one thing more, which is the highest compliment I can make, that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am in any pain for the manner I write to you. I have said enough, so now, like one at your levee, having made my bow, I shrink back into the crowd, and am, &c., J. S.'

' A few weeks later, having learned from sure intelligence that the treasurer must forthwith yield up his staff, Swift wrote to repeat his offer. The generous proposal and its hearty acceptance confer equal honour on both. ' July 25, 1714. As I am wholly ignorant, so I have none of your composure of mind. If you resign in a few days, as I am told you design to do, you may possibly retire to Herefordshire, where I should readily attend you, if you so soon withdraw, or after a few months' stay in Ireland. I will return at the beginning of winter, if you please to command me.'

' Lord Oxford promptly accepted this arrangement. 'If I tell my dear friend the value I put upon his undeserved friendship, it will look like suspecting you, or myself. To-morrow morning, I shall be a private person. When I have settled my domestic affairs here, I go to Wimple, thence alone to Herefordshire. If I have not tired you *tête à tête*, fling away so much time upon one who loves you, and I believe, in the mass of souls, ours are placed near each other.' Swift, with his peculiar faculty of marking a strong fact in a few simple words, has written on the back of this letter. 'Just before the loss of his staff.'

' There was one bright, tranquil spot, set apart to friendship, even in that stormy day of resignation, darkened as it was with gusts of jealousy and peevishness, and passion. In his letter to Vanessa, (Miss Van Homrigh,) explaining why he followed the footsteps of the disgraced, instead of the triumphant minister, the cynical dean proves that he had a heart, though encrusted too largely with selfishness and pride. ' August 1, 1714. I am writ to earnestly by somebody to come to town, and join with these people now in power, but I will not do it. Say nothing of this, but guess the person. I told Lord Oxford I would go with him when he was out, and now he begs it of me, and I cannot refuse him. I meddle not with his faults as he was a minister of state, but you know his personal kindness to me was excessive. He distinguished and chose me above all other men, while he was great ; and his letter to

me t'other day, was the most moving imaginable. Perhaps Lord Bolingbroke may get the staff, *but I cannot rely on his love to me.*'—pp. 153—155.

Some curious information is furnished by Mr. Townsend in his seventh chapter, on the now obsolete privileges of the Commons, amongst which he ranks the payment of wages. It appears, from the collection of writs *de expensis* made by Sir F. Palgrave, that the sums demanded by different members varied greatly, the less payment being a result probably of a specific agreement between the representative and his parsimonious constituents. The practice of claiming such payment was maintained until a comparatively modern period; nor has its discontinuance been attended with all the advantages which our author imagines. The 'dignity' of the House may, in a restricted sense, have been advanced, but we have yet to learn that it has been rendered a fairer representation of the views, interests, and wishes of the community. The following is our author's account of the discontinuance of this practice :—

'At length members themselves began to be ashamed of being classed among stipendiaries; they would not avail themselves of an odious statute, and in the pensioner parliament, burdened with sufficient opprobrium without this miserable pittance, they threw off altogether the badge of degradation. In March, 1676, the presbyterian knight, Sir Harbottle Grimston, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the statute of wages, and desired it might be in particular for Colchester, the place he served for. A writ had gone down from Sir John Shaw, his fellow-burgess, to receive his wages for service done in parliament, and the town was in confusion. The debate which ensued curiously marks the rising sense of shame in some, and the dogged selfishness of other honourable members. Mr. Powle computed they had sat in that parliament three thousand days, which would be 600*l.*, and wages might be due in prorogations as well as adjournments. Sir Robert Sawyer suggested they should give up all but the last two years, for which selfish proposition, as it afterwards proved, he was sharply rebuked by Mr. Boscawen, who did not know why Sawyer, who had been but two years, should give away his wages, that had been sixteen years. Hereafter should boroughs be put out of fear, they will choose their own burgesses, blue aprons, and choose gentlemen no more. Mr. Love, one of the members for the city, confessed with much ingenuousness, 'that he had never received any wages from his constituents, nor demanded any, because he thought he never deserved any at their hands.'

'The loss of wages,' Sir John Birkenhead argued, 'is the only punishment the law has made for the absence of parliament-men from their attendance.' 'Sir Richard Temple would have the bill go without a day for a second reading. 'Tis a reflection on the House to discharge the wages by law; it should be a free-will offering. Wages have been scarce received these eighty or one hundred years.' 'Some in the House,' said Waller, and the amiable poet might glance at his own condition, 'some are so poor, and some of the boroughs so rich, that to force

men not to take wages, would not be equal justice.' The manner in which the bill came to be read a second time, forms a striking proof of members' sensibility to shame.

'It endured a long argument,' writes Marvel to his constituents, 'insomuch, that when the question was put for a second reading, a gentleman who had disapproved of the bill, deceiving himself by the noise of the negative vote, required the division of the house, but so considerable a number of the affirmatives went out for it, that all the rest in a manner followed after them, notwithstanding their own votes, and there were scarce either tellers, or men to be told, left behind, so that it will have a second reading.' The bill was silently dropped, but a feeling of pride prevailed with the great majority to waive these obnoxious and paltry, and almost obsolete claims. It is no reproach to the memory of Andrew Marvel, that he should have been the last who exacted the provisions of the old statute, for he preferred honest poverty to a courtier's corrupt wealth, and the cold meat of yesterday to luxurious viands at the expense of his country's freedom. The patriot who spurned Danby's bribe of a note of 1000*l.*, when that corrupt minister scaled his garret, might well demand his shillings from a body of constituents to whose interests he devoted his time, and whose public rights he would not sell or barter.—pp. 244—246.

We must close our present notice of Mr. Townsend's labours with some reference to Lord Somers, than whom it is difficult to find, in the whole range of English history, a more honourable or meritorious statesman. The young lawyer was first brought into notice by the speech which, as junior counsel, he delivered on the trial of the seven bishops. Distinguished alike by the simplicity of its diction, and the compact force of its logic, it established his reputation, and made way for his becoming, what Sunderland afterwards described him to the king as being, 'the life, the soul, the spirit of his party.' It is much to be regretted that no memorials of his parliamentary oratory have been preserved. Its effect was great, and obviously resulted from a combination of many qualities, rather than the preponderance of any one. Burnet records the following instance of his spirited and effective interposition in the course of a critical debate, on the determination of which depended the validity of the new settlement.

'One of them questioned the legality of the convention, since it was not summoned by writ. Somers, then solicitor-general, answered this with great spirit. He said if that was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason. The laws repealed by it were still in force; so they must presently return to King James. All the money levied, collected, and paid by virtue of the acts of that parliament made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal. This he spoke with much zeal and such an ascendancy of authority, that none were prepared to an-

swer it. So the bill passed without any more opposition. This was a great service done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raise Somers's character.'—p. 368.

He was made successively, solicitor and attorney-general, lord keeper, and lord high chancellor, in all which offices he sustained a blameless reputation, exempt from the bitterness of party spirit, and zealously bent on advancing the interests of his country. His views of reform embraced a wider range than those of his contemporaries, and were recommended by the clear-sightedness and integrity of his intellect. The trimming policy of the King, however, having determined him to propitiate the tory party, Somers was discarded from office, and retired for a season to recreate himself in the pursuits of literature and science. In these he was not long permitted to remain without interruption, as the following extract will show :

'In 1701 he was requested by Lord Sunderland, at the pressing instance of the King, to accept the post of head of the government, but declined the responsibility, not yet assured of the firmness of the sovereign. It is related by Coke that, in an interview with William, Lord Somers objected that he might relapse into toryism, upon which the King, leaning with his elbow on the table, said emphatically, 'Never, never !' By the advice of his faithful councillor, he dissolved the impeaching parliament, and addressed the new house of commons in a speech composed by Somers, the original of which Lord Hardwicke saw in his own handwriting. It was the last speech of William, the most eloquent and popular, perhaps, that ever proceeded from the throne ; a simple but stirring appeal to parliament and the nation against the ambitious arrogance of the French monarch who had dared to taunt the whole people of England by proclaiming the son of James the Second their king.'—pp. 378, 379.

His lordship died in 1716, leaving behind him a reputation which his countrymen have lived to cherish, and the contemplation of which has served to invigorate many of the noblest of his successors. The candid of all parties have done homage to his worth, while the achievements of his genius, visible in the safeguards of our liberty, minister perpetually to the virtue and happiness of the nation. Sir James Mackintosh, a disciple of the same school, and of somewhat similar character, has left a sketch of Lord Somers, the terms of which are scarcely more eulogistic than true. 'Lord Somers,' remarks this distinguished man, 'seems to have very nearly realized the perfect model of a wise statesman in a free community. His end was public liberty : he employed every talent and resource which were necessary for his end, and not prohibited by the rules of morality. His regulating principle was usefulness. His quiet and refined mind rather shrunk from popular applause. He preserved the most

intrepid steadiness with a disposition so mild, that his friends thought its mildness excessive, and his enemies supposed that it could be scarcely natural.' We shall be glad to meet Mr. Townsend in the continuance of his labours; and, in the meantime, assure our readers that they will find in his present volume much instructive and entertaining information.

Art. VII. *The Papal and Hierarchical System compared with the Religion of the New Testament.* London. 1843. C. Gilpin. 12mo. pp. 275.

THE design of this very interesting and able essay is thus stated by the author:—'I propose in this treatise to take an account of some of the principal features which mark the views and practices of the church of Rome, and to contrast them with what I believe to be pure Christianity.' Rome is selected, as presenting the *most* flagrant case of departure from the truth; but the writer does not shrink from rebuking the evils which spring from the principles of Romanism, wherever he finds them. He does not restrict his view of antichrist to any one denomination of Christians; for he believes antichrist may be found, more or less, in almost every existing sect; nor does he hesitate to allow, that many of the people of God are found among all the sects and parties into which professing Christians are divided. In these sentiments we cordially concur; and our readers will agree with us in considering the object proposed by our author both important and timely.

This object is pursued in relation to the following topics:—Holy Scripture—Antichrist—Usurpation of Power by the Church—Spiritual power of the Priesthood—Divine Worship—The Ministry—Sacraments—Justification and Sanctification, which are discussed with considerable ability and candour; and with a scrupulous regard, for the most part, to the testimony of Divine truth, which is brought to bear on them with considerable judgment and force. A few criticisms, distinguished for acumen and modest learning, are occasionally offered; and some brief notes occur of great simplicity and value, which serve to illustrate the argument.

We soon discovered that we were in company with a decided nonconformist; and were gratified to find that truth was asserted with uncompromising fearlessness, though always with courtesy and love. There is no undue harshness or severity in these pages. Christian temper pervades the book from beginning to end.

In general, our author's views are both clear and scriptural. There is, certainly, nothing original or very profound

—nothing but what many previous writers have adduced. Still, there is a *freshness* about the views given of truth, which is perhaps more calculated to arrest the attention of that class of persons for whom the work is intended, than a treatise of higher pretensions and profounder thought.

Our limits forbid our giving extracts to justify the general opinion we have expressed. We may refer the reader, however, to the remarks on the use of Scripture, pp. 26; on many passages in Revelation, which describe Antichrist, p. 60—65; on the unchristian character of Church and State alliance, p. 71; on the difference between the miracles of Christ and his apostles, and the so-called miracles of the church of Rome, p. 104; on Divine Worship, p. 180; on Apostolical Succession and the Christian Ministry, as taught by Old Rome and New Rome, which he describes by a striking epithet, *Ecclesiastical Romance*, p. 136; and on the words of Jesus when celebrating the Last Supper—as worthy of particular attention, for their beauty, eloquence, and force.*

When we came to that part of the work which treats of the ministry, and the rites of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, we discovered the author to belong to the society of Friends. On these topics he seems to us to reason badly, to confound obvious distinctions, and to be ill-informed about the views and practices of evangelical Dissenters respecting the ministry. His method of arriving at the conclusion that there were *silent meetings* among the first Christians, is singularly curious. He seems to us to confound, though he evidently is not at all aware of it, the influence which prompts a *Friend* to rise and speak, with inspiration! Nor does he discriminate, to our satisfaction, between that gift of the Holy Ghost, which conferred the power of miraculous working, and that influence which enlightens the mind, and renews the heart, through the truth.

We must also except to his statements—for arguments we cannot call them—respecting baptism and the Lord's Supper. We were surprised and grieved to read the following statement:—‘that in making use of water baptism, the apostles and their brethren were not acting under command from their Lord and Master, but only following up an old practice which was perfectly familiar to the Jews.’ And further, that the institution of the Lord's Supper was nothing more than giving a *social*

* In his remarks on 1 Pet. iii. 18—20, in reference to Purgatory, and on our Lord's address to that apostle after his memorable confession to the truth, on which the Romanists found the claims of the priesthood, to the forgiveness of sins, we do not think him happy. We recommend to his careful perusal, two Sermons by the late Bishop Horsely on these passages, from which much advantage may be derived.

custom a new direction and a religious character. These things are said to support the notion that the institutes in question were not to be permanent, and were never intended to be of universal application. For it is obvious, that, in those countries where washings are not social acts, and the breaking a loaf of bread, and handing round a cup of wine, of each of which all present partook, in token of cordial fellowship, do not form a part of social intercourse, baptism, and partaking of bread and wine, as religious rites, are no part of Christian duty. Our author quotes many passages to prove that our Lord abrogated the ceremonies of the Jewish economy; but wholly forgets that he also instituted these two rites *after* he had abrogated the others. Such passages therefore do not apply to these ceremonies, however clearly they may prove the spirituality of the Christian dispensation. Much is said about the baptism of the Spirit as being Christ's baptism; which, of course, is meant to convey the idea of there being none other. We have the following singular exposition of this matter:—'He that believes the gospel, from the heart, and is baptized by the one Spirit into the one body, shall indeed receive the end of his faith, even the salvation of his soul.' Does the author mean 'by being baptized by the One Spirit,' renewed, converted? If so, then what does he mean by receiving the gospel into the heart, and *after that*, being baptized by the One Spirit? We are sorry to see such loose statements in a work, otherwise so excellent. This, however, is its weakest part; and the attempt to disprove the permanent obligation of baptism and the Lord's Supper, is, in our opinion, a signal failure.

We were disappointed, too, that the author had not exercised the same freedom and impartiality respecting his *own body*, as he has shown towards others. Surely he might have dealt with the questions of hereditary membership—the necessity of personal religion to communion—the absence of a missionary spirit—the scantiness of public instruction in their assemblies—and the want of that discipline which is founded on a recognition of the great principle, that conversion to God is the essential prerequisite to the fellowship of the church. Should his work reach a second edition, which we shall be very glad to see, we respectfully urge upon him these tokens, as they appear to us, of a departure from the truth among the Friends. In the mean time, we close our remarks with repeating our high approval of the work, with the exceptions duty has compelled us to take.

Art. VIII. *The Times and Morning Chronicle* : February to August, 1843.

THERE was a sagacious proverb in ancient times, which is also applicable to modern days, 'Let not him that putteth on his armour, boast himself, as he that putteth it off!' Our present ministry are now illustrating this, amidst the hisses of the three kingdoms, and the scorn of an admiring world. But a little more than two years ago, they entered upon office, with a flourish of trumpets, announcing to friend and foe, that the country was upon the verge of ruin, and that they were its destined preservers. Toryism transformed its helmet of hope into that of presumption, decked with borrowed plumes; under the vain idea, that professions would answer all the purposes of principles; and that the honourable badges of its opponent would change folly into wisdom, and cowardice into courage. Conservatives were the true friends for a suffering people; those who had resisted reform to the last gasp, were to be its genuine protectors; supporters of profuse expenditure, for at least a couple of generations, would prove far better guardians to the public purse than 'economists and calculators;' the wolves would beat the dogs hollow in taking heed of the flock; noble lords were only popular tribunes under other names; Sir Robert Peel was the champion of Great Britain, with victory waiting upon his spear! It is certain, when the right honourable baronet went to Windsor, and was acknowledging, on his return, the plaudits with which multitudes greeted him, that he seemed personally to feel his position. He wore for the day something like the port of Ajax, if not of Achilles. Yet, now, how changed! His bitterest enemy must have more than ample revenge. Defeat, disappointment, desertion, and disaster, haunt him on all sides. He and his followers are reaping as they have sown. Punishment has trodden close upon the heels of perfidy. Power was won by a combination of treachery and misrepresentation, bigotry and fanaticism, chartism and monopoly; it will have to be rendered back again by its present possessors, on their bended knees, doing penance with ashes upon their heads! There can be no escape from their approaching humiliation. All their prostration before the feet of their antagonists can never save them. They have subsisted, as Lord Palmerston says, upon the broken victuals of their predecessors; but, instead of getting fat, like bulls of Basan upon their spoil, they are like the lean kine of Pharoah, ominous of famine and desolation. We repeat it,—there is no escape for them. Whatever good they have done, or attempted to do, was all done for them, by those whom they supplanted and calumniated. Whatever evil

they have perpetrated, and it is enormous, has been peculiarly their own; whilst, as a just retribution, a scourge of scorpions impends over their shoulders. What would they not now give to be where they once were, in opposition; howling out their old catchcalls, an irresponsible phalanx of obstructives, furnishing worn-out prejudices with some new varnish of patriotism, and screaming after preferment? The seals of office have effected for them that which Lord John Russell and his colleagues failed to achieve: they have tormented them as they deserved. As in the dream of the Red Gauntlet, an itching palm has been extended for the treasure, and it has turned red hot upon their hands. We believe, however, that no one pities them.

In reviewing the past session of parliament, we have to look over a wilderness of ruins; not indeed, like those of Palmyra, or Pæstum, with the pleasures of memory, or the associations of history, to gild illustrious sepulchres. There is not a single touch or vestige of the sublime and beautiful about the whole affair. A more lugubrious and prosaic task it has seldom been our lot to perform. The field is strewn with the vulgar potsherds and fragments of weak or mischievous measures. Its smoke and brimstone might remind us of a certain area, said to be paved with good intentions; but even these last are scarcely to be found here. Shall it be averred, that ministers meant well, when they introduced a Factory Bill with clauses for education, which it was morally impossible for Nonconformists or Catholics to tolerate for a single moment? Did they purpose well, when the Canada Corn Bill walked over the floor of the House, with two faces, one to cheat the country gentlemen, and another to delude impoverished consumers, led astray through visions of cheap bread? Has not the proved object of the vast majority of ministerial measures been to please two parties, in themselves utterly irreconcilable, because, politically speaking we mean, the principles actuating each are as opposite as the poles? No worthy object is gained by our writing soft things on such occasions. All their domestic plans have turned out to be either foolish or futile ones,—conservative journals, conservative county members, conservative clubs and clergy, themselves being the judges. Where are their bills for local courts, amendment of the Poor Laws, ecclesiastical improvement, internal police, and innumerable other objects, as to which time and space, to say nothing about the patience of readers, must assuredly fail us? The premier came down one evening, and formally abandoned such a fasciculus of proposed acts of parliament, as would have furnished Lord Lyndhurst with fuel for his oratorical indignation through three nights, had the whigs only ventured to throw up half what the tories thus surrendered. One man may steal a

horse, another must not cast a glance over the hedge! Have the luxuries of the woolsack, then, altogether smothered the wrath of the Lord Chancellor at such an unparalleled amount of abandoned legislation? or, does he unblushingly acknowledge, that a golden mace *in esse* and *in posse*, as the lawyers say, are exceedingly different things? Let it be remembered, moreover, that when the liberals let measures go, they were not so much dropped as knocked out of their grasp. Lord Melbourne had to face a majority of two to one in the Peers; and a minority all but equal to his whole body of friends in the Lower House. Sir Robert Peel can plead no such apologies. In the Commons there have been nearly four hundred members at his back; with three-fourths of the aristocracy, nine-tenths of the clergy, the hierarchy almost to a man, the whole band of monopolists out of doors, besides the largest moiety of the learned professions, with the army and navy, in his favour. It may appear paradoxical, but, in a peculiar sense, his strength has constituted one main source of his weakness. He has degenerated into the instrument of his instruments, through his wanting intellectual power to overawe and wield the mightiness of their combinations, instead of being overawed himself by them. He might, perhaps, have managed a smaller amount of forces; he could, possibly, have drilled into order a less complicated social organization; but to lead the magnates of Great Britain, himself the son of a cotton-spinner,—to mould for magnificent purposes the monopolists and millionaires, whose privileges and fortunes dazzled his eyes in admiring them,—to handle the prelates and priesthood of a vast opulent establishment, as he would direct a machine, or throw a shuttle,—all this has proved too much for a second-rate mind. Hence his own forces have carried him away; and unless when they pleased, have got the better of him. They have often appeared to obey, and the Prime Minister has as often appeared to govern; but this has occurred only when their interests and objects have been, beyond all question, in a line of coincidence. The talents of Sir Robert Peel are infinitely superior both to his genius and his virtue. Any statesman almost, far inferior to him as to the first, but greater than he with regard to the two last, might have worked out wonders with his means. George Washington, in his place, would have gained every point he had at heart, or at once resigned his elevation; Sir Robert Peel will do neither. His eye is not that of an eagle, to look the world's sun in the face, and brave its utmost brightness. We have always considered him as a kind of bastard William Pitt, fluent, clever, business like, eloquent, subtle, and selfish; but without originality or foresight,—plausible, rather than profound; pliable, rather than conciliatory; mistaking coldness for calmness, con-

founding haughtiness of demeanour with grandeur of purpose,—a gifted clerk rather than a mighty statesman,—a fortunate, prudent politician, with a scale of patriotism between his fingers about a span long.

Even his financial measures have failed, as most candid persons must admit. It was from these that most was expected, and that with some reason: for who could have imagined, that a person dropped from Oxford into the House of Commons, trained through a good long healthy life to official habits and details, could nevertheless remain utterly unacquainted with those *arcana imperii* which make national wealth beneficially subservient to governmental necessities? But from the very first, there was a mountebank air and manner, which conveyed some doubts about the subject to close observers. No sooner was he installed in office, under impressions that he was to fill, as if by magic, 'those beggarly empty boxes' which whiggery had exhausted, than he made a low bow before the gaping public, and requested *six months for consideration*. All this seemed so like the charlatan, who had collected crowds by shilling tickets, to behold a man getting into a quart bottle, and then informed them that they must please to wait until he could find a bottle large enough. However, the good natured, much abused, and gullible people of these realms did consent to wait, as Sir Robert Peel had requested them. Never was popular patience put to a severer trial. The tory majority had been got together, partly by gross bribery and intimidation, but also to a great extent by assurances reiterated again and again, that national bankruptcy and national ruin were imminent. Had any eminent conservative dared to insinuate on the hustings that matters might after all hold fast for half a year longer, his name would have been erased *ipso facto* from the Carlton Club; whence, moreover, not a farthing would have ever been forthcoming to pay the expenses of his election. It a little staggered, therefore, those honest farmers and shopkeepers, who had been driven under the auspices of parsons and squires to vote for members who would vote for Peel, to save the political heavens and earth from falling into chaos—when they discovered that, for a considerable space of time, long enough, as they conceived, for every thing to turn topsy turvy and come right again, the new premier begged permission to say and do nothing! It was at all events very strange; and yet those who heard or read quite quietly acquiesced: for, of course, as was generally and justly observed, the egg, which would be, under the circumstances, so tardy in hatching, must produce a Phoenix! Meanwhile, as is now pretty clear, Sir Robert Peel had no particular plan after all. He was merely waiting for what might turn up in the chapter of accidents. Chartists had been suffered,

and even encouraged, to help forward the battle against liberalism; and therefore these silly people reached out their necks for a little indulgence. They were, nevertheless, bitterly disappointed: for conservatives had nothing but halts and prosecutions for them, any more than the whigs. The orangemen in Ireland had been courted and coaxed to bellow on behalf of protestant ascendancy, in order that its natural patrons might climb into the high places of the state, amidst rounds of Kentish fire: when lo! before they were well warm in their seats, it was discovered that the national system of education was to be left just where it was! So again the squirearchy in England, who had exhibited the devotedness of janizaries to the good old cause of toryism, clapped their hands, and opened their mouths wide for the ripe plum which was to reward them for coercing tenants, and mortgaging their estates; when, to the dire amazement of the whole agricultural interest, their leaders turned round, as Lord John Russell observed, and fired in their faces. A delusive tariff lowered the duty on foreign hops, and let in foreign cattle! The pigs of France, oxen from Holstein, runts from Brittany, were to come over bodily to this happy island, and lick up its prosperity as they very gladly would the grass of its fields. Barring the fun of seeing the senatorial wisdom of Essex and Somersetshire sorely nonplussed, and witnessing the wry faces of stolid honourable members shoved into the water without mercy, because it suited their idolized Palinurus to wear the ship after his own fancy, we do say it was a most gratuitous insult to the public understanding, from first to last. A bulky measure, accompanied with such complicated labyrinths of statistics and figures as would be sure both to puzzle one section of the house and dazzle the other, was laid upon the table. It was attached, moreover, to no less an impost than an income tax. When the opposition remonstrated against the burdens of the latter, Sir Robert assured it that there would be no pressure at all, since the new duty would be saved through the reduced prices of the tariff: and when his followers roared alarm at such an awful prospect, the premier dexterously devoured his leek, and hushed the dull babies, with protestations, that their crops and produce would be just as valuable as ever! Statements like these seem, as we are aware, almost too strong for credence: but we confidently appeal to *Hansard* in answer to all charges of exaggeration. In no other free country, than England, could such a self-evident and self-destroying absurdity have been tolerated or swallowed: yet the tariff was carried amidst shouts and cheers, wherein, beyond a doubt, those vociferated the most who understood the least. The grand modification of the corn law was precisely in the same style. The mountain of promise was de-

livered of a mouse of performance. London, on the destined night, might have been said to gasp with anticipation. The Stock Exchange, on the previous morning, was a lolling-place for loungers; since the very tides of speculation had paused until the grand secret should be out. None, who were present, will ever forget the sensation, which positively seemed to thrill through St. Stephen's, when the premier was about to address the speaker. He was to unveil the result of lucubrations protracted for weeks and months by the noonday luminary and the midnight lamp; parliamentary reports and consular researches had unrolled for his special edification the most voluminous documents of practice and experience; the commercial world was resting on its oars with interest; when at length he presented all parties with a scheme, which, as Mr. Roebuck correctly said, any clever actuary would have compiled in half an hour.

Finance, however, was to atone for all these misdemeanours and fooleries. The whigs had been expelled from office, leaving behind them a large deficiency in the exchequer. All their economical reforms, all their transmutation of permanent debt into terminable annuities, all their reductions of taxation, were stowed away 'into the beggarly empty boxes,' to be for the time forgotten. Our constituencies have short memories, or this would not have been possible. To equalise the receipts of the treasury with its expenditure, Sir Robert Peel imposed an income tax, no very original conception, although quite in the teeth of his former expressed policy—a policy indeed so strongly expressed, that had whiggery ventured on such a measure, the member for Tamworth would have protested against it, like a confessor. This, with sundry other small plans, and in connexion with the tariff, was to accomplish his proposed object. But has it done so? Never was opposition more forbearing; never were fiscal measures more prematurely applauded; never were mere monetary calculations, propounded by any financier, so agreeably exceeded: the returns exceeded anticipation by more than a million and a quarter sterling; and yet the deficit, after two years of conservative administration, remained as great as before. On the 14th of August Lord Monteagle moved in the upper house these unanswerable resolutions: '1. That this house observes with much concern and disappointment that the expectations held out of a surplus revenue, exceeding 500,000*l.*, for the year ending the 5th of April, 1843, has not been realised, but that *there has been an actual deficiency of 2,421,000*l.**, notwithstanding the imposition of a tax on property, the application to the public service of 511,406*l.* obtained from the government of China, and a receipt exceeding 1,300,000*l.* as duties upon grain imported. 2. That *the charge for the permanent debt has been*

increased during the last two years, the exchequer balances have been reduced, and upwards of one million of exchequer bills held by the trustees of saving banks had been converted into stock. 3. That under these circumstances it is most peculiarly the duty of the legislature and of her Majesty's government, to enforce the strictest economy which is consistent with the public service, and to adopt all such measures as may increase the ordinary revenue by ensuring to British industry, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial, its widest and freest extension, and its largest reward; thus averting from the country the calamity of the re-enactment of a tax upon property in time of peace, and promoting the well-being of all classes of her Majesty's subjects.' We repeatedly predicted that Sir Robert Peel would witness the frustration of his expressed hopes: but it must be owned that conservatism has fallen into the dust with greater rapidity than could have been anticipated. Allowing it another year of power, the country will have had to purchase its dear experience at the price of about fifteen millions sterling. Liberalism can afford to be economical. It has learned to trust in the people, and seek the promotion of popular comfort. It was prepared to have made good the fiscal deficit by reductions of duty; by taking off the manacles and fetters from the hands and feet of trade; by giving us cheap corn, cheap sugar, cheap timber; and if all these failed to answer the purpose, by imposing the legacy tax upon real as well as personal property. Toryism cannot but be expensive. All its associations are with the privileged classes. Its affections roost under the eaves of the mansion, rather than the cottage. It consorts with the nobles and wealthy ones of the land, rather than the labourers of the earth or the artizans in the factories. Its language may be about the house of industry: its heart is in the temple of Mammon. Sir Robert may know more than his own party about what ought to have been done: yet that knowledge only invests his culpability with a deeper stain.

In what, then, we may demand from his supporters, has he succeeded? Parliament sat nearly seven months, and for what object, beyond voting the supplies, and passing the Irish Arms Bill? This last measure would seem to be fraught with danger. In our gunpowder mills, we believe, even strangers are not admitted without putting on list shoes; but what should we say to any persons proposing to pass through one of them with ignited torches in their hands? The sister kingdom is allowed to be in the highest state of political inflammation; and the grand measure of the session, for which ministers fought, as if for the palladium of empire, night after night, is an act that would rouse England and Scotland into madness, from Caith-

ness to Cornwall, were they included within its operations. Not many months will have glided away, before there will be demonstrated either its supreme folly, or its perfect inutility. If proved foolish, it cannot fail to be injurious; if shown to be useless, it will have been a gratuitous insult to Ireland. Our convictions are strong, that it will turn out to have been all these together. All arms are, without exception, to be *branded* from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway. The very word was in the original draft of the bill, until exchanged for the equally efficacious, but more insidious one, of *marking*. Unregistered and unlicensed weapons will have to be surrendered; that is, if the authorities can get hold of them. But the whole task, from first to last, will be like taking hornets and not honey, out of the jaws of a living, rather than from the carcase of a dead lion! Our ministers have the strangest notion of what really constitutes conciliation. But to let all this pass for the present, we venture to bring against them four specific charges. 1. They are doing their utmost to dis sever the empire. 2. They are drying up the sources of our national prosperity. 3. They are prostrating the whole fabric of our foreign policy. 4. They are accumulating the materials at home for a violent and inevitable revolution.

1. *They are doing their utmost to dis sever the empire.* We are always ready to maintain in politics, that wherever an injustice is proved, those parties who wilfully uphold it, are responsible for its consequences. Ireland was conquered by England some centuries ago, and treated just as Cinderella was, by her sisters, in the fairy story, for many generations. Not a word of palliation can be urged on this painful subject. We were verily guilty concerning the emerald Isle, from the days of the Henries downwards. Nevertheless, these children of bondage and affliction at least multiplied, if they did not thrive; and in 1782, when America had taught us one of the severest lessons we have yet had to learn, the Irish volunteers, with arms in their hands, demanded and obtained a recognition of their independence. One might now imagine, that the entire page of history relative to the results of our transatlantic maladministration, from the battle of Bunker's Hill to the surrender of Yorktown, had been torn out of Time's old almanac. Then came the rebellion and the union; and thirty years afterwards, Catholic emancipation. In 1840, the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, numbered eight millions; of whom an immense portion had begun to think, read, and reason for themselves; or at least to listen most attentively to certain popular leaders. These leaders told with impassioned vehemence their tale of the wrongs of Erin; they

pointed to facts for their confirmation ; there were more than a *Centum Gravamina*, which could not be mistaken ; ignorance, destitution, famine, oppression, and nakedness, being the witnesses. Two other matters were also pressed upon public attention ; namely, that no concession had ever been made, except under the influence of fear ; and further, that every concession, when so granted, was rendered as nearly nominal as possible. English policy towards Ireland has gone far towards realizing Bishop Berkeley's curious theory of ideas ; for even its extorted justice is found shadowy rather than real. Paddy's fare continues to be pigs and potatoes ; indeed, almost solely the latter, for his swine have had to cross the channel, upon the principle of *Sic vos non vobis* ! Meanwhile, one master grievance has towered above all the rest ; the Church Establishment. Its lineaments are too notorious to require any description here. All liberal episcopalians are of one mind about the matter. A land, teeming with catholics, is apportioned out into protestant bishoprics and benefices. Including the glebes, which we observed were studiously kept in the back ground throughout recent debates, as were also all fines, (an enormous fountain of chapter revenue,) there exists in the sister island a mass of ecclesiastical property, which, taken at twenty-eight years' purchase, would produce the enormous principal of thirty millions of pounds sterling. This capital is professedly devoted to the religious instruction of the people ; but is altogether in the possession of one small section of it, *that section not being quite a tenth of the whole* ! The statistics are, in round numbers, 6,500,000 Romanists, 650,000 Presbyterians and Nonconformists, 850,000 Episcopalians ; of whom, however, 125,000 returned themselves as Wesleyans, in communion with, or at least attendance upon the services of the establishment, from sheer necessity. To this monster of all monstrous absurdities, not to say worse, Sir Robert Peel has avowed his unqualified adherence and allegiance. Upon its preservation, he is to stand or fall. Apart from all differences about doctrine and discipline in religious matters, we denounce the so-called Church of England in Ireland, as an anomaly without parallel upon the face of the earth. Should conservatism be permitted to work its will, and remain in power, the union is a doomed affair. Placed upon such a rotten foundation, it will no more abide the storm than the world could stand upon an elephant, and the elephant upon a tortoise, as in the Hindoo cosmogony. The tories, therefore, are tearing asunder the empire. There is no time to touch upon fixity of tenure, parliamentary representation, or other inferior topics. Our ministers have hoisted their black banner upon the church tower ; where it will be rent to shreds and tatters.

2. They are drying up the sources of our national prosperity.

There are those amongst their supporters who profess to consider landed property as the mainspring of national welfare. The notion is carried by them to an absurd degree of exclusiveness; but, falling for a moment into their views, has toryism been a genuine friend to the agricultural interest,—either to landlord, tenant, or labourer? Upon the first, it has saddled all the follies of feudalism; primogeniture, entails, dowry, and, until of late years, fines and recoveries. The second it has degraded to a dupe and a tool; and the third to a mere serf on the soil. It has reared up the present race of landed proprietors to inherit the debts and mortgages of their forefathers, under a system of monopoly, which the anti-corn-law league must shortly shatter in pieces. Ministers, nevertheless, have pledged themselves to this system by their deeds; whilst their speeches are all the other way: so that when at last the dreaded catastrophe arrives, they must, at all events, be gazetted as bankrupts in character, if not in estate. Scarcely any property in land need have suffered by the change, had the helm of the state been guided by honest principles; but our apprehensions arise from the required abolition of injustice not taking place in sufficient time. We fear that a conservative cabinet contains too many men of Succoth, who will have to be taught knowledge by the thorns and briars of the wilderness; and that, perhaps, when it has become a little too late. Military ministers, and especially those covered with stars and laurels, take small pains to acquaint themselves with the philosophy of landed property in its complicated social bearings. This is a discovery which the lords of acres will presently make, amidst no little wonderment and confusion. The sources of national welfare, therefore, involved in a large landed interest returning a rental of a million sterling per week, are no more studied by our present statesmen than the sources of the Nile. All that their policy has effected is to place that interest in a position of antagonism towards all other interests, like the scorpion amidst coals of fire. Our vast agricultural population seems sinking into discontent and pauperism. Scarcely more intelligence has been struck out from it, than may serve to display the darkest mountains of ignorance, prejudice, and irreligion. Is the prospect better, on turning towards our towns and manufactories? The wisest and calmest judges have to hold their breath when they mention Stockport, Birmingham, and Sheffield, our ruined iron masters, hostile tariffs, and dwindling customs. Their decrease in April last, as compared with the previous April, was no less than 1,076,386*l.*: and the deficit of our excise, for July, upon the entire year, was a similar sum, 1,013,868*l.* Monopoly

is suffered to sit undisturbed at the fountain-head of commerce, mingling her poison in its waters. Let a tour be made through any or all our manufacturing districts, or a voyage round our once prosperous sea-coast, and the cry will be found general, that Great Britain is not what she once was; that the profits of honest business are being ground down to their minimum; that markets are scarcely worth attending; that capital is wasting, and the prospects of employing it better elsewhere are delusive; that society generally is sick at heart; that there is no confidence in public character; and least of all in the present ministers. Need it be added, that we write these things in sorrow, and not in anger? The general distress is of itself sufficient to extinguish unholy fires. But we must advance, with our readers, one step further.

3. *They are prostrating the whole fabric of our foreign policy.* England, from her circumstances and position, must, under Providence, have a potential voice in the affairs of the world; the ark of whose liberties, we even venture to say, has been before now in her keeping. Her genuine interests have always laid in preserving order upon the sea, and peace upon dry land. Our aristocracy, it is true, have contrived to consult their peculiar interests, and plunge the country into contest after contest, for their own selfish purposes; but liberalism was doing much to redeem us from this state of things for the present, and checking its recurrence in future. Holy Alliances were cast to the catacombs and cobwebs. Amicable efforts were made to preserve the proper balance of power, without using it as a bugbear to alarm weak people. Lord Palmerston brought about, by protocols and dispatches, what used to be done, as a matter of course, by fleets and armies. His Syrian schemes may be deemed exceptions; but, we believe, they will be found so more in appearance than reality. We assert, without fear of contradiction, that the suppression of the slave trade, opening new channels for our commerce, and avoiding continental collisions, formed the characteristic features of his transactions with other powers. Russian intrigues were baffled, both in India and on the Bosphorus; Austria and Turkey were induced to entertain proposals for treaties upon principles, which would have startled the Inter-nuncio and Grand Vizier in former days; the new institutions of the Peninsula and South America were protected from foreign interference; whilst, in North America, a train was laid for far more favourable results than Lords Aberdeen and Ashburton were able to realize. Now, Sir Robert Peel has brought a dense cloud over all these glories. His settlement of two wars, one in Cabool and the other in China, happened through a fortunate, rather than a judicious adoption of the policy, plans, and instru-

ments of his predecessors in office. They had sown, and he had entered into their labours. But what shall we say to his prætorian prefect in the East Indies,—the governor-general of proclamations,—the Sampson Affghanistes of our caricatures in the London print-shops,—displaying his curls for the edification of Agra and Calcutta,—groaning under the gates of Somnauth,—drowning Christianity in the pomp and bombast of orientalism, and affixing Scindia to our territories, after public avowals that they had already extended too far, and should, therefore, advance no more? What shall we say to the too well founded apprehensions, that France has supplanted us at Rio Janeiro; to the star of St. Petersburg once more culminating at Stamboul; to the reversal of our influence, as well as of all order in Spain, with the likelihood of Isabella the Second becoming wife to a son of Louis Philippe? Much stress has been placed upon the Treaty of Washington; but apart from all that may be adduced against the very dubious provisions with regard to the interests of our sable fellow-creatures, Mr. Webster himself assured the militant people of Maine and Vermont that, as to territory, America had secured seven-twelfths of the disputed lands in extent, and no less than three-fourths of them in value! Nor is the Oregon boundary by any means settled; so that ministers may be justly said to have conceded where they ought to have been firm, and to have been obstinate where they might at least have conciliated. Mr. Ellis has unhappily returned from the Brazils, *re infecta*. The King of Hanover, it is to be feared, has gained his object with respect to the State duties; so that from the Baltic to the Atlantic, and from the Dardanelles to the Straits of Gibraltar, Great Britain no longer is listened to and looked upon as the queen of nations; having, heretofore, enjoyed that respect, not indeed as a matter of right or assumption,—but as a species of deference awarded to her liberal policy, which of late had proved not less beneficial abroad, to foreign nations, than it was advantageous at home to her native subjects.

4. *They are accumulating the materials at home for a violent and inevitable revolution.* We are not going to prophecy, since, from the plainness of the peril, there is really no occasion for the mantle of the seer. Common sense can tell as much about the matter, as an oracle from Delphos or Dodona could in former days. Certain chemical elements, combined together under certain circumstances, will infallibly explode. Stupidity, bigotry, and selfishness, are mingling the magic cauldron, out of which anarchy must sooner or later arise; provided, it is to be understood, that no stop is put to the fearful process. Our labouring classes are being gradually deprived of their work, through an aristocratic system of legislation, which circumscribes the inlet

of bread-corn, and the outlet of our manufactures. This astounding anomaly, as is now openly avowed, must be maintained, to keep up high rents, and preserve harmless a multitude of both greedy and needy proprietors, who have married their wives, or portioned off their children under the auspices of monopoly. Around this favoured multitude, however, living in a world of its own, clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, there exists another multitude, more numerous by a thousand fold, with similar wants, wishes, and appetites. With the first class there is opulence untold: with the second, poverty indescribable. So long as the last could continue engaged in useful and remunerative toil, no comparisons were drawn. Hunger was appeased, and an industrious, good-humoured people remained satisfied. But let wealth, through mere wantonness, arrest the wheels of industry, and the whole scene must rapidly change. The revolution has already begun. Riches are no more than the realized results of human labour. With a cessation of the last they fade away into the baseless fabric of a vision. The lamp of Aladdin could never work such mighty marvels for weal or woe; and our ministers seem to have unintentionally touched that awful talisman; or else, why are they so scared into the pallor of inaction, by the genius of difficulty, which now stands before them? They are deliberately attempting to cling fast to a mercantile policy condemned, *in verbo*, by their own verdict. Their measures are setting class against class, interest against interest, the poor against the rich, numbers against nobles, physical force, maddened by passion, against property, which is the pillar of civilization. How can it be conceived for an instant, that millions without aught to do, but to contemplate their own state of deprivation, will subside into permanent acquiescence? Starvation has no ears, any more than popular frenzy can have reason. What will become of rank and civil order,—of estates, funds, and privileges,—of tithes and an established clergy,—of the thousand and one delicate artificialities of higher life,—in the clutches of exasperated and uninstructed pauperism? Let the speakers at some of our late public meetings be listened to, for testimonies as to undeniable matters of fact. We may not, and do not concur in all their opinions and conclusions, nor in many of the remedies proposed. But what says one of the leading conservatives at Birmingham, to the present state of affairs, when addressing the bankers and traders of his native town? ‘The miseries,’ he avows before an unexceptionable and numerous public assembly, ‘to which so many of their fellow-creatures had been already undeservedly exposed, were still increasing; yet if they spoke to the ministers upon the subject, they would be

told, 'You must wait with patience, time will set all things straight; over-production is the cause of all the evil; limit the production, turn off your men, and you will be all right.' He thought, therefore, that it was their duty to go to ministers, and inquire what remedy they could provide for the working classes. If persons would visit the districts round Birmingham, they would find that, in a large proportion of them, men, who were willing to work, and who were once able to work, were now actually starving, *because they could not work*. He said *once able to work*, because he knew masters who had told him, that in three or four instances where men who had applied for work, and who, in consequence of a few orders received, were set to work, had, nevertheless, been found to be in such a dreadful state of weakness, and so reduced, that they were unable to complete their task, and were obliged to abandon the employment they had been so long seeking in vain! In this manner is the paralysis of national prosperity stealthily extending itself to the very vitals of the country. Yet long before these are reached, convulsion will most probably have become irresistible in its work of mischief. What is the state of Ireland, at the present moment, amidst the dismissal of magistrates, the search after arms, the marching and drilling of troops, the transit of artillery and cavalry, the fortification of garrisons, the aggregation of materials for war, the silent and orderly organization of millions of repealers, the quailing tones and crouching attitudes of government, the murmurs of a popular deluge, rising higher and higher every passing hour, as if to float the framework of another constitution, if not of another dynasty? Frightful are the rumours of dissatisfaction amongst our soldiers and sailors. Is a flood of water to be turned into a deluge of fire? Will Chartism remain quiet when the sister kingdom has become a political Hecla or Vesuvius? Is the ground stable underneath our own feet? Who is to speak peace to Rebecca and her daughters in South Wales? Who will assuage the uproar of our mining districts? Are British farmers in love with their landlords, or with the clericals devouring the tenth sheaf,—the tenth lamb,—the tenth pound of butter or cheese, the tenth load of hay,—albeit these offerings are now cloaked under the less offensive title and garb of commutation and rent-charge? We assert, fearlessly, that the church of England, as an institution, is rapidly losing and squandering the best affections of her own children; who are getting daily more disgusted with her sanctimonious servility to the state, her insolent airs towards the laity, her spiritual ogling between protestantism and Puseyism, the tergiversation of her prelates, blowing as they do both hot and cold in the same breath, denouncing tractarian doctrines in charges, and installing

their preachers into some of the best amongst the new churches ! All these things, taken as they must be in connexion with the growth of nonconformity, the revival of Romanism, the perceptible agitation throughout all our institutions, the grievances of ecclesiastical courts and church-rates, the apparition of a Free Secession, and the proceedings of presbyterianism in Scotland, the lowering sullen aspect of our middle and lower classes,—all these, we repeat it, affect our minds as being symptomatic of an approaching crisis.

Meanwhile, under the good providence of God, there are various alleviations and remedies at hand, if our governors only had the heart and wisdom to resort to them. We may venture just a passing glance at some of these, which we would indeed commend to both the consideration and prayers of our readers. One is the annihilation of party. If toryism be bowing its head towards the dust, we must confess that the brow of whiggery looks anything but triumphant. The new member for Durham rightly ridiculed the pretences both of the ministry and its opponents. Perhaps mere power and place will hardly lose their charms, until contending sections become still more alarmed for the general safety than would at present appear to be the case. Such an event, however, cannot be far off ; because, whilst the pressure of distress gets every month more and more afflictive, the number of readers, listeners, thinkers, and sufferers grow proportionably. Time and events are gathering together a house of commons which is not to be counted out ! A spectre will spring out of the yawning ground, declaring with a voice of thunder that **SOMETHING MUST BE DONE** ; at whose single cry we may hope to behold individualism and selfishness expire. Public opinion will then invest itself with terrific authority ; and, to be expressed lawfully and beneficially, there will be a call for enlarged suffrage and vote by ballot. In no other way will the révolution be prevented from bathing its garments in blood. Patriotism must absorb party, and adopt, in something more than mere profession, the genuine principles of popular representation. Have not our fellow-subjects an indefeasible right to all this ? What, according to whiggery itself, is the true and veritable source of power ? Can it now be said, without mockery, that our operatives have any substantial place, voice, interest, or influence in parliament ; in that very chamber intended for their especial benefit and advantage—that it might be to them what the tribunicial protection was to the oppressed Romans, and indeed something more ? Are not myriads of hearty, brawny artisans, beginning to perceive that, with respect to themselves, the whole affair has hitherto been a farce and a piece of jugglery ? If a princess is to be married and wants an annuity, after the

decease of an enormously rich father—if royal stables are to be erected, at a cost of from 70,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*—if a park or new kitchen gardens are to be laid out at Windsor—if an act of parliament be necessary to preserve evidence for the succession to an antiquated marquise—then indeed the club-houses are scoured, honorable senators are whipped into their seats, or they flock to them of their own accord. But supposing the debate about those who are now, literally, her majesty's 'poor commons,' about the welfare of mechanics, shopkeepers, or the lower orders, as they are termed, in all their multifarious ramifications, who then regards the discussions? The Reform Bill only broke the ice of the nomination system. Feudalism must not merely be checked or frightened, but destroyed and eradicated. Unless this be done peaceably, it will be effected violently! And, for the sake of the former, our suffrage must be simplified, purified, and extended.

Such an extension will doubtless lead to great modifications and changes; for which reason, at the very mention of it, conservatism turns pale. A redoubtable canon residentiary of St. Paul's has printed and published a pamphlet, in which he declares that the name of the ballot always casts him 'into a cold perspiration.' And no wonder either; for one of the remedies most required to allay the fever of the public mind is religious equality, which would quickly follow in the rear of an extended suffrage protected from aristocratic and ecclesiastical interference. The people, once fairly represented in the lower chamber, would forthwith set about a reformation of abuses. Even Earl Grey once startled the episcopal bench from its propriety, with the solemn admonition, 'Set thine house in order!' Every man, woman, and child in these kingdoms must sooner or later be allowed to serve God in their own way; and that not merely in the toleration of religious differences, but the establishment of religious equality. Five millions sterling per annum must cease to be a Benjamin's mess, allotted to one denomination, for its own disgrace and the public affliction. It is folly to disguise any part of this matter, for how long, we would ask, will our hierarchy domineer in England, after the sentence upon all such institutions shall have been sealed and delivered in Ireland? The metropolitan must prepare to quit Lambeth and Addiscombe, unless death shall eject him beforehand. Bishops must depart from their palaces, castles, and country houses. Fines, glebes, great and small tithes may have been, until now, the stars and constellations in their spiritual firmament to prelates, deans, prebendaries, incumbents, and surrogates; but the night is far spent, the day is at hand; they are already waning before an orient aurora. To suppose that catholics and dissenters will

not quickly press their most reasonable and just demands, is an idea not likely to cross the minds of our readers; or if it should just happen to do so, it will not long stay there. Monopoly of any sort is sufficiently atrocious; and that of a religious state establishment must be among the very first to be put down; for the sake of the peace of the country—for the sake of religion itself—for the sake of general education—for the sake, without exception, of all classes. Are the universities to continue sealed fountains to all but those who subscribe articles which they do not believe, or who employ themselves in cursing their fellow-creatures from gothic colleges and halls, or the lettered archives of the Radcliffe, Bodleian, and Fitzwilliam libraries? The times of Archbishop Laud have strangely returned; and we have only to rejoice that, in the coming struggle, aristocracy and prelacy are not likely to obtain any countenance from the crown in resisting the rights of the people: at least we humbly trust so.

In fact, such numbers are now tolerably well informed about public matters, that every remedy for our almost universal distress will have to take the form, more or less, of utilitarianism. Government must be taught that it cannot escape any longer from substantial responsibility. Its powers, offices, and revenues are held for the benefit of all classes, towards whom it must feel that it stands in the place of a trustee or guardian. It has yet to commit to memory, so as to carry it into practice, that axiom of antiquity—*magnum vectigal est parsimonia*! Economy might go much further than it has yet done. Few things more assuage popular indignation than a sense that the treasury is carefully managed; whilst, on the other hand, an overgrown civil list, highly salaried offices, jobbery in naval and military promotion, colonial sinecures, and multiplied commissionerships, are like oil poured upon the flames. Both liberal and conservative administrations have much to answer for, under these heads. Sir Robert Peel would, perhaps, do something more than he has yet done, for the mere enjoyment of a little popularity, were it not for his aristocratic supporters and associates. But his daring is not sublime enough to encounter the prejudices of the peerage, upheld by, and identified with, its connected subalterns in office, whose subsistence would too often be in jeopardy. In attempts of this sort the premier could only hope to rely upon such homely philosophers as the nine Arabic numerals. He would be scornfully reminded of the vulgarity inseparable from listening to the Humes or Wallaces of the day. Yet it is notorious that, by pacifying Ireland, annihilating the enormous abuses of the post office, weeding the pension list, cutting off all useless hangers-on at court, a different management of the woods and forests, carrying honest retrenchment

into our colonial, military, and miscellaneous departments, and particularly that of our diplomacy,—no less than two millions per annum of our expenditure might be cut down without, in the slightest degree, impairing the efficiency of the executive. Difficulties so manifestly multiply around us that, from motives of common policy, we ought to husband and not waste our means. The present cabinet, however, does nothing but look on with folded arms, or gratify the meanest spite and envy towards a public benefactor, by dismissing Mr. Hill from his office, under the base, because treacherous, pretext of saving some 1,500*l.* a year to the revenues of an indignant country. There will come a moment of reckoning, when even selfishness will allow that integrity would have been the best preceptor :

*‘ Recte facta refert : orientia tempora nota
Instruit exemplis : inopem solatur et ægrum :
Avertit morbos : metuenda pericula pellit.’*

The grand resource, however, of Great Britain will be found in an honest and timely adoption of the principles of free trade. When a patient is suffering from ophthalmia in his eyes, rheumatism in his arms, and palsy in his legs, it is the height of absurdity to remove a hundred warts, or pare a dozen corns ; the three master maladies being left to take their course. Yet this was precisely the plan pursued by our right honorable state physician, when, as he himself proposed, ‘ he was once paid his fee.’ He tampered with, and probably, in many cases, palliated a vast number of minor evils, leaving altogether uncured three monster monopolies : those of corn, sugar, and timber ! Sir Robert Peel, we were informed, was about to modify somewhere about seven hundred imposts, if our memory be correct : upon which annunciation loud pæans were sounded, principally by his own apprentices ; whilst all the journals sung in their leading articles, ‘ See the conquering hero comes.’ Why, all his commercial reforms, put into one basket, would scarcely exceed 400,000*l.* of positive relief, which was counterbalanced, be it remembered, by an income tax ; whilst, on the other hand, the trio of abominations permitted to remain, cost these realms per annum twenty millions sterling ! What a great man truly ! In some instances income was thrown away gratuitously, under the head, for example, of lumber ; where a larger scale of reduction, but more skilfully applied, would have augmented, instead of diminishing, the returns. Unhappily our premier received his earliest lessons in practical public economy from Lord Bexley, then Mr. Vansittart ; and until Mr. Huskisson had let in some glimmerings of light upon the cabinet, Dutch dullness never could be convinced that there was any other mode of increasing a revenue

two-fold than doubling the taxation. The result of the experiment on coffee itself is said scarcely to have opened his understanding; although now many a mechanics' institute in our country towns might be able to solve the problem for his lordship. His pupil has nevertheless lived long enough to see through the grosser fallacies of his calling. There is therefore no excuse; and the prime minister will soon discover that he must either give way, or go out; albeit he entered on his office, and all its responsibilities, with a majority of ninety-one. Eighty of these already begin to murmur, if we may believe the *Morning Post*: and, indeed, symptoms of mutiny every now and then bring down severe castigation from Sir James Graham or Lord Stanley. The members for Canterbury and Shrewsbury wince not a little: and Lord John Manners must have a head full of crotchets, which will terribly annoy his political chief, calling as he does for an abolition of mortmain, to render rich deathbeds once more a harvest for the priesthood. Not that we are afraid of any real harm ensuing from this quarter: but meanwhile the crest of the first lord of the treasury is pecked at by his own birds. In other words, by undermining the position of statesmen better than himself, and vaulting into power upon their ruin, he finds himself in the most awkward dilemma conceivable. He evidently has all along overrated his influence over mankind in general, as well as over his followers in particular: and in taking leave of him, for the present, we recommend to his attention an old fable from the pages of Esop. Mercury had once a mind to ascertain how he was esteemed amongst men, and accordingly took a walk through the world of mortals for that purpose. Observing a shop for statuary, he entered it, and pointing to an image of Jupiter, demanded the price. 'I must have three obols for it,' answered the owner. 'How much is the value of that Juno?' inquired the disguised divinity. 'Four obols at the very least,' replied the man, 'for the plaister is better and the workmanship superior.' When at length Hermes, modestly holding up a figure of himself, said: 'And pray, my friend, what may be the price of this?' The man hesitated a moment, but then told him, that 'if he was really in earnest about purchasing the other two, the god of thieves and jugglers should be thrown, for nothing, into the bargain!'

Note on the Article on Spanish Affairs.

[The article on the Affairs of Spain was printed on the 15th of September: the newspapers of the 20th announced that Carnerero, the agent of Louis Philippe since 1811, was appointed by the Provisional Government of Madrid a member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs; and the *Times* of the 23rd announces that Baron Billing, the author of the pamphlet on the proposed marriage of the Queen of Spain, has just been appointed by Louis Philippe Minister at the Court of Denmark.]

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1843.

Art. I. *Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied, including a History of Biblical Interpretation from the Earliest of the Fathers to the Reformation.* By Samuel Davidson, L.L.D., Author of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 38, George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1843.

THE preface to this volume is dated, Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. This college is indeed a noble structure, worthy of that community by whose liberality it has been reared, and of that cause to which it has been consecrated. It is truly a splendid donation to the cause of Christ by the City of Manufactures. Our hopes of its success are very sanguine. The taste displayed in its architecture and accommodation is only inferior to the wisdom manifested in the choice of professors, and in the regulations of the seminary. Our heart's desire and prayer is, that many young men of vigorous intellect and sound theological erudition may go forth from its retirement, under the influence of earnest faith and the exciting emotion of sanctified love, among the teeming thousands of Lancashire—of England—and by the simple, ardent, spiritual exhibitions of the gospel, awaken, convince, and bring home to Christ the masses of our civic and rural population. May this new college, opened under such favourable auspices, be indeed a school of the prophets—the nursery of an educated and a regenerated ministry, who shall teach the truths of Christianity in their native purity and power! May its learning never degenerate into rationalism, nor its religion sicken into vapid Pietism or Oxford superstition! May it ever cherish the sacred cause of religious liberty, and be the organ of disseminating correct and impressive views of the freedom, spirituality, and independence of the Redeemer's kingdom! 'Establish THOU the work of their hands upon them; yea, the work of their hands, establish THOU it.'

That the New Lancashire College has imperfections, we readily admit. The Nonconformist theological seminaries are all in the same error. Their term of study is too brief, and the pursuits of their students are too multifarious. Literature and theology strive for the mastery, or at least distract the attention of the young men. They cannot, in the same term, do justice to both. Their tasks are hastily got up, and as speedily forgotten. Few exercises are performed with that leisure which ensures perfection. Classical studies interfere with biblical investigations, or, if they occupy a short initiatory term, they are abandoned, ere the mental culture to be derived from them has refined the taste, sharpened the intellect, or stored and strengthened the memory. There may be bustle, and great exertion, and rapid progress, and swift alternation between the classics and the scriptures, between metaphysics and scholastic divinity. Many tomes may be disturbed in the shelves of the library, and the indices of not a few goodly folios glanced over with diligent and time-saving haste; yet actual profit is to be measured by another standard. Leisure is wanted for calm reflection and solid acquisition. Many ideas may pass through the mind, and leave but scanty knowledge behind them; may bequeath only a few faint reminiscences, which elude the grasp, and tantalize the inquirer in his future investigations; or else beget that spirit of self-sufficiency and dogmatism with which sciolists so often vex or amuse the world around them. Hurried training is, of necessity, superficial, and yet is fain to please itself—'*multa laboriose agens, nihil agendo.*' Division of labour ensures success. You may trace millions of mystic characters on the quicksand; a few hours will erase them. Why not spend time and labour, when the means and materials are in your possession, in writing them with 'an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever?' We plead for a separation of the periods of literary and theological training. Let the academic curriculum be completed ere the nobler science of Divinity be entered on. It is a study which, in all its provinces, must engross the intellectual powers, ere lasting proficiency be attained. It resembles Aaron's rod, which swallowed all the other serpents. It needs a mind already trained in literary and scientific study; a mind with all its faculties in healthful tension, and that has entire command over its sources and subjects of information. Let English Nonconformists erect a literary institution, a gymnasium of active mental exercise for aspirants to the office of the sacred ministry. Let such an institution be the vestibule of their theological seminaries. The preparatory studies would all have a bearing on the grand object in contemplation, and not, as in the Scotch colleges, be neutral, and often worse than neu-

tral. In a dissenting literary college, both classical and metaphysical training might be so moulded by the mode of tuition, as to afford a salutary contrast to the frequent results of the teaching followed in the northern universities, in which heathen literature is pursued in a heathen spirit, as if there were no gods but the muses; and ethical systems are propounded, not only apart from revelation, but in mournful opposition to its plain and solemn statements on the duty and destiny of mankind. The undertaking we urge may appear colossal or romantic, but it is worthy of English enterprise and munificence. We hope to see it at no distant date. There are many spirits longing for it; longing to see their devoted youth drinking of a stream yet purer and more sacred than the Isis or the Cam.

We hail the publication of Dr. Davidson's book as a happy omen, in unison with his appointment to the chair which he occupies in the new college. It is a book much wanted. Its publication is an era in the history of English theological literature. Not that we are altogether without books of this nature. Horne's Introduction, with all its deficiencies, and they are many; its errors, and they are not trivial; has had the merit of first directing many inquirers in that field of study. But the compiler has not had the requisite training himself, nor has he kept pace with the progress of biblical investigation. To expect minute scholarship in such a production would be folly; yet we regret to meet such blunders as those which are so caustically exposed by Wiseman in his *Horæ Syriacæ*. We have the acute and learned labours of Bishop Marsh; yet even they embrace only isolated portions of hermeneutical science, and are now far behind the actual state of textual criticism. Only a few principles of interpretation are discussed by the learned prelate. Gerard's *Institutes* is a book of quite another character. Its hints, and laws, and divisions, are dry and somewhat meagre, though it embraces a wide circuit of critical and exegetical pursuit. The lectures of Van Mildert, Conybeare, and Benson are too popular and superficial to satisfy the wants of inquiring and educated students. We have also many treatises in which the principles of criticism are pursued and exemplified. What finer specimens of critical taste and acumen would we have than in Laurence's *Dissertations on the Book of Enoch*, Henderson's *Remarks on 1 Tim. iii. 16*, Pye Smith's frequent digressions and annotations in his '*Scripture Testimony*,' or Stuart's introductory chapters on the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, &c.? In some of these books, and in others which might be mentioned, we have also many excellent laws of interpretation correctly developed and soundly applied. A large code of hermeneutical and critical statutes, containing exempli-

fications of the subtleties of Greek and Hebrew grammar, embracing, in short, a grammatical and lexical apparatus of considerable fulness and symmetry, might be compiled out of the masses of miscellaneous observation and criticism in the 'Scripture Testimony.'

A book of the kind before us was much wanted in the English language. Other tongues had already been honoured by being made the vehicle of similar productions. Long had the Latin maintained its supremacy, and the *Isagoge*, *Clavis*, *Institutio*, *Tractatus*, *Libellus*, or *Exercitatio*, guided the studies of the sons of the prophets. Now, the language has been changed, and the Christian world is almost inundated with the *Einleitung*, or *Versuch*, or *Entwurf*, or *Darstellung*, or *Vorlesungen*, or *Grundriss*, or *Lehr-buch*. Many of the treatises so named, both in Latin and German, cannot be dispensed with, and will not be superseded by this publication of Dr. Davidson. The old works of Flacius and Rivet, of Glassius, Rambach and Carpzoff, will ever remain monuments of industry and patient research,—somewhat tedious in their more minute details, somewhat clumsy in their more solid proportions. Of the many German works bearing more or less on Sacred Hermeneutics, we shall say little more than that they are well characterized by Dr. Davidson in the sixteenth chapter of his work. The most of them are pervaded by some peculiar element, which excludes other valuable qualities. Some writers pursue the historical element, as Griesbach and Bretschneider. Others follow the mythic element, and almost all are one-sided in their treatises. Yet many of these modern researches unite learning with piety, and logic with philology. Our heart is refreshed by such treatises as those of Lücke, and Stein, and Matthäi. The spirit of good old Franke is revived in their works.

But the best German productions are not usually in the form of hermeneutics, but in that of introductions. The introductions of Seiler and Jahn, Hug and Havernick, with the hermeneutics of Ernesti, Morus, Beck, and Keil, are well known in this country. The recent Danish work of Klausen, which has been translated into German, is not praised by Dr. Davidson beyond its merits, when he says, 'we cannot recommend the entire production too highly.'

Some of the treatises referred to in the preceding paragraphs have been translated into English. Those of Seiler and Ernesti are best known. We need not dwell on their faults or excellencies. Seiler comprehends too wide a range: Ernesti confines himself to the New Testament. 'The unity of the Bible slips from the memory amid the disquisitions of such hermeneutical writers as Ernesti,' is the just remark of Dr. Davidson.

Now, we rejoice in having before us a native production on sacred hermeneutics. The book adheres to its title. The readers must not expect to find in it 'Introduction,' Special Hermeneutics, nor yet analyses of grammatical or rhetorical figures. It confines itself to general hermeneutics. We are not sure that Dr. Davidson has acted rightly in excluding such topics from his book. As the Bible is essentially an Asiatic book, crowded with metaphor, and abounding in tropical language, every system of biblical hermeneutics must embrace, to some extent, an investigation of the sources, nature, and power of figurative speech; and though Dr. Davidson disclaims special hermeneutics, there are few chapters in which we have not some examples of their use and value.

The first portions of the book are occupied with a description of hermeneutical qualifications,—moral, intellectual, and literary. This chapter well deserves the earnest and serious perusal of students, especially such portions of it as exhibit the necessity of a sincere, holy, and prayerful disposition, in order to know the will of God. The effects of mere intellect and learning on the word of God, are clearly seen in the woful character of German Neology. The lamented Gesenius could bring the powers of a rarely-gifted mind, and of a superior practical philology, to the book of Isaiah, and yet fail to perceive in its gorgeous oracles a promised Messiah who should stoop to conquer, and die to triumph. The accomplished De Wette can bring refined taste and critical acumen to the exposition of the Hebrew Anthology, and yet see not David's son and Lord in the inspired lyrics of the Jewish church. Winer, from his immense stores of learning and information, can explain almost every custom or ceremony, describe almost every place, person, or event, named or alluded to in Holy Writ: and yet, in his *Real-Wörterbuch*, he has overlooked the one thing needful, failed to find Him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write,—the Lord of the temple, the Head of the theocracy, the Antitype of the priesthood and sacrifices. The preparatory observations of Dr. Davidson are of superlative importance, in reference to the possession of a warm and vigorous piety, and we quite accord with him in the following admirable remarks—

'The mind tinges language with its own colours. If, therefore, it be corrupted by vicious habits, or pernicious dogmas, the purity of revelation is tarnished. When systems of philosophy are the standard by which it measures the word of God, or when reason alone decides in matters of faith, it is easy to perceive that the consequences will be detrimental to the meaning of scripture. A distorted mind imparts ambiguity to diction, where no obscurity exists; or disputes about the signification of words which an ingenuous mind sees in the light of its own

simplicity. All hunting after ingenious novelties or recondite meanings, discovers a spirit corrupted by the artificial employments of life, by the metaphysical subtleties of scholastic theology, or by a fancied superiority seeking to display its own acumen. It has often been a subject of surprise, that conflicting opinions should be founded on the same words, and derived from the same passage. Men not deficient in judgment or slow in perception take opposite views of paragraphs not obscure in themselves. But were the moral qualification to which we have adverted sufficiently insisted on, the wonder should soon abate. When reflecting, indeed, on the promise, 'and they shall be all taught of God,' we may well marvel that Christians disagree so widely in their expositions of scripture, and consequently in their notions respecting faith and duty. But such diversities arise because the promise is not realized. We are shut up to the conviction that prayer is mightily overlooked; else the great Teacher of the church would produce greater similarity in the sentiments of brethren. We refer not to such persons as are virtually under the power of Satan, and whose eyes the god of this world has blinded; but to the true professors of Christianity translated into the kingdom of light. Perhaps even they depend too much on their own fancies, in proportion to their want of earnest importunity in supplicating the Spirit's guidance. Holy humility is an effectual preparation for learning many a lesson as to the meaning of the word, which all the aids of human learning, and all the commentaries of men could not avail to impart. Every right-hearted student will probably admit, that many painful researches might have sooner and successfully terminated, had he relied with simpler faith on God himself, and banished the selfishness which stood in the way of his true seeking. Were the old man more crucified, the promise, 'and they shall be all taught of God,' would have greater effect. Such is the moral furniture which it behoves the interpreter to bring to the Bible. It includes belief in a Divine revelation, humility, candour, simplicity, teachableness, and purity, with habitual prayer to the Spirit, from whom proceed all holy desires. These attributes and acts are implied in a 'singleness of desire to know the mind of God, with a sincere and steady determination to obey it;' and whoever agrees to the description, is so far well equipped for exegetical labour.—p. 6.

But again, there are intellectual qualifications necessary. These, too, ought to be of a high order. Dissenters, indeed, may fairly compete with the establishment, and outvie it in the possession of these excellencies. Those scions of aristocracy that will not flourish and bear fruit in the army, the navy, or senate, are engrafted on the church. Among the qualifications referred too, philological attainment is one of the most desirable. Men may become great divines, without much of it, yet how much greater would Andrew Fuller have been, if, in early life, he had enjoyed philological training? Too many ministers trust to second-rate commentaries, and are afraid to investigate for themselves. Amidst conflicting opinions, they are the victims

of a painful hesitation, or prefer the notion that strikes them, not that which carries with it the highest degree of probability. Laws of probability in matter of criticism and exegesis they have not studied, 'so they are carried about with every wind of doctrine.' We wish that the following sentences from Dr. Davidson were written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond, on the hearts and consciences of all our students and ministers.

'We would gladly bring back those who have departed from the true method of proceeding, or at least stir up the student who has the office of the ministry in view, to commence it with alacrity and perseverance. We are bold to aver, that not a few passages of scripture are inexplicable to the man who is ignorant of the original languages. Our excellent and admirable version has frequently failed to give the true sense. Since the birth of enlightened philology, a great accession of materials has been brought to the aid of the interpreter, and similar treasures are being daily amassed. The light thus thrown on many dark places of the divine word is cheering. Let it be welcomed by every lover of truth, as tending to exalt the written revelation so deeply interesting to every Christian. The professed guides of the religious belief of others should be competent to derive their elucidations of scripture from the word itself; to defend it against the plausible objections of learned sceptics; and to show forth its excellence in all the fulness of its intrinsic merit. This cannot be done without a goodly acquaintance with the originals. Thus the right sequence of biblical arguments—the coherence of different parts;—and subtle trains of thought will present themselves all the more readily to him who thoroughly understands the connecting words which usually link propositions and sentences together. These terms constitute, perhaps, the most important part of that mental furniture which must be brought to bear upon the connexions of doctrinal statements. They are the bands and ligaments which at once give unity to the different members, and show the harmonious beauty of the whole structure. It needs no effort of mental thought to estimate their importance in the province of interpretation. Thus even in the department of single terms, especially the vocables whose office is to show the relations of thought, does the interpreter need to be well acquainted with the original languages, so as to examine and judge for himself. The grammar and lexicon must be his constant companions, but they are not infallible. However highly he may value the learning and ability of their authors, he will always remember the motto, *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*. We have no hope that the noble science of theology will make real advances, unless thorough students of the word of God, imbued with a love of sacred literature, and resolved to bring every thing to the test of scripture itself, appear among us. Fundamental investigations of doctrines we do not expect to see, till men be impregnated with the belief that the Bible is a mine whose treasures have not been exhausted. Soul-satisfying discussions, such as chase away every doubt and convey the truth with irresistible cogency, must needs be rare, so long as the great body of commentators are con-

tent with meagre, miserable apparatus, by which a sound and healthful exegesis is soon starved. We desire another spirit to be infused into the accredited expositors of the divine word. We commend to their acceptance a more copious and learned furniture. We would show them that they are oft feeding on husks. We would lead them to the source of purity, learning, wisdom, and light, where they may themselves partake of true riches. Did they resolve so to study the words of truth, the words of truth would assuredly be better understood. Their vague doubts of the soundness of theological systems would give place to definite ideas; and the scriptures be exalted to that supremacy from which they are lowered by appeals to fathers, and the authority of names. We have hitherto spoken of the necessity of acquaintance with the original languages of the Bible in order to understand it aright. But there are beauties that cannot be transfused into any translation. These lie hid from the eye of such as cannot look into the originals. Like the excellencies of a fine painting, they escape the observation of all but the connoisseur.'—p. 18.

Dr. Davidson then proceeds to unfold what knowledge of the grammatical and lexical structure of the sacred languages and their cognate dialects, of ancient versions, of archæology, of geography, and history, must combine to furnish the mind of him who aspires to be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. All the following sections are of great interest to the Biblical student. All of them exhibit original and independent thought. Dr. Davidson has evidently examined for himself. He takes nothing for granted. His book is the fruit of close and continued research. He has performed a valuable service in the history of Biblical interpretation in lectures fifth and sixth. He has not given a bare register of names and books, but has developed, with great correctness and considerable fulness, the hermeneutical rules by which the principal expositors were guided. These chapters contain a history of the patristic and hierarchical periods; while a subsequent section contains an account of the principal writers on interpretation from the Reformation down to the present time. It is both curious and instructive to learn what laws guided the early Fathers in their exegesis, what maxims they professed to follow, what rules they virtually obeyed, or whether the majority of them had any law but their own fancy—any standard but their own fantastic imagination. We blush for those deluded men who acknowledge them as their spiritual guides. We wonder at the effrontery of such a man as Dr. Pusey, who believes Cyprian's account of the Supper rather than Paul's, even though the apostle solemnly affirms of his narrative that he received it of the Lord. The early Fathers of the apostolical era were not men of intellectual vigour, but of holy simplicity. The line which severs inspiration from the writings which come

immediately after it, is very broadly marked. The churches were under no such impulse to confound the human and divine as might have been the case if the Roman Clement had displayed the learning of his Alexandrian namesake, if Ignatius had possessed the polemical acuteness of Augustine, or Polycarp the erudition of Origen. Then might they have preferred the 'enticing words of man's wisdom.' But God had wisely ordered otherwise. The apostolical Fathers did not produce thrilling thoughts and rolling periods. They fed the churches with 'butter and honey, till they knew how to refuse the evil and choose the good.' The distinction between the apostles and their successors was made very palpable for a considerable period. Nay, the names of their immediate successors, (successors not in the apostolate,) of Timothy, Titus, Epaphras, Tychicus, are almost the only relics of their early and useful existence. As the solar blaze is said to prevent planets near himself from being discovered, so the lustre of these men is dissolved in the superior glory—they lived too near the apostolic era to be fully and singly recognised. The writings of the apostolic Fathers abound in long citations from Scripture, but in general the excerpts are simply given. They are not accompanied by any exegesis. But the writers who succeeded them were men of another spirit. Their interpretations of Scripture are very numerous, and very peculiar, now sober and now extravagant; sometimes exhibiting a tame literality, and anon allegorical absurdity. The tendency to allegorize, from Origen downwards, was the prevailing one—sober interpretation was deemed an index of unlearned irre-generacy—common sense was set at defiance, and nonsense, sillier than Rabbinical figments, grosser than Platonic reveries, were declared to be the exposition of God's holy word. We admire the zeal of the Fathers more than their prudence, their piety more than their learning or orthodoxy. Their hermeneutics were unsettled and contradictory. Metaphysical theories and polemical purposes damaged the veracity and worth of their interpretations. The rules they proposed to themselves in conducting exegesis are sometimes stated, but oftener they are to be inferred from the results to be found in their works. The best of them were enamoured of the hidden sense or mystic meaning, as Dr. Davidson has shown by an ample induction. Origen, Jerome, and Chrysostom, were the best of their critics and scholars. Yet Origen, the father of grammatical interpretation, as Ernesti calls him, was fond of allegorizing. Jerome was a better critic than an exegete, more happy in settling the words than developing the meaning of the text. The commentaries of Chrysostom are beautiful specimens of popular oratory, but are not, by any means, famous for their logical analysis.

Dr. Davidson has given, at considerable length, the views and principles of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Irenæus, Origen, Jerome and Augustine. It would be well if we profited by the erroneous systems which Dr. Davidson has exposed, and if we learned to be sober-minded. The history is carried on by him down to the Reformation. During the dark ages, tradition was paramount in its authority, and scholastic niceties formed the chief pursuit or hallucination of distinguished men. Much useful information is afforded in these chapters, regarding more recent writers on sacred hermeneutics. The best of them are noted and characterised. The ordinary lists consulted for the purpose of knowing the qualities of such books are very erroneous. Those found in Horne are very fallacious and defective. The care and labour employed on this history of writers on hermeneutics, must have been great. The way was prepared by Rosenmüller, by Klausen, and by other authors of hermeneutical treatises; but Dr. Davidson is no servile copyist. He can avail himself of materials prepared to his hand, but they are thoroughly investigated before they are used. We form our judgment of books too often from the relation they bear to our own sentiments in unison or contrast. That Dr. Davidson's judgment of books is free from this instinctive bias, we aver not, but we discover no instance of gross partiality or antipathy. His sources of information are generally pointed out and confessed. There is no undue depreciation of others' merit, no exhibition of that unseemly tendency.

Τυδεῖδῃ τί παθόντι λελάσμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

Such a history as that to which we have now referred, proves the perversity of the human intellect, and shows how prone men are to philosophize rather than to interpret. They form their opinions first, and seek from God's word defences of their preconceived theories. It is not what Scripture says, they desire; but what Scripture says, or may be made to say, in support of their own systems. What learning they have they abuse in wresting the Scripture. They *impose* a sense rather than *expound* the meaning. Theirs is *impositio magis quam expositio*. This folly has not ceased. Modern writers, as Dr. Davidson has shown, are as guilty as their predecessors. The philosophy of Germany has always infected its hermeneutics. Kantian Moralism, and Hegelian Transcendentalism spread their poison during the brief and busy period of their existence. English Deism, which assumed so sensual and ferocious a form in France, changed its aspect to the east of the Rhine, and appeared in the shape of Neology, allying to itself the peculiarities of the restless and profound intellect, the vast erudition, the

deep, mystical, and earnest heart of the German world. O, had men come to God's word, imbued with God's Spirit, simply desirous to know His will by the aid of the interpreter, one among a thousand, those baseless hypotheses which have so often appeared in ridiculous yet melancholy succession, would never have been invented. But, alas, in one age learning is associated with false philosophy, and in another piety and humility are united to superficial attainment; allegorical interpretation is fondled in one century, and servile literality in another. Practical divinity is pursued in one country to the neglect of Biblical learning; while in another, grammatical acuteness is united to Neological infidelity. We long for the coming of a better period, when interpreters shall strive to receive the kingdom of God as little children. May this publication be an omen of its speedy approach. Jehovah hasten in his time.

Dr. Davidson has some excellent remarks on the use of reason in Biblical exposition. The Bible is to be interpreted on the same principle as other books. Reason decides on the credentials of a revelation, ascertains what are the vocables which the Divine Spirit has employed, and endeavours to assign a correct meaning to the words and clauses of the Sacred Oracles. Its province ends with this inquiry. Whatever it discovers to be the doctrine of Scripture, it is bound to believe. It is the highest glory of reason to yield itself to the truth of God. But Dr. Davidson limits the assertion that the language of the Bible is to be interpreted like that of other ancient books. The exception applies to the exposition of the symbolical phraseology of the prophets. The question of the 'double sense' is thus raised. The phrase 'double sense' is not a happy one, for as Dr. Owen somewhere remarks, if the Bible have more senses than one, it may have twenty. Yet we are persuaded that Dr. Davidson has come nearer to the truth than many who have written on this subject. We would not altogether receive Hengstenberg's psychological theory of prophecy, yet we discover elements of important truth in it. Nor do we think the language of Dr. Davidson as guarded in some sentences as is consistent with entire accuracy. We cannot say with him that 'the words have a twofold reference.' We rather think that the words have only one meaning, but the event described by the words is typical of some future era or circumstance. The ideas of 'juxta-position and commingling,' which Dr. Davidson brings to the exposition of prophecy, is one which, if correct, will require no ordinary caution and taste for its proper application. It will require a very delicate hand to unfold events '*laid upon one another.*' We have no prismatic glass which shall separate those rays by which 'events are painted on the prophetic

canvass in commingling colours.' Yet we are persuaded that Dr. Davidson is more correct than either Moses Stuart on the one extreme, or Olshausen on the other. The book of Olshausen, *ueber tiefern Schriftsinn*, contains much truth, such as only a man who is spiritually minded can apprehend or enjoy, but at the same time it might seduce the unwary student into the daring and devious paths of mysticism and allegory. Yet we regret that Dr. Davidson has not fortified more strongly the position he has taken, or repelled with decided arguments the objections of his antagonists. Surely such a course would have been more satisfactory than the mere expression of his consciousness of security, when he says, 'We are not concerned to rebut the charge of *arbitrariness* advanced against this position.' He has given, in Chapter IV., a good account of the origin, nature, and peculiarities of allegorical interpretation. Its origin is ascribed to a source, not distinctly and fully acknowledged by other writers on hermeneutics. Those allegorizers, though professing Christianity, are the victims and propagators of a mighty fallacy,—*non fingunt omnia Cretes!*

Immense pains are taken by the author in chapter XI., in gathering and classifying all the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. We do not affirm that the space occupied by this chapter is altogether disproportionate, yet we are inclined to think that critics do sometimes spend unnecessary labour in endeavouring to reconcile apparent discrepancies. We meet with grammatical changes of various kinds in their quotations. We find change of order, person, or number; we discover omission, abridgement, or addition, yet we cannot affirm that all these variations existed in the inspired autographs. But it would be rash to aver that all the discrepancies between the Hebrew or Alexandrian texts, and quotations made from them in the New Testament, are traceable to the errors and oversight of copyists. The great fact to be kept in mind is, that the writers of the New Testament canon seem to have generally quoted from memory. This exercise of memory was forced upon them by the circumstances in which they were placed. They had not literary leisure; they wrote not in slow and solemn precision. Rolls of Scripture books were too bulky to be carried about, too cumbrous to be easily and frequently consulted. The evangelists do not observe verbal uniformity in the reports which they give of their Lord's discourses. Why need we find such difficulties in the excerpts which they occasionally fetch from historians and prophets of former times. Yet the inquiring student will find a full catalogus in the book before us, with a few judicious scholia appended. Novelty could not be expected in this department. Accuracy is of more

importance to the reader. After the older labours of Surenhusius and Drusius, and the more modern investigations of Owen, Randolph, and Doepke, there does not remain very much land to be possessed. Our author, we believe, is ready to say in reference to this department of his work, *vitare denique culpam non laudem merui*.

Dr. Davidson proceeds to review many of the pernicious systems of interpretation which have had such fatal prevalence, and shews in his eighth lecture what are correct hermeneutical principles. The elements of accurate exegesis are there unfolded, and occasionally exemplified. Many rules, canons, and explanations spread over large volumes are here condensed, and made more memorable in their brevity and force. The process of hermeneutical investigation is shewn in a natural and obvious form. The alleged discrepancies of Scripture are also handled in a superior style. These difficulties are not all of equal moment or magnitude, and perhaps some of them may admit of other and better solutions than those adduced in this work. We invite attention to the solution of the difficulties of the genealogy and resurrection of Christ. On these subjects great pains and labour are bestowed, especially on the former of them. Along with his own observations, the author gives a clear and accurate condensation of Dr. Barret's famous essay on the genealogical rolls of Matthew and Luke.

The chief philological helps are next adverted to by Dr. Davidson. He reviews versions, lexicons, commentaries, cognate languages, &c. These have an immediate bearing on sound exegesis. In reference to such versions as the Septuagint, Peshito, and the Targums, we could have wished our author to have been much fuller in his observations, and more copious, especially in examples. His instances of illustration are too few, and certainly too recondite and obscure; some of them, one would almost say, fanciful and visionary. Our opinion of the value of good versions is the same as that of good old Myles Coverdale, in his Prologue unto the Christian reader:—'Sure I am, that there commeth more knowledge and vnderstandinge of the scripture by theyr sondrie translacyons, then by all the gloses of oure sophisticall doctours. For that one interpreteth somthyng obscurely in one place, the same translateth another (or els he him selfe) more manifestly by a more playne vocable of the same meanyng in another place.'

The book before us, our readers will see, is one of great merit; not faultless, indeed, yet worthy of high encomium. Perhaps its worst fault is, want of symmetry. The spaces occupied by some topics are disproportioned to their value, other subjects of equal use are limited to a briefer exposition. Sometimes there is a

tendency to digression. Occasionally there is an exuberance of illustration, and of incidental remark. The author's soul is full of his subject, and his suggestive memory furnishes an immense variety of scattered hints and illustrations. His *obiter dicta* are numerous, yet all of them are valuable.

We believe with the author, that such a volume as this was needed. That he has supplied the felt deficiency, we think we have shown from this imperfect and cursory notice of the contents of this book. We hope the churches will appreciate the performance, and so reward the learning of the author and enterprise of the publisher. The churches have been long favoured and supplied with many excellent systems of divinity. The great truths of religion have been brought together in logical connexion, and the scheme of grace divided into its several parts, and illustrated in its origin, development, and results. But these systems are too often full of abstruse speculations, and though theology has been allied to vast intellectual power, and prodigious capabilities of application and perseverance, yet it has often suffered from this union, and lost its simplicity and freshness among scholastic subtleties and metaphysical refinements. It has often appeared in admirable proportions, chiselled according to rule and fashion; but life and spirit seem to have departed. The study of Turretine and Maestricht, of Pictet and Stapfer is good enough in its place. Yet rather do we recommend earnest attention to the living word itself, and to such books as enable the reader of scripture to comprehend those ideas which the sacred writers meant to convey. The meaning which *they* attached to the vocables they employed is the only true meaning. To know that meaning is every man's solemn duty. The rising ministry are furnished with many opportunities which their fathers enjoyed not. The attention now paid to exegetical study is one of the most cheering signs of the times; and as the modes of theological tuition are so vastly improved by division of labour, more thorough comprehension of the various branches of the science, and closer adaptation to the wants of the age; so may we not hope, under the Divine Spirit, for a correspondent improvement in the style of Sabbath exposition, and for a proportionate augmentation in the power of the pulpit over this erring and excited generation.

- Art. II. 1. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Edited by William Smith, Ph. D. *Illustrated by numerous Engravings on Wood*. 8vo. pp, 1121. 1842. London: Taylor and Walton.
2. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Edited by William Smith, Ph. D. Parts I. II. III. IV. 1843. London: Taylor and Walton.

WE owe an apology to the editor of these important works, and to his learned coadjutors, for having so long delayed to make our readers acquainted with the fruits of their valuable labours. The delay has certainly not arisen from a cause which sometimes occasions similar procrastination;—an intimate conviction of the demerits of the work which happens to be awaiting judgment. In such cases, a reviewer sometimes permits mercy to prevail over justice. Unable to say anything in the way of commendation, and unwilling to say all that is deserved in the way of censure, he respite and reprieves the unhappy book from time to time, till he finds that it has done all the little mischief of which it was capable, and is already absolutely forgotten. Dying a natural death, it happily saves him the hangman's office, and defrauds the reading public of the pleasure and the profit of a public execution. No such reasons have assuredly operated in the present case. We can safely recommend the above-mentioned works to the attention of our readers, and, in effect, have already done so in a previous brief, but very decisive notice.

And now that we have taken upon us to deliver a more deliberate opinion on their merits, we know not well how to add to what we have already said; dictionaries, of all kinds of books, being those of which it is most difficult to give an adequate notion within the limits of a brief article. A complete analysis is impossible; long citations equally so; and as to brief specimens,—considering that the articles are written by so many different persons, and on such different subjects,—if those which chance to be selected are taken as fair examples of the merits which characterize the rest, it can still be only on the critic's assertion. Our commendations, therefore, however strong, must be couched in very general terms, for the justice of which our readers must trust our judgment and veracity, unless they will take the better course, (and which we recommend,) of purchasing the works, and testing our accuracy or otherwise, by a personal inspection. On these conditions, we dare say, neither publishers nor editor will be disposed to quarrel with us on account of the vagueness or generality of our terms of commendation.

The Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities, which we have very carefully inspected, was much needed, was judiciously

planned, and has been admirably executed ; and we may say the same of the dictionary of Biography and Mythology, so far as the work has yet proceeded.

That such works have long been much needed, will, we think, be doubted by none. When we consider the prodigious extent to which, during the last half century, the language and literature of Greece and Rome have been cultivated—the diligence which has been employed in the collation of manuscripts and the formation of texts—the searching analytic spirit in which the minutest peculiarities of grammar have been investigated—the consequent elucidations which have been thrown on many doubtful and obscure passages—and, *therefore*, on the manners, customs, and whole *life* of the ancient world ;—when we consider that the direct application of all these various appliances of improved learning has been made to history by some of the most comprehensive and truly philosophic minds, as for example, in the immortal work of Niebuhr ;—when we consider that the researches of modern travellers have kept pace in spirit and diligence with those of modern scholars ; and lastly, when we consider the immense accumulation which happy accident or enlightened enterprize have brought within our reach, of those classes of objects which are to history what fossil remains are to geology—of statues, gems, paintings, medals, implements of ancient art, and utensils of household use—there cannot be a doubt that it was eminently desirable that the large and valuable additions thus made to our knowledge, should be embodied in some works of moderate compass and cost. This, there can be as little doubt, had not been done when these works were projected.

In some particular departments of classical antiquities, it is true, some admirable and costly works had appeared in this country—the titles of a few will immediately suggest themselves to the memory of the learned reader—though even in works of this character it may be doubted whether England had not been outdone by some foreign nations. But nothing like a *cyclopaedic* view of these subjects had appeared amongst us ; not to mention, that the works above referred to, are in a form which renders them absolutely inaccessible to the generality of students.

In relation to such subjects, the youth of universities and schools were left in a condition truly deplorable—condemned to the use of books compiled half a century ago, of which the errors and inaccuracies had been very partially purged, and the deficiencies still more partially supplemented. What could be the value of works on Greek and Roman Antiquities, compiled before the British Museum and other similar institutions had

been enriched by half their present treasures, and almost before Herculaneum and Pompeii had been discovered—at all events before they had been, to any extent, excavated? Such works on antiquities are themselves antiquities.

Of the necessity then, for such works as the present, we think there can be no doubt. It remains only to say a few words of the plan and the execution.

In the preface to the dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities, Dr. Smith has given a brief account of the principles on which the work has been constructed. He defends the adherence to an alphabetical order, rather than a distribution of subjects classified according to any other principle of arrangement, and, in our opinion, justly. Whatever may be said of the advantages or disadvantages of any other principle of arrangement, none is comparable to the alphabetical in any work principally designed to be a work of ready reference. Some indeed insist on its being unphilosophical in any work which admits of a systematic arrangement; but we shall ever hold that *that* is the most philosophical arrangement which best answers the purpose, and that, in relation to different purposes, different classifications may be each the most philosophical. As Whately well observes, 'a mere botanist might be astonished at hearing such plants as clover and lucerne included in the language of a farmer under the term 'grasses,' which he has been accustomed to limit to a tribe of plants widely different in all botanical characteristics; and the mere farmer might be no less surprised to find the troublesome 'weed,' as he has been accustomed to call it, known by the name of Couch-grass, ranked by the botanist as a species of 'wheat.' . . . And yet neither of these classifications is in itself erroneous or irrational.' Now in relation to all dictionaries, encyclopædias, and works of reference, we believe that every reader's experience will dispose him to say, that there is no arrangement half so good as the alphabetical. On this subject Mr. Smith remarks, 'A work like the present might have been arranged either in a systematic or an alphabetical form. Each plan has its advantages and disadvantages, but many reasons induced the editor to adopt the latter. Besides the obvious advantage of an alphabetical arrangement in a work of reference like the present, it enabled the editor to avail himself of the assistance of several scholars who had made certain departments of antiquity their peculiar study.'

The plan of the work is exceedingly comprehensive, embracing almost every thing illustrative of the *mode* of life, whether public or private, of the ancient world. 'Some subjects,' says the editor, 'have been included in the present work which have not usually been treated of in works on Greek or Roman antiqui-

ties.' This is true; but we do not observe any which ought not to have been inserted, or which might not fairly be expected in a cylopædic work on such a subject. 'These subjects,' he proceeds to say, 'have been inserted, on account of the important influence which they exercised upon the public and private life of the ancients. Thus, considerable space has been given to the articles on painting and statuary, and also to those on the different departments of the Drama.' The reason of the admission of such articles is obvious; for what could be said of the completeness of a work on the antiquities of any people, which left such topics untouched, especially when, as in the case of Greece and Rome, they are vital? Less than ample illustration of such subjects could not well be expected. A work which omitted them would be like the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out; or incur the censure which Johnson has bestowed on Mallett's life of Bacon, 'that he had written the life of Bacon, and forgotten that he was a philosopher.'

We are far, therefore, from quarrelling with Dr. Smith on the score of the comprehensive plan of the work; on the contrary, if disposed to complain at all, it would be on the ground of some few omissions. On the same principle on which he has admitted subjects illustrative of the ancient Drama, we should have been glad of a few additional, though brief, articles on the subject of Education. We do not, of course, mean that it would have been proper to insert disquisitions on the systems of opinion taught, or remarks on their value or their worthlessness, any more than it would have been proper to give us, in treating subjects connected with the Drama, analyses of particular plays, or criticisms on their merits; but we mean, that we should have been glad of a little more light on the business of education—on the manner of life of the public teachers—as to how, where, when, they imparted their instructions—the relations between them and their pupils—and so on. The literature of this subject, (imparted in the pleasant way generally adopted in the other articles of the dictionary,) from scattered notices in Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Athenæus, Lucian, Cicero, Quintillian, Aulus Gellius, and others, would have furnished matter for some few interesting and useful articles. Much of the information we here refer to is, we are aware, incidentally given in various articles, but still it *is* incidentally given, and sometimes not easily found. The excellent article 'Gymnasium' is, as might be expected, restricted, with the exception of a sentence or two, to bodily exercises. We should have liked another of the same extent on the matters we have above alluded to.

After all, however, we must admit the force of the editor's remark, that it is difficult to draw an exact line between the

topics which ought, and those which ought not to be embraced in such a work. All we mean is, that the above subjects presented as fair a claim to be treated, as many others which have been (and in our judgment very properly) admitted. For the rest, we believe the omissions are very inconsiderable, and none will be disposed to blame him for what he has included. 'There may seem,' he says, 'to be some inconsistency and apparent capriciousness in the admission and rejection of subjects, but it is very difficult to determine at what point to stop in a work of this kind. A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, if understood in its most extensive signification, would comprehend an account of everything relating to antiquity; in its narrower sense, however, the term is confined to an account of the public and private life of the Greeks and Romans, and it is convenient to adhere to this signification of the word, however arbitrary it may be. For this reason several articles have been inserted in the work, which some persons may regard as out of place; and others have been omitted, which have sometimes been improperly included in writings on Greek and Roman Antiquities. Neither the names of persons and divinities, nor those of places, have been inserted in the present work, as the former will be treated of in the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,' and the latter in the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.' (Preface, p. ix.)

The articles on Greek and Roman law have been supplied by Professor Long, whose varied learning and accomplishments are well known to the public. These articles are distinguished by a depth and copiousness which might well seem to render superfluous the modest apology for their supposed deficiencies which we find in the preface. We will not be so rude as to doubt his word that they stood in need of some apology, but we must be content to shew our ignorance of the subject by saying, that we have failed to discover where the deficiencies lie. Sure we are, that the generality even of learned readers will be equally unsuccessful, and will agree with us that the articles in question are generally admirable, both for the extent of the information they convey, and the precision with which it is imparted.

The whole work is profusely adorned with engravings, which, indeed, form one of its principal attractions. They have been executed in the best style (by Mr. John Jackson), and from the best sources, amongst which the editor particularizes 'Museo Borbonico, Museo Capitolino, Millin's *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, Tischbein's and D'Hancarville's engravings from Sir William Hamilton's *Vases*. 'Hitherto,' he adds, 'little use has been made in this country of existing works of art for the purpose of illustrating antiquity. In many cases, however, the

representation of an object gives a far better idea of the purposes for which it was intended, and the way in which it was used, than any explanation in words only can convey.' This is obviously true.

As the dictionary is the work of so many different writers, and all of them have done so well, it would perhaps be invidious to say much about the merits of particular articles, or compare one class with another. We may venture to say, however, without any impropriety, (for almost all the writers have been more or less engaged upon them) that we have been particularly pleased with the articles on *domestic* antiquities, perhaps in some measure from the nature of the subjects, and the profusion of the illustrations with which they are accompanied.

We must not omit to mention, also, the accurate philological spirit (if we may so speak) which is observable throughout. The various minute shades and manifold applications of words of very general use, are traced through their gradual extensions and nice transitions of meaning from the primary one, with great skill; and, where practicable, the significations seem to have been arranged in what may be called their *historic* order.

An excellent example of our meaning may be seen in the very first word in the dictionary, (ABACUS,) an article furnished by the late lamented Dr. Allen.

In selecting some few specimens, we must be guided principally by the circumstances of convenient length and general interest to our readers. On the latter point we feel little difficulty; for, strange as the notion may appear to some, such a book is, in our opinion, not only useful as a work of reference to those who are actually engaged in reading a classical author, but well worth taking up at odd minutes, and dipping into as a book of amusement. We think it as amusing to those who have any tincture of classical learning as most books of voyages and travels. In these we read with delight of the customs and manners of nations as foreign to us as ever were those of ancient Italy and Greece—not less completely separated from us by space than those are by time, and whose language is and will ever be, more truly *dead* to us than that of Homer or Virgil, Herodotus or Livy.

Most profound in the whole race, is man's sympathy with his common humanity. He loves to study it in all its phases and aspects, through remote ages and in far distant climes, and often even with a deeper interest, in proportion to the wider diversities of outward forms, through which, however, he still detects the same essential nature—throbbing with the same affections—acting under the influence of the same principles, but variously developed and manifested,—and pursuing

the same ends, only by different means. The '*Homo sum*,' &c. which drew forth the plaudits of the Roman audience on the poet, who had but given expression to a feeling which nature had already taught them, is still echoed by millions of hearts which would fail to give it suitable utterance. 'In all my travels,' says Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in one of her inimitable letters, 'I have never seen but two sorts of people, and those very like one another; I mean men and women, who always have been, and ever will be the same.'

As long as we feel this sympathy, we shall never cease to inquire with lively interest even into the most frivolous matters connected with antiquity, and shall feel as much gratification in ascertaining in what way an ancient Greek and Roman passed his days—what he ate and drank—how he cooked his food—when he took it—in what sort of a house he lived—what was the dress he wore—how he ploughed and reaped—farmed and traded, and cheated and went to law—how he married or made love—how he was physicked and buried—what sports beguiled his childhood, and what recreations soothed his age, as in studying the habits and manners of our contemporaries at the antipodes. With such convictions of the interest attaching to this class of inquiries, our readers will not be displeased at a few brief citations from this amusing as well as instructive volume. And with their leave we will, with a natural indulgence towards our peculiar tastes and habits, just step into the street called Argiletum—the Paternoster Row of ancient Rome—and inquire how things were managed in the 'trade' in those days.

'BIBLIOPOLA, a bookseller (Martial Ep. iv. 71; xiii. 3), βιβλιοπώλης (Pollux xiii. 33) also called *librarius* (Cic. De Legg ii. 20) in Greek also βιβλιων κάπηλος, or βιβλιοκάπηλος (Lucian). The shop was called *apotheca* (ἀποθήκη), or *taberna libraria* (Cic. Phil. ii. 9), or merely *libraria* (Aul. Gell. v. 4). The Romans had their Paternoster-row; for the bibliopolæ or librarii lived mostly in one street, called Argiletum, to which Martial alludes (Ep. i. 4) when addressing his book on the prospect of the criticism it would meet with:—

'*Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas,
Quum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacent.*'

Another favourite quarter of the booksellers was the Vicus Sandalarius. (Aul. Gell. xviii. 4; Galen De Lib. Su. iv. p. 361.) There seems also to have been a sort of bookstalls by the temples of Vertumnus and Janus, as we gather from Horace's address to his book of Epistles (Ep. I. xx. 1):—

'*Vertumnum Janumque, liber, spectare videris.*'

Again, Horace (Sat. I. iv. 71) prides himself on his books not being seen at the common shops and stalls to be thumbed over by every passerby:—

'Nulla taberna meos habeat, neque pila libellos;
Queis manus insudet vulgi, Hermogenisque Tigellî.'

'Booksellers were not found at Rome only, though they were, of course, rare in smaller cities. Pliny (Ep. ix. 11) says he had not supposed that there were any booksellers at Lugdunum, but finds that there were, and that they even had his works on sale. Martial, in an amusing epigram (iv. 72), tells a person called Quintus, who had asked him by a broad hint to give him a copy of his works, that he could get one at Tryphon's, the bookseller's:—

'Exigis ut donem nostros tibi Quinte, libellos;
Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon.'

'The booksellers not only sold books, they transcribed them also, and employed persons for the purpose. But they did not consider themselves answerable always for the correctness of the copy (Mart. ii. 8). Sometimes the author revised it, to oblige a friend who might have bought it (Mart. vii. 11—16).

'On the shop-door, or the pillar, as the case might be, there was a list of the titles of books on sale; allusion is made to this by Martial (i. 118), and by Horace (Art. Poet. 372, Sat. I. iv. 71).

'The remuneration of authors must have been very small, if we are to judge from the allusions of Martial, who says, for example, that a nice copy of his first book of Epigrams might be had for five denarii (Compare i. 67; xiii. 3). Pliny the Elder, however, when in Spain, was offered as much as four hundred thousand sesterces for his *Commentarii Electorum* (Plin. Epist. iii. 5).

'Books then, as now, often found their way into other shops besides book-shops, as waste paper; and schoolboys had frequently to go, for example, to the fishmonger's, to see if they had the book they wanted (Mart. vi. 60, 7.) Mice, moths, beetles, and so forth, found plenty of food in musty unused books (See Juv. Sat. iii. 207; Mart. iii. 2; xiii. 1).'

This is a short article, and yet we think our readers will agree with us that not a little is contained in it, and that the literary citations are very pleasantly and happily introduced. Nor is the article on Greek and Roman gardens less entertaining.

'HORRUS (κηπος) garden.

'I. Greek gardens.—Our knowledge of the horticulture of the Greeks is very limited. We must not look for information respecting their gardens to the accounts which we find in Greek writers of the gardens of Alcinoüs, filled with all manner of trees, and fruit, and flowers, and adorned with fountains (*Odys.* vii. 112—130), or of those of the Hesperides (*Hesiod Theog.* 25), or of the Paradises of the Persian Satraps, which resembled our parks (*Xen. Anab.* i. 2, § 7; *Oeconom.* iv. 26, 27; *Plut. Alcib.* 24); for the former gardens are only imaginary, and the manner in which the paradises are spoken of by Greek writers shows that they were not familiar with anything of the kind in their own country. In fact the Greeks seem to have had no great taste for landscape

beauties, and the small number of flowers with which they were acquainted afforded but little inducement to ornamental horticulture.

The sacred groves were cultivated with special care. They contained ornamental and odoriferous plants and fruit trees, particularly olives and vines (Soph. *Oed. Col.* 16; Xen. *Anab.* v. 3, § 12.) Sometimes they were without fruit trees (Paus. i. 21, § 9).

The only passage in the earlier Greek writers in which flower-gardens appear to be mentioned, is one in Aristophanes, who speaks of *κήπων; εὐώδεις* (Aves. v. 1066). At Athens the flowers most cultivated were probably those used for making garlands, such as violets and roses. In the time of the Ptolemies the art of gardening seems to have advanced in the favourable climate of Egypt, so far, that a succession of flowers was obtained all the year round (Callixenus, *Apud Athen.* v. p. 196). Longus (*Past.* ii. p. 36) describes a garden containing every production of each season; 'in spring, roses, lilies, hyacinths, and violets; in summer, poppies, wild-pears (*ἀχράδες*), and all fruit; in autumn, vines and figs, and pomegranates, and myrtles.' That the Greek idea of horticultural beauty was not quite the same as ours, may be inferred from a passage in Plutarch, where he speaks of the practice of setting off the beauties of roses and violets, by planting them side by side with leeks and onions. (Plutarch, *de capienda ex inimicis utilitate*, c. 10.) Becker considers this passage a proof that flowers were cultivated more to be used for garlands than to beautify the garden. (Becker, *Charikles*, ii. p. 403—405.)

II. Roman Gardens. The Romans, like the Greeks, laboured under the disadvantage of a very limited flora. This disadvantage they endeavoured to overcome by arranging the materials they did possess in such a way as to produce a striking effect. We have a very full description of a Roman garden in a letter of the younger Pliny, in which he describes his Tuscan villa. (Plin. *Epist.* v. 6.) In front of the *porticus* there was generally a *xystus*, or flat piece of ground, divided into flower beds of different shapes, by borders of box. There were also such flower beds in other parts of the garden. Sometimes they were raised so as to form terraces, and their sloping sides planted with evergreens or creepers. The most striking features of a Roman garden were lines of large trees, among which the plane appears to have been a great favourite, planted in regular order; alleys or walks, (*ambulationes*), formed by closely clipt hedges of box, yew, cypress, and other evergreens; beds of acanthus, rows of fruit trees, especially of vines, with statues, pyramids, fountains and summer-houses (*diaetæ*). The trunks of the trees, and the parts of the house, or any other buildings which were visible from the garden, were often covered with ivy. (Plin. *l. c.*; Cic. *ad Quint.* iii. 1, 2.) In one respect the Roman taste differed most materially from that of the present day, namely, in their fondness for the *ars topiaria*, which consisted in tying, twisting or cutting trees and shrubs, (especially the box) into the figures of animals, ships, letters, &c. The importance attached to this part of horticulture is proved not only by the description of Pliny, and the notices of other writers (Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 33, 60, xxi. 11, 39, xxii. 22, 34; Martial iii. 19,) but also by the fact that *topiarius* is the only name used in good Latin writers for the

ornamental gardener. Cicero (Parad. v. 2,) mentions the *topiarius* among the higher class of slaves.

Attached to the garden were places for exercise, the *gestatio* and *hippodromus*. The *gestatio* was a sort of avenue, shaded by trees, for the purpose of taking gentle exercise, such as riding in a litter. (Plin. Epist. v. 6, ii. 17.) The *hippodromus* (not, as one reading gives the word in Pliny, *hypodromus*) was a place for running or horse exercise, in the form of a circus, consisting of several paths divided by hedges of box, ornamented by topiarian work, and surrounded by large trees. (Plin. l. c.; Martial, xii, 50, lvii. 23.)

The flowers which the Romans possessed, though few in comparison with the species known to us, were more numerous than some writers have represented; but the subject still requires investigation. Their principal garden-flowers seem to have been violets and roses, and they also had the crocus, narcissus, lily, gladiolus, iris, poppy, amaranth, and others. Conservatories and hot-houses are not mentioned by any writer earlier than the first century of our era. They are frequently referred to by Martial, (viii. 14, 68; iv. 21, 5; xiii. 127.) They were used both to preserve foreign plants and to produce flowers and fruit out of season. Columella (xi. 3, 52) and Pliny (H. N. xix. 5, 23) speak of forcing-houses for grapes, melons, &c. In every garden there was a space set apart for vegetables, (*olera*.) Flowers and plants were also kept in the central space of the peristyle, on the roofs, and in the windows of the houses. Sometimes in a town where the garden was very small, its walls were painted in imitation of a real garden with trees, fountains, birds, &c., and the small area was ornamented with flowers in vases. A beautiful example of such a garden was found at Pompeii. (Gell's Pompeiana, ii. 14.) An ornamental garden was also called *viridarium*, and the gardener *topiarius*, or *viridarius*. The common name for a gardener is *villicus*, or *cultor hortorum*. We find, also, the special names *vinitor*, *olitor*. The word *hortulanus* is only of late formation. The *aquarius* had charge of the fountains, both in the garden and in the house. Becker. (*Gallus* i. p. 283, &c.; Böttiger, *Racemationen zur Garten-Kunst der Alten*.)

We should have had much pleasure in extracting the whole of the articles on the word 'House,' one by the editor himself, the other by his brother, as abounding in the species of information which would be likely to interest the mass of our readers; but our limits forbid; not to mention the injustice which would be done them by separating them from the engravings, which illustrate them.

Of the Dictionary of Greek and Roman 'Biography and Mythology,' (of which the fourth part has just been published,) we can as yet only say, that it does no discredit to the volume of 'Antiquities.' Some, indeed, may wish, but wish in vain, that it had been possible to separate the 'biography' from the 'mythology,' and to let us have the pure historic element alone. But a separation, which the gigantic genius of a Niebuhr could not perfectly effect, even for a single department of ancient history, is

hardly likely to be effected throughout its whole field, where facts and fables are often so inextricably blended that it is impossible to say where the one begins and the other ends, or even what substratum of historic truth there may have been in the wildest legends. The only plan, therefore, is, to give the whole, both truth and fable, in each instance doing the very best to distinguish the one from the other. Works like the present must be content to present some of those incongruities which Macaulay has commented upon in so lively a manner in his admirable essay on Sir W. Temple, wherein he speaks of . . . 'The classical dictionaries in which Narcissus, the lover of himself, and Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius; Pollux, the son of Jupiter and Leda, and Pollux, the author of the Onomasticon, are ranged under the same heading, and treated as personages equally real. The effect of this arrangement resembles that which would be produced by a dictionary of modern names consisting of such articles as the following: 'Jones, William, an eminent orientalist and one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal—Davy, a fiend who destroys ships—Thomas, a foundling brought up by Mr. Allworthy.'

The satire of this passage does indeed literally apply to some classical dictionaries which might be named, and which have long enjoyed a marvellous popularity. But the present work escapes it; for though the various personages of the same name are unavoidably brought under the same heading, they are 'not treated as equally real,' nor thrown together in that inimitable jumble by which Mr. Macaulay has illustrated, and hardly caricatured the plan of some of the works he refers to.

We observe that the last number contains a very long and elaborate article on Aristotle, written expressly for the work by Professor Stahl, and translated by Mr. C. P. Mason. We perceive with some surprise that Taylor's labours on Aristotle are mentioned with commendation. We hold, that a more worthless commentator or translator than Taylor never existed, nor do we think that the critique in the Edinburgh Review (inserted thirty-four years ago) was at all too severe. If we could persuade ourselves that Professor Stahl had really read and approved any five pages of Taylor, it would go far to confirm our suspicion that a German's notions of philosophy are altogether different from those of the rest of mankind, and must be eternally unintelligible. We are the more astonished, as no other English translations of any of Aristotle's works are mentioned than that of Taylor, though there are several of far superior merit to the one by him. The Professor's article, however, is well worth reading.

We heartily wish the editor and publishers of these important works the success which, in our judgment, they so well deserve.

Art. III. *Austria. Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube; Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier.* By J. G. Kohl. 1843. London: Chapman and Hall.

IN our Journal for December last we noticed M. Kohl's work on Russia, and have now much pleasure in introducing to our readers another production of his pen, of the same general character, though somewhat more diversified in its subject. It has rarely been our lot, as reviewers, to have under consideration a work of higher character, in its own department, than that on Russia; or one adapted more richly to repay an attentive and repeated perusal. The same qualities are conspicuous in the present volume; the selection of which does much credit to the judgment of the publishers of the *Foreign Library*, and will be found, we cannot doubt, to answer fully their purpose. It contains a condensed translation of a work originally published in five volumes, under the title of 'A Hundred Days in Austria,' to which has been added the concluding volume of the author's work on Russia, containing his observations on the Bukovina, Galicia, and Moravia, which, as not pertaining to Russia, were omitted in the reprint of his former work contained in the present series. We know not that a more happy selection could have been made, whether the interest of the reader or of the publishers be regarded, as few travellers possess, in so happy a degree as M. Kohl, the faculty of combining entertainment and information, and few names are now more attractive in his proper department. His mental habits, as his sympathies, are evidently German, whilst his pages display a vivacity and humour not commonly found in writers of his class. His mind is richly stored with historical and classical allusions. Every castle and abbey, each mountain and dale, the solitary pass and the bustling city, the foaming Danube or the silent creeks which lie quietly by its side, are all associated in his mind with memories of the past, and are illustrated with a liberality which is sometimes almost wearisome. He is equally at home in the department of legend as in that of veritable history, and perpetually interrupts the course of his narrative or description, in order to recount the marvels of the spiritual, or to depict the course of secular events. We shall best acquaint our readers with the character of his work by presenting them with a few extracts, in doing which we are concerned, in justice to the author, to remark that, the work must be read as a whole, in order that its merits should be fairly estimated.

M. Kohl started from Dresden for Teplitz, with the view of visiting Bohemia and Hungary, and thence proceeding to the

confines of Turkey, he purposed quietly returning to his native land. Such was his plan, and the account which he gives of its execution is equally attractive and informing. His historical information shews itself in every page, and the ground over which he travelled was rich in such associations. As he remarks—

‘ All the way from Dresden to Teplitz, you pass over a succession of fields of battle. The War of Liberation, the Seven Years’ War, the Thirty Years’ War, and the Hussite War, have all contributed to make memorable the mountain passes of Bohemia; at Culm, at Pirna, at Maxen, again and again at Culm, up to that battle of Culm which the German king Lothair lost to the Bohemian, Sobieslay, in 1126, when Albert the Bear was taken prisoner by the Bohemians, much in the same way in which Vandamme was taken 700 years later by the Cossacks.’—p. 2.

Arriving at Prague, our author luxuriated in the memorials of past times with which it abounds, indulging in descriptions which, to some English readers, will appear too minute. For ourselves, we confess we love this. If it be a fault, it is on the right side, and there is a vivacity in his style, and a depth and earnestness in his feeling, which precludes the possibility of weariness, and carries us irresistibly along. Referring to the monumental remains of the city, he says—

‘ Every part of Prague is still verdant and blooming with the ruins and monuments of remote countries. The streets, the churches, and the burying grounds are full of eloquent appeals to the history of the land and the people. Palaces and countless steeples are trying to over-top each other in their zeal to talk to you of times gone by. Even on the walls of their taverns, the townsmen may read the names of the first dukes of Bohemia, and thus familiarize themselves with their ancient annals. On the outside of one large house of public entertainment, near the Vissehrad, on the place where formerly the dukes were interred, there may yet be seen six grotesque fresco paintings of the six first Bohemian dukes, with their names very legibly inscribed :—Przemislus,—Nezamislus,—Mnata,—Vogen,—Vratislav,—Venzislaus. The features of these redoubtable potentates have even been repaired and beautified within the last few years. Where, I would ask now, is there a place in all Germany, in which the ancient history of the land is made palpable to hand and eye as here? Where is there a town where so much has been done for German, as here for Tshekhian history? Where the Germans do as much for their mighty emperors, as is here done for petty dukes?

‘ Bohemia is a piece of land wonderfully separated by nature from the rest of the world. The magic circle which surrounds it, consists of stupendous hieroglyphics, traced by the hands of the primeval Titans, and from this mighty wreath depart a multitude of concentrating rays that join together in a vast central knot. These are the streams that flow

from the east, the west, and the south, the life-sustaining arteries of the land. In the middle of this magic circle rise the hills of Prague, where every great event by which the country has been agitated has set its mark, either in the shape of new edifices and enduring monuments, or of gloomy ruins and wide-spread desolation. The central point of a country sharply cut off from the rest of the world, and witness constantly to new modifications of its political life, Prague has become full of ruins and palaces, that will secure to the city an enduring interest for centuries to come; and while the hills are singing sweetly to us the traditions of past ages, let it not be supposed that the whispers of futurity are not likewise murmuring mysteriously around them.'—pp. 14, 15.

In this city our author was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, Joseph Tshak, and his daughter, who occupied subordinate stations in connexion with the church on the Vissehrad, from whom he learnt much respecting the legends and memorable events of the place. We extract a brief account of the stone coffin of St. Longinus, as connected with a development of character, which cannot fail to interest our readers.

'There is in this church another relic of great celebrity in Bohemian Christendom, namely the stone coffin of St. Longinus. This man, according to the legend, was a Roman centurion, and was present at the Crucifixion. He was blind, but some of our Saviour's blood having fallen upon him, he recovered his sight, and immediately began praising the Redeemer, crying out, 'This is Christ the Anointed!' The soldiers seized him and stoned him, and put him into a stone coffin, which they threw into the sea. The coffin, however, would not sink, but floated on the surface till it arrived at some Christian city, and in due time found its way to Bohemia. The Hussites threw him again into the water, namely, into the river Moldau, and for a long time nobody knew where to look for the saint. One day, however, when the Hussite disturbances were at an end, some fishermen saw a flame burning on the surface of the water. They tried to extinguish the flame, but they could not, and it always continued precisely at the same spot. A miracle was immediately presumed to be on the eve of birth. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed, and lo, before their eyes, the stone coffin of St. Longinus rose up from among the waves, and was carried back with due honours to the Vissehrad.

'Who knows whether it's all quite true or not?' observed my talkative conductress; 'but one thing's certain. An arm of St. Longinus lies still in the coffin. When their majesties the blessed Emperor Francis, the Russian emperor Alexander, and the Prussian king Frederick William, were up here, they were all alone with father and me. Only one soldier-like servant had they with them. Well, they made us show them this coffin most particularly, and we had to take two candlesticks from the altar, that they might see the better. The Russian emperor's majesty was most anxious of all to know about it, and he crept in as far as he could, to feel after the saint's arm, and when the emperor's ma-

jesty came out again, he was all covered with cobwebs and dust. Oh, your majesty,' said I, 'you've made yourself quite dirty,' and with that I knocked the dust off his back with my hand. 'That'll do, child, that'll do,' says he to me, and I was quite surprised to hear him speak such good German.'—p. 20.

The following sketch of a scene witnessed in the streets of the capital discloses a state of society vastly different in its social habits from our own :

'Another day I went to the *Fürberinsel* (Dyer's Island), to close the day agreeably by listening for a while to the evening music of the grenadiers. I came, unfortunately, too late, for before I reached the *Sperl* garden, I met the band on their return. They marched along the broad road of the island, playing a lively air. This already pleased me. I had elsewhere seen military bands break up, but they went home singly ; here they were marching homeward in military order, and giving one tune more for the benefit of the public. This made an agreeable impression on me. But now for the manner of their march. By their side went some five or six boys with torches, and in front of the band, along the broad level path of the promenade, some ten or twelve merry couples were dancing away lustily. The band were playing one of Strauss's waltzes. These dancers were not merely children, but grown people were among them, whirling and tripping, in frolicsome mood, around the stiffly marching soldiers, like flowery garlands wreathing themselves around the huge trunk of some time-honoured monarch of the forest. The bearded grenadiers, meanwhile, seemed to enjoy the gaiety of their youthful attendants, and the more merrily these danced, the more lustily the others blew away. The young girls seemed indefatigable, for if one pair gave in, another was sure to issue from the accompanying crowd, and join the dancers. Thus the march proceeded along the whole promenade of the *Fürberinsel*, and over the bridge which connects the island with the mainland, where the roughness of the pavement put an end to the ball. Here was another popular scene that I thought well worthy of being engraven on my memory, and I would fain have had a painter at hand, to preserve a copy of what afforded me so much pleasure to look on. 'This is really a remarkable scene,' said I to my companion. 'It is an every-day one here,' was his reply.—pp. 56, 57.

The Bohemians are passionately fond of dancing and music, of which M. Kohl saw daily proofs. 'I met with dancers,' he remarks, 'where I could never have expected them, and where I should not have met with them in any other country ; and song—aye, and well executed—I was daily hearing from cellars, from servants' halls, and upon the public streets.'

Even the ale-houses of the town are distinguished in this respect from those of other countries, and the fact is worthy of note, and will not be passed over lightly by the philosophical observer. The character of popular pastimes, the nature of the recreations

in which a people indulge, is a more significant and decisive index of their social position than is commonly imagined. Hence the importance which we attach to such facts as the following, showing, as they do, the heart of a people far better than the glitter and artificiality of more polished life.

‘ These low alehouses again have quite a different air from those of the large cities that border on Bohemia,—such as Dresden, Munich, Breslau, &c. Those of Prague have something more poetical about them. Let us enter, for instance, one of the many beerhouses about the cattle-market of Prague. They consist mostly of large rooms or halls on the ground floor, and are nightly filled with merry guests. The entrance is generally tastefully adorned with branches of fir or other evergreens, and the walls of the room are often tapestried in the same way. Here and there you may see some neat arbours fitted up in the courtyards, which are illuminated at night. Saturdays, Sundays, and Mondays, there is music in all these houses, and in many of them on the other days also, and music of so superior an order, that I often wondered where so much musical talent could come from. These itinerant orchestras of Bohemia, I was told, had much improved of late years, in consequence of the revolution effected at Vienna by Strauss, Lanner, Libitzki, and the other composers, so popular among the dancing world. The compositions of these gentlemen require to be played with remarkable firmness and precision; and though in some respects their influence may have operated very unfortunately, yet I believe it has had the effect, by exciting emulation among the inferior class of musicians in Bohemia, of rousing them to increased efforts to improve themselves.

‘ Nor is it an uncommon thing, in the beerhouses of Prague, to find singers who accompany themselves on the harp. They have in general a very varied collection of songs and melodies, and a musical collector might discover many that would be new to the world at large. Their songs are sometimes German and sometimes Bohemian, and many that I heard were evidently popular favourites, for I could see that the waiters and the guests knew the words by heart, and frequently joined in chorus. Sometimes, the whole assembly would suddenly interrupt their conversation, and accompany the singer with a sort of wild enthusiasm. The singer had generally a table before him in the centre of the room, and on this table the little piles of copper *kreuzers* accumulated fast, for almost every guest, as he left the room, deposited his offering unasked. These are trifles, no doubt, but I believe them to be peculiar to Prague, and they afford an insight into that love of song and music which pervades all classes in Bohemia.

‘ It seems strange to me, that after Teniers and Ostade have immortalized the boorish dances, the broken bottles, the black eyes, the torn hair, and the red Bardolph noses of the Dutch gin-shops, and that so delightfully, that princes think themselves happy in having one or two of these coarse bacchanalian pictures in their drawing-rooms, it seems strange to me, I say, that none of our modern painters should have attempted the far more poetical and characteristic scenes that are of daily occurrence in one of these beerhouses of Prague. Imagine the crowded

room transferred to canvass, the singer forming the central figure, the guests joining in chorus, the waiters with their mugs of beer snatching up a fragment of the song as they hasten from one customer to another : the jolly well-fed host moving with dignity through his little world ; nor must we forget the stalls at the door for the sale of bread and sausages, for the vender of beer supplies not these, he ministers only to the thirst of his visitors, and those who would satisfy their hunger, must bring their viands with them.'—pp. 57, 58.

Proceeding onward through Linz to Vienna, our author traversed the mighty Danube, so renowned in ancient and modern times for the events which have taken place in its immediate neighbourhood. His descriptions of its scenery are those of an enthusiastic admirer, and we are far from envying the sensibility of the man who can peruse them without emotion. The following may serve as a specimen :

'The finest views on the Danube begin about six (German) miles below Linz, at Wallsee ; and truly, I believe, the least enthusiastic person in the world must have felt himself enraptured at the sight of so magnificent a spectacle. Only in a series of dithyrambics, and to the accompaniment of the harp, are they worthily to be sung ! I could have fancied myself sitting in some miraculous giant kaleidoscope ; but ruins, castles, convents, palaces, smiling villages, snug towns, hermitages, distant mountains, towers, broad valleys, and deep ravines, steep precipices, fertile meadows, were the objects that produced these wonderful effects, instead of fragments of moss, beans, spangles, and bits of grass. Every stroke of the steam-engine wrought a new and yet more beautiful change, as if a magician had held the strings and pulled them always at the precise moment. Sometimes mountains hemmed us in on all sides, and we seemed carried over some mountain lake ; another turn, and we shot as it were through a long chain of lakes. The steamer rushes on as if there were no such thing as a rock to be feared around. To a certainty we shall strike upon that at the corner !—no—a strong pressure from the hand of the experienced helmsman and we double the rock, a new opening is revealed, and new wonders displayed far and near. In such sudden turns of the vessel, often executed in a half circle of very short radius, we obtain through the sails and rigging and the twelve cabin windows, a *cascade* of views and images, if I may use the expression, in which all individuality is lost, and the effect of the whole upon the mind is perfectly intoxicating. A painter of any susceptibility must, I think, sometimes shut his eyes, that he may not lose all self-command, and leap over the side of the vessel.'—p. 114.

Numerous beavers inhabit the banks of the Danube, whose skill and singular habits are thus described. These animals are not often found so immediately in the neighbourhood of civilization, and it is therefore interesting to observe with what sagacity they adapt themselves to the peculiar dangers of such a position.

'These wonderful animals are very numerous on the river between

Linz and Vienna. It is singular enough that the progress of civilization should not have scared them away, and that they should be more numerous here than in parts so much wilder of the middle Danube; they are eagerly pursued, both for their skins and their testicles; and the worth of the whole beaver, when the latter are good, is estimated at from fifty to sixty, and even one hundred florins. The beavers build their dwellings mostly on the 'breaking shores' before mentioned, and thence make excursions into the water meadows, where, like the wood-cutters, they fell the trees, especially the aspens and poplars, whose wood is not too hard, and of which the thick, fleshy, leathery rind constitutes their favourite food. These beaver-houses are difficult to find, as the animals place the entrance always under the water, and burrow upwards, and this upper part, which is properly their dwelling, is built with wood, and kept dry. Below, the door and fore-court of their house are covered with water, into which they plunge on any alarm. 'One of the most interesting occupations to be met with on the Danube, is to watch these creatures at their work,' said a gentleman to me, who, as a sportsman and lover of natural history, had paid great attention to them, and kept some beavers prisoners on his estate. 'They are as comic in their gestures as monkeys, and as active and adroit at their work as persons who have not a minute to lose. With their really formidable teeth they hew down the trees like skilful woodmen, by a few well-directed strokes, and cut them into blocks. These blocks they carry, like poodles, to their dwellings, where they fix them with clay, which they lay on with their tails. They go splashing through the water pushing the blocks of wood, jostling and thrusting one another aside, as if they were working against one another for a wager. I have never seen them driving piles with their tails, as some persons assert, nor do I think so soft an instrument adapted for such work. They are accustomed, however, to strike the surface of the water with their tails, sometimes apparently out of mere sport and wantonness, but sometimes, probably, when pursued by an enemy, it is done to cover their retreat under water by dashing the spray in the face of the pursuer. They are very difficult to catch. To dig them out like badgers is impossible, from the construction of their caves. To surprise them is no easy matter, on account of their quickness and foresight. They are generally caught in traps. As, unlike carnivorous animals, they find their food everywhere in nature, these traps cannot be constructed nor baited on the usual principle; the most delicate twig of poplar would be little attraction to them; it is therefore necessary to place a great number of traps in their way, and to be very cautious in so doing, as they scent iron very readily. I once laid fifteen traps in the neighbourhood of a beaver village, and was fortunate enough to catch a couple of thoughtless wanderers from the straight path. The next night I was unsuccessful, and so for ten successively. No doubt the mishap of their two comrades had become known throughout the colony, and all kept themselves within their houses. At last hunger or ennui drove them out once more, and on the eleventh night I caught another, evidently much reduced by fasting. But that was the last; the beavers took my intrusion so much amiss, that they abandoned the colony, nor could I learn where they had emigrated to; in that neighborhood no beaver has since been found.'—p. 113.

In Vienna, whither M. Kohl speedily arrived, he saw much to attract his attention, which he noted with his customary minuteness and diligence. There is a large resort of oriental merchants to the Austrian capital, who may be seen 'as grave as storks, slowly pacing through the bustle of a European street, or reclining on the handsome red cushions with which the windows of a Vienna house are generally provided, looking down upon the turmoil, and tranquilly smoking.' The whole number of Orientals in the city is about one thousand, and is steadily on the increase. We pass over our author's account of *St. Stephen's Tower*, and of his visit to the *Menagerie at Schoenbrunn*, in order to make room for a sketch taken from the fishmarket of the city.

'The most celebrated of all the women of Vienna is, beyond doubt, Maria Theresa, but the most noted are the so-called 'Fratschelweiber.' Like their sisters in the cabbage-market of Königsberg, and the Halles of Paris, they are distinguished for their eloquence, their presence of mind, and their inexhaustible wit. It is said that the emperor Joseph went once incognito among them, and purposely overturned a basket of eggs, in order to have a specimen of their oratorical powers. Their chief seat is in the 'Hof,' one of the largest squares of the city, where they deal in vegetables, fruit, cheese, and other articles of food.

'What I saw and heard of these interesting persons gave me more amusement than I can hope to give the reader by a description, for when the naïve originality of the Vienna dialect comes into print, it gives no more idea of its being spoken, than the printed notes do of the sound of a piece of music.

'I must confess, that often when I returned from the 'Fratschel' market, I used to feel as if I had been in a mad-house, so incessant and clapper-like had been the chatter about everything in and about the world—about the 'Germnudein' which they were recommending to Herr von Nachtigall, an old hairdresser, whose poverty shone out from every side of his worn and rent nether garments, but on whom they bestowed the 'von' nevertheless, because he held a few kreuzers in hand; about the butcher, 'the stingy hound who had sold them such a miserable little bit of meat to-day.' They spared neither the emperor, the pope, nor their ministers, and, least of all, the people of rank and fashion, whom they saw driving about. I was one day witness of the little ceremony used with the latter. At the corner of the 'Hof,' a careless coachman ran over a boy. In an instant a crowd of women and men were in full pursuit of the flying vehicle, in which sat a lady and gentleman of the higher class. But the Fratschelweiber paid not the smallest heed to their high nobility. 'Catch 'em there, bring 'em back, the quality candle-snuffers! bring 'em back! the scum of a dunghill! To run over the poor boy!' were the compliments that ran from mouth to mouth, as the mob ran bawling after the gentles, who would probably have fared ill enough, if they had fallen into the hands of the irritated rabble. This class of persons in Vienna are by no means the patient, respectful, timid herd to be met with in other capitals of monarchical states; for example,

in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Prague, &c. The child, whose cause was so energetically adopted by the Fratschel women, was not even a countryman, but a little Croat, such as are met with in all parts of Vienna, selling radishes and onions. Beyond a bruise or two, he had sustained no injury; indeed, he had rather been knocked down than run over. The women put on his broad-brimmed Croatian hat again, wiped carefully his wide mantle of thick white wool, in which he looked like a diminutive Orlando in a giant's armour, and bought some of his radishes to console him. The child, who understood not a word of the Fratschel jargon, looked round him in a scared manner, and then resumed his monotonous cry, '*An guten ratti, ratti,*' (good radishes,) the only German he knew. These Croats are very numerous in Vienna, and form no inconsiderable portion of the populace there. As they sell nothing but onions and radishes, the Fratschel ladies are persuaded that Croatia must be a poor country, and produce nothing else. In the suburbs there are, in the public houses of the lowest class, great dormitories for them, which they call Croat quarters. There, when the ravens return from the fields to Stephen's tower, the poor Croats huddle together after the fatigues of the day, and sleep in the same thick cloaks that have sheltered them from the heat during the day. 'They live like so many cattle,' said one of the Fratschel women to me, 'they haven't even a bedstead, let alone a mattress. They lie o'nights and holidays on their bellies, and are fit for nothing but to sell onions.'—pp. 139, 140.

Great complaints were made to M. Kohl of the decrease in the consumption of fish, which was attributed by some zealous complainers to a diminished attention to religious fasts. 'Formerly,' said an old fish dealer, 'people had some regard for religion and fast days, and I know some great houses, where, on Fridays, not as much meat was allowed as would go on the point of a knife. And then the convents in Vienna—what a consumption of fish was there! There were the Carmelites, the Augustines, the Minorites, the Barbarites, and all the rest of them! I recollect there was one convent where the monks used to fast the whole year through, and where he used to carry the most delicate kinds of fish by cartloads. But that's all over now. The great people don't trouble themselves about fasting and eating fish, and even the monks are grown more impious.' The case was vastly different with game, which was found to be consumed in great quantities. At the shop of Mr. N., an intelligent dealer in game, our author frequently met some of the scientific naturalists of Vienna, in whose society he was much gratified. The game merchant, unlike most of his fraternity, was 'a clever, enlightened man, well acquainted with many branches of natural history, not ignorant of anatomy and geology, thoroughly informed of all that related to the chase, and the manner of life and habits of the animals; one who had studied the works of Cuvier and Buffon, and could severely criticize

the exaggerations, flourishes, and extravagant assertions of the latter.' From a chamois hunter, whom he met at this shop, M. Kohl received some interesting information respecting the habits of that animal, a portion of which we extract for the gratification of such of our readers as are fond of natural history.

' Observing that I occasionally made a note of what I heard, he said, ' Ah, write it all down, and I'll tell you something about the cunning of the chamois that no one has heard before.' The previous year he had found a geis (female chamois) ready to bring forth. He had followed her for eight days to see where she would deposit her young. Sometimes he took off his shoes, and climbed on his bare feet like a cat; and once when he had to clamber up the steep face of a rock, he cut off all the buttons from his clothes that they might not make a 'jingle.' At last he discovered the two young ones in a niche at the top of a high rock, in a '*küstl*,' as the hunters call it. The little ones were sporting around their mother, who glanced from time to time down into the valley to watch for any hostile approach. To avoid being seen, our hunter made a great circuit, and so reached a path that led to the '*küstl*.' Exactly in front of the niche the rock descended perpendicularly to an immense depth. At the back was another steep descent. Some fragments of rock formed a kind of bridge between the larger masses, but these were placed too high to be accessible to the little ones, and could only be available for their mother. The hunter rejoiced as he contemplated this position, and pressed upon the animals, whose escape seemed impossible. When the old one caught sight of him, and measured with a glance the unfavorable disposition of the rocks, she sprang upon the hunter with the fury that maternal love will breathe into the most timid creatures. The danger of such attacks from the chamois is less from the thrust, which is not very violent, than from the endeavour of the animals to fix the points of their horns, which are bent like fish-hooks, somewhere in the legs of the hunter, and then press him backwards down the precipices. It happens sometimes that the chamois and hunter thus entangled roll into the abyss together. Our hunter was in no condition to fire at the advancing chamois, as he found both hands necessary to sustain himself on the narrow path; he therefore warded off the blows as well as he could with his feet, and kept still advancing. The anguish of the mother increased. She dashed back to her young, coursed round them with loud cries, as if to warn them of the danger, and then leaped upon the before-named fragments of rock, from which the second but more difficult egress from the grotto was to be won. She then leaped down again to her little ones, and seemed to encourage them to attempt the leap. In vain the little creatures sprang and wounded their foreheads against the rocks that were too high for them, and in vain the mother repeated again and again her firm and graceful leap to show them the way. All this was the work of a few minutes, whilst the hunter had again advanced some steps nearer. He was just preparing to make the last effort when the following picture, which was the particular circumstance he referred to in speaking of the chamois' cunning, met his astonished eyes. The old chamois, fixing her hind legs firmly on the

rock behind, had stretched her body to its utmost length, and planted her fore feet on the rock above, thus forming a temporary bridge of her back. The little ones seemed in a minute to comprehend the design of their mother, sprang upon her like cats, and thus reached the point of safety. The picture only lasted long enough to enable their pursuer to make the last step. He sprang into the niche, thinking himself now sure of the young chamois, but all three were off with the speed of the wind, and a couple of shots that he sent after the fugitives, merely announced by their echo to the surrounding rocks, that he had missed his game.'—pp. 144, 145.

The following notice of the musical performers of Vienna, and of the efforts constantly made by them to secure the favour of the public is deserving of notice, as an indication of national character.

'No parties in Vienna are so numerous as the musical ones, which have their ramifications from the highest society to the very lowest. Strauss, the most celebrated concert master, Lanner the most original, and Fahrbach, also well known to fame, are the leaders and demigods of these meetings, the tribunes of the people in Vienna. Like the Roman tribunes, they exert themselves to the utmost to enlarge and strengthen their party. When at Sperle, or in the public gardens, they flourish their bows in elegant little temples, amidst a grove of orange trees, rhododendrons, and other plants, and execute the newest and most effective compositions with their perfectly organised bands, (Strauss enrolls none but Bohemians,) they seem in a measure the chiefs and leaders of the public. Before them stands a listening throng, with whom they are constantly coquetting, nodding to their friends in the midst of their work, and giving them a friendly smile as they execute some difficult passage. Every distinguished effort is rewarded by loud applause, and new or favourite pieces by a stormy 'Da Capo.' Even in the common dancing rooms, the music is so little secondary, that the dance is often interrupted by a tumult of applause for the musicians and composers. Even at the fêtes of the Schwarzenbergs and Lichtensteins, a certain familiar understanding with the favourite musicians may be observed, which, among a people less enthusiastic in the matter of dance-music, would be thought out of place.

'Strauss and his colleagues are always on the look out for new inventions in the field of music. In almost every season they produce some new clashing or clanging instrument, or some extraordinary manoeuvre on an old one. Last summer, in a Pot Pourri, Strauss made all his violinists, violoncellists, and basses, lift up their voices and sing the Rhine song, '*Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,*' which, with the basses especially, had a very comic effect. Lanner enticed the public by means of a young man, who sung a duet between a gentleman and a lady, in which the high and delicate tones of the woman were as accurately imitated as the depth and strength of the man's voice. No musical soirée ended without an imitation of the report of fireworks, wherein the rushing course of the rocket, and the sparkling hiss of the wheels, mingled in

and died away with the musical tones. The next day then you are sure to read a long article in one of the journals, beginning in this fashion: 'Again has our justly esteemed, our inexhaustible Strauss (or Lanner or Fahrbach) astonished and enchanted us with a new effort of his admirable genius. All who had the good fortune to be among his audience,' &c.'—pp. 147, 148.

Having already exceeded the limits which we had assigned to our notice of M. Kohl's volume, we must restrict ourselves to a brief notice of the account which he gives of the *Congregation* of nobles at Pesth, the capital of Hungary. Our author entertains no high opinion of the peasant nobility of Hungary, whom he describes as 'an empty presuming, and puffed-up ochlocracy.' He admits, however, that a different opinion of this class is entertained by parties whose judgment, to say the least, is entitled to respectful attention. He remarks:

'The Hungarian patriots of the day; nevertheless, take a different view of this matter, and assert that exactly this class of peasant nobles, by their natural and healthy common sense, and their power of steady resistance, have often in moments of danger proved the main support of freedom and the constitution, and have hindered many abuses in cases where the royal prerogative has been stretched too far, and where the more powerful and better bred magnates have often been influenced or corrupted. If this be so, it is much to be regretted that the Hungarian constitution should rest on no better foundation than this ignorant peasant nobility. An enlightened middle class would form a basis equally firm, and one far more favourable to the mental and physical progress and development of the country,'—pp. 216, 217.

Our author frequently attended the sittings of the Pesth congregation, which met in a plainly-furnished hall, decorated with full-length portraits of the deceased palatines. At the opening of the assembly, the hall was crowded with nobles, who were for the most part dressed in splendid national costumes, and were all armed. The president on entering greeted the assembly with the usual Hungarian salutation, 'Your humble servant,' and then took his seat in the centre of the hall, with his secretaries and other officers on either side. From the close of the following extract, it appears that some members of the Pesth congregation are of as little importance or use, as many of those whom the folly or wickedness of our countrymen has returned to the British parliament.

'Any person who wished to speak, called attention by exclaiming, '*kerem, kerem!*' that is, 'I beg,' and then approached the president's table, or sometimes spoke over the heads of those who were between. Almost all the speakers appeared to me to be characterized by a manly and dignified bearing; many spoke with great fluency, and some with what seemed like impassioned and fiery eloquence. Whenever any thing

was said that seemed particularly to please, the gallery resounded with '*Elyen! Elyen!*' equivalent to our 'Bravo!' or 'Vivat!' Another word which I heard often repeated was '*Hayunk! Hayunk!*' that is 'Hear, hear!' but not used precisely in the sense in which it is employed in the English parliament, but rather in the sense of 'Order! or Silence!' and these continual injunctions of 'silence' did not a little to increase the noise always occasioned in an Hungarian assembly, by the moving about and clatter of sabres and spurs. It was sometimes impossible to hear the speaker for the vociferations of these lovers of order.

'The best and most eloquent speaker among them was said to be the noble deputy Kossut, who acquired so much fame at the last diet. He was, as must be known to a large portion of my readers, imprisoned for a considerable time, for having made public some discussions of the diet, is now editor of the most popular Hungarian journal, the '*Pesti Hirlap*,' which was forbidden to be printed, by distributing a considerable number of manuscript copies. He was subsequently liberated, and is now the most fearless and untiring advocate of all that tends to the amelioration and advancement of his country, the boldest and most unsparing denouncer of the errors and abuses in the constitution and government. He has made it his especial care to keep guard over what he considers the weak side of his countrymen—namely, the liability of the judges and other officers to corruption and irregular influences, and never fails to discover and expose offences of this description. Under these circumstances it cannot be but Mr. von Kossut should have many enemies, but he counts a far greater number of friends, the whole public of Hungary being on his side, and he is the favourite and the political hero of the day. His *Hirlap* is the oracle on all occasions, and during my stay in Pesth, whenever any public matter was discussed, I continually heard the eager inquiry, 'What does Kossut say of it?'

'I looked with much interest at this man, on whom the eyes of all Hungary may be said to be fixed. He is of middle size, and very agreeable exterior; his features are regular and decidedly handsome, but strongly marked and manly. He is in the prime of life, with rather redundant hair and whiskers, but a mild and modest expression of countenance. He was rather pale when I saw him, and his features wore an air of earnestness, slightly tinged by melancholy, though lighted up by his fine flashing eyes. He spoke for full half an hour, without a moment's hesitation, and his mode of delivery appeared to me extremely agreeable. His voice is as fine as might be expected from so handsome a person, and the sounds of the Hungarian language, powerful and energetic, seemed, from his lips, I might almost say, warlike, although they come hard and harsh from the mouth of an uncultivated speaker. The '*Elyen! Elyen!*' frequently interrupted him, and the '*Hayunk!*' was scarcely heard once, for every one was attentive and silent of his own accord.

'National pride, and the fiery zeal of patriotism in Hungary, tend much, I believe, to the improvement of oratory, and we Germans might take many a lesson in these things from our Magyar neighbours. I do not, however, mean to convey an impression that all the members of the Pesth congregation were orators; many remained mute the whole time

of the sitting, and others walked up and down, with their plumed Kalpoks in their hands, appearing chiefly intent on the display of their elegant costume. One did nothing but twirl about his rings, and another devoted himself to the unceasing brushing of his hat, and from many no sounds were heard but an occasional '*Elyen!*' or '*Hayunk!*'

'The office of the vicegespann is something like that of speaker in the English parliament, as he calls to order those who require his interference, and, in case of contumacy, has the power to inflict pecuniary fines, or even to exclude the disorderly person from the hall. Among the anomalies which are everywhere discoverable in the Hungarian political edifice, is also this; that if the offender can make his escape from the hall before the vicegespann has had time to utter the words, 'For this offence I sentence you to a fine of twenty-five florins,' he escapes also the punishment. Should the Haiduck, however, at a sign from the vicegespann, place himself before the door, the offender must remain and pay; and if he has not as much money, and that it is necessary to send an officer home with him, he must pay double.

'I was told that one of the town deputies would very soon find himself subjected to this fine, if he presumed too far in his remarks on any privilege of the nobility, 'for we deputies of cities,' said one of them to me, 'have a seat but no vote in these congregations.' Upon this topic we were soon engaged in a warm discussion, in the course of which we found means to withdraw from the hall.'—pp. 218—220.

The aristocracy of Hungary is at present omnipotent. It overshadows everything, and operates as a deadly blight. The mass of the people are in a state of serfdom, without political rights, and in general without the perception of their desirableness. The elements of amelioration are, however, at work, and we trust that though their progress may be slow, they will issue in the improvement of political institutions, a more equitable distribution of the public burdens, and an enfranchisement of the popular mind. The following extract, which must be our last, will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in marking the early developements of political freedom.

'Among all the books, however, which occupied me at the Casino, there were none in which I was so much interested as in the writings of Count Szechenyi. This unwearied and noble-minded friend of his country has been the author or promoter of almost every useful and valuable undertaking that it has witnessed for years past: steam-navigation, the making of roads as far as the Turkish frontier, the establishment of the Literary Society of Pesth, of the Casino, every desirable improvement brings the name of Count Szechenyi prominently forward as a chief actor; he has found time, nevertheless, for a series of writings, all tending to the same noble end. The first, and most celebrated, is called '*Credit*,' and under this title he treats of Hungarian affairs in general, of the sacredness of public duty, of agriculture, of the cultivation of the vine, of the wine trade, of trade in general, of road-making,

of steam-navigation, and of all those things which would be likely to raise the character of Hungary in the eyes of the world in general.

'The second work is called 'Light,' or information relative to the work called 'Credit,' and was called forth by an analysis or criticism upon it published by Count Joseph Desewfy. These, I am sorry to say, are the only writings of Count Szechenyi which I have read; but I must own I felt some astonishment, that considering the home truths which he has spoken, and the free and uncompromising terms in which these truths are expressed, the countrymen of the Count should not only listen to him with patience, but should even praise and exalt the author to the skies, should hang his portrait in their apartments, and 'wear him in their heart's core' as the first of patriots. Had not the proof been before me I could not have thought that any one in Hungary would have ventured to denounce in such strong terms the national defects and errors. I could have fancied I was reading an oration of Demosthenes, or listening to a patriot of the Roman republic, pouring out a torrent of indignant eloquence against the follies and vices of his countrymen. Nothing, certainly, could give a higher idea of the noble disposition, and great capability of improvement of the Hungarians, than the enthusiastic approbation with which they have received these writings, as well as those of Kossut and others, in which they are thus roundly taken to task.

'These gentlemen, as I have before hinted, however they may agree in ardent zeal for the progress of their country, are by no means agreed on many other points. No two of them perhaps can be said to be precisely of the same opinion. The two counts Desewfy are, however patriotic, decidedly aristocratic in their views, and, considering the Hungarian constitution as essentially such, desire to see it developed strictly in accordance with the intentions of their forefathers. Mr. von Kossut is a patriot of a different stamp, and of far more liberal principles. He agrees in the main with Count Szechenyi, and in his widely-spread journal, accessible to all, gives utterance to nearly the same views as those expressed in the more elaborate works of the count, addressed to a more select audience. There has been indeed some dispute between them concerning the mode in which von Kossut has deemed it fitting to utter his opinions; and this dispute, which may be considered either as a literary or a political controversy, formed, at the time I was in Pesth, a general subject of conversation. Two editions of Count Szechenyi's pamphlet had been sold off, immediately, and I remained long enough for the publication of von Kossut's answer. At all the corners of the streets I saw flaming on red and yellow paper, '*Felelet, Graf Szechenyi Istvannak Kossut Layost.*' (Answer to Count Stephen Szechenyi, by Ludwig Kossut); and I heard continually the questions, 'Have you seen Kossut's answer? What does Kossut say?'

'We in Germany have no idea of the lively interest in all political questions that prevails at Pesth. It is only at Paris or Brussels that we ever see anything like it. The public interested in these matters is also by no means as limited as might be supposed. The subscribers to the *Hirap* alone amount to four thousand, and the editions of the above-mentioned pamphlets, which were sold off almost as soon as published,

consisted each of several thousand copies. Those who from their position in society can take no active part in political affairs, still look eagerly on as anxious and interested spectators, and read with avidity all that is written on the subject.'—pp. 234—235.

Art. IV. *Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind.* By Jonathan Dymond. Fourth edition. London: Gilpin. 1842.

WRITERS on morals may be divided into three classes—the philosophers of ancient or of modern times who have theorised on the nature and foundations of morals;—didactic moralists, who have aimed by argument, exhortation, or satire, at the inculcation of practical virtues, either separately or systematically;—and those writers who by histories, by portraitures of character, by aphorisms, tales, or fables, have sought to engage the memory, the fancy, and the passions, on the side of goodness.

All these classes of writers have their value, which is appreciated by the higher sort of readers; though even they will have their preference according to the predominance in their own minds of some particular habit or association. There are not wanting those who seek depth and accuracy of thought; who love to grapple with speculative difficulties; who must have their convictions—most of all those which relate to the serious interests of human character and happiness—based on solid reasons; and who will not rest till they have reached the boundaries of their powers of thought. *Their* studies will be with the strong and subtle thinkers of that great people whose intellectual achievements, embodied in a language which unites the rare perfections of clearness and richness with harmony and force, are more splendid than their military prowess, and more lasting than their temples and their statues.

Such inquirers after moral truth will transport themselves in spirit to the bright sky and lofty planes of Athens, that they may catch the dews of wisdom as they fall from Socrates on Xenophon, the high born and accomplished warrior,—on Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander—himself a mightier conqueror than even his heroic pupil; and on Plato—the most profoundly beautiful of writers, through whom the principles of the Athenian sage have won the admiration, and promoted the refinement, of educated man in every country through the whole course of time. They will find portions of the hidden treasure in the much misapprehended and greatly abused theories of

Epicurus and of Zeno, and in the luminous commentaries on these parent systems of Grecian ethics which have been left by Seneca and Plutarch;—the Roman subduing the softness of humanity by his imperial tone, and stimulating its dulness by his salient point; the Greek alluring by his freedom and his gentleness; Plutarch guides, while Seneca commands; the former fails in depth; the latter wants arrangement. In these liberal studies more than a passing survey will be given to Antoninus—greater in the sublime and graceful philosophy of his writings than in the diadem and purple of the Cæsars. It is scarcely necessary to say that we regard the offices of Cicero as the richest bequest of heathen antiquity to the student of Moral Philosophy.

Those who have duly weighed the discoveries and mistakes of these great masters of antiquity, will hail with calm delight the life which sprang up amid the tombs and skeletons of the scholastic ages at the bidding of our own illustrious Bacon; and they will feel its strong pulsations in the deeply learned and finely discriminating treatises of Grotius; in the original and vigorous speculations of Hobbes, whom few have studied, but whom nearly all condemn; and in the lucid and manly developement of the moral principles of Natural Law by Puffendorf.

Thorough students of the philosophy of morals will enter with deep interest on the inquiries of more modern times into the rational foundation of the whole science of human duty. Having compared the doctrines of the ancient schools with those of Clarke, of Smith, of Hume, Paley, Butler, Brown, Chalmers, and Wardlaw, they will be prepared to estimate, with some degree of accuracy, the strength of the human intellect in grasping this great question; and, above all, they will know how to value the morality of that DIVINE PHILOSOPHY which places every duty of man on the firm foundation of supreme authority; appeals to his whole nature in its injunctions; invests the severest forms of virtue with the charms of love; and unveils the ample regions and eternal course of that futurity where all that is good shall flourish in the smile of God, and all that is evil shall wither at his frown!

We need not be reminded that such inquirers as we have been supposing must at all times be few. The many are either too indolent or too busy for such mental labour. As little do we need to be reminded that morals have so immediate an application to action, that practical instruction should supersede theoretical. Still we are free to think that, as in all other departments of human life, so in this of morals, men in general are more indebted than they imagine to the quiet cogitations of

the contemplative few. Our most practical men are beginning to discover that there *is* a connexion between the abstractions of physical science, and the civilisation of the world; and we should be sorry to lose the expectation that hereafter, if not very soon, the deepest researches of moral philosophy will be felt to have worked out those results in the history of our species, without which the highest forms of civilisation are but the decorations of a procession to the grave.

There is no real happiness for man without right acting. Right acting is conformity to truth.

All truth is reducible to principles. The principles of truth in relation to that course of life which must end in happiness can, therefore, never be deemed worthy of contempt by any sober mind: even those who have neither leisure nor taste for abstruse meditations will always feel *safer* in proportion as they know that there are others who delight in digging down to the springs of private virtue and of social happiness, and who have the power and the will to watch, lest, while others sleep, those fountains should be choked or poisoned by ignorant or wicked men. Sound thinking is the only security for real virtue and for permanent enjoyment.

We have made these observations with a view to introduce to our readers one of the most precious posthumous publications we have for some years had the happiness of reading. It properly belongs to the second of those classes into which we have thought it right to divide writers on morals; though there is a penetrating and tranquil philosophy, a firm confidence in principles, and a skilful tracing to these principles of the minutest ramifications of human duty, which would fairly entitle it, though far from being faultless, to a high place in the selectest library of Moral Science. It is dedicated with the solemn earnestness of a spirit on its passage to the abodes of virtue beyond the gates of death, 'to that small but increasing number—whether in this country or elsewhere—who maintain in principle, and illustrate by their practice, the great duty of conforming to the laws of Christian morality, without regard to dangers or present advantages.'

Of the author we know no more than that he was a young man of singularly feeble health, in the West of England; that he was beloved by a large circle of the Society of Friends, and that he died in the spring of 1828, leaving in a state not fully prepared for publication, the three Essays of which this work consists. Some memoranda which he had prepared for the revision of the essays are either inserted, or placed in the margin, by the editor.

These Essays are preceded by very brief and modest intro-

ductory notices, in which the writer avows his belief, that as former treatises had not exhibited the principles, and enforced the obligations, of morality in all their perfection and purity, he has been induced to hold forth the authoritative standard, and by that standard to test every action of mankind.

The first essay is devoted to the investigation of principles—including the ultimate standard, and the subordinate rules. In laying down these principles the writer avoids formal definitions and metaphysical reasonings, satisfying himself with showing that whatever other grounds and reasons there may be for virtue, man is under obligations to his Creator, who has displayed the power, and the intention, to call him to an account, and to reward or punish him according to his conduct. Our learned readers will perceive that the author has not entered at all on what must be regarded as a deeply interesting question—the grounds and original reasons on which morality is built, as distinct from the standard by which it is to be tested.

Assuming it as a point conceded on all sides, that the will of God is the standard of morality, inasmuch as the opinions of all moral theorists come in the end to this, he regards the indirect testimonies thus afforded to this simple principle as of special value; but he objects to all these theories, that they render truth uncertain by arriving at that will through different media, instead of referring to the will of God directly and at once as that which *to us* is the ground and reason of our obedience.

He thus prepares the reader for rejecting the fashionable doctrine of expediency, because its advocate does not sufficiently take into account our happiness in futurity; because it is unconnected with revelation, and implies that in moral questions that revelation is not needed; because Scripture makes no reference to this expediency as a universal rule; because it is a rule which cannot be applied to the great majority of the conjunctures which arise in human life; and because the rule of expediency wants the *sanction* which belongs to the essential character of a moral standard.—A natural objection to the doctrine which makes the communicated will of God the universal standard, is suggested by the fact that the majority of men have never heard of it. To this objection the reply here given is—

‘ First, that supposing most men to be destitute of a communication of the Divine will, it does not affect the obligations of those who do possess it. The communication is the law to me, whether my African brother enjoys it or not.

‘ Every reason by which the supreme authority of the law is proved, is just as applicable to those who do enjoy the communication of it, whether that communication is enjoyed by many or by few : and this so

far as the argument is concerned, appears to be a sufficient answer. If any man has no direct access to his Creator's will, let him have recourse to 'eternal fitnesses,' or to 'expediency,' but his condition does not affect another man who does possess this access.

'But our real reply to this objection is, that they who are destitute of the Scriptures are not destitute of a direct communication of the will of God.

'The direct proof of this position must be deferred to a subsequent chapter; and the reader is solicited for the present, to allow us to assume its truth. This direct communication may be limited, it may be incomplete, but some communication exists; enough to assure them that some things are acceptable to the Supreme Power, and that some are not; enough to indicate a distinction between right and wrong; enough to make them moral agents, and reasonably accountable to our common Judge. If these principles are true, and especially if the amount of the communication is in any case considerable, it is obvious that it will be of great value in the direction of individual conduct. We say of *individual* conduct, because it is easy to perceive that it would not often subserve the purpose of him who frames public rules of morality. A person may possess a satisfactory assurance in his own mind, that a given action is inconsistent with the Divine will, but that assurance is not conveyed to another, unless he participates in the evidence upon which it is founded. That which is wanted in order to supply public rules for human conduct is a publicly avouched authority; so that a writer in deducing those rules, has to apply ultimately to that standard which God has publicly sanctioned.'—p. 6.

In bringing up the proof that there is universally a *direct* communication of the will of God to man, the author carefully distinguishes this communication from the dictates of conscience, and from the *moral sense* of which so much has been said in many celebrated ethical discussions; and he maintains that his doctrine is not at all incompatible with the actual varieties of men's views of right and wrong, 'because we never affirm that the Deity communicates all his law to every man; and in the second place, it is sufficiently certain that multitudes *know* his laws and yet neglect to fulfil them.'

He then introduces a brief review of popular and philosophical opinions respecting the moral sense, for the purpose of showing that, in the midst of the varied and often ambiguous phraseology employed, the declaration of these opinions involves an undesigned testimony to the principle which he is advocating, and to the clear evidence with which it commends itself to the minds of men. This review consists of passages—extracted chiefly by Hancock in his *Essay on Instinct*—from the Adventurer, from the writings of Price, Furreaux, Sir William Temple, Hutcheson, Butler, Blair, Rush, Bacon, Shaftesbury, Reid, Beattie, Watts, Cudworth, Locke, Southey, The Westminster Review, Adam

Smith, Paley, Rousseau, Milton, Judge Hale; and, among ancient writers, from Marcus Antoninus, Aristotle, Plutarch, Hieron, Epictetus, and Seneca.

'Now respecting the various opinions which have been laid before the reader, there is one observation which will generally apply—that they unite in assigning certain important attributes or operations to some principle or power existent in the human mind. They affirm that this principle or power possesses wisdom to direct us aright; that its directions are given instantaneously as the individual needs them; that it is inseparably attended with unquestionable *authority* to command. That such a principle or power does therefore actually exist, can need little further proof; for a concurrent judgment upon a question of personal experience cannot surely be incorrect. To say that individuals express their notions of this principle or power by various phraseology, that they attribute to it different degrees of super-human intelligence, or that they refer for its origin to contradictory causes, does not affect the general argument. The great point for our attention is, not the designation or the supposed origin of this guide, but its attributes, and these attributes appear to be *divine*.'—p. 20.

The antecedent probability of the truth of the argument is thought to be sustained by the acknowledged responsibility of man to his Creator: for how can there be responsibility without knowledge of duty? and whence comes this knowledge but from God? This probability is further strengthened, as the author deems, by the fact that even in what are called Christian countries there are thousands, perhaps millions, who know little of what Christianity enjoins.

Had scripture been silent on this question, it is admitted by Mr. Dymond, the existence of the moral communication in question would have been improbable; he therefore addresses himself to the task of proving from the Scriptures that God has communicated the knowledge of his will not only to some men, as all Christians acknowledge, but to *all men* '*by the immediate exertion of his own agency*.'

In this part of the essay, we must say that, according to our judgment, the author has failed; and the failure, as we esteem it, arises partly from the very common error of bringing a doctrine to the Bible, instead of deducing it by fair and wise interpretation *from* it; partly from an exceedingly imperfect acquaintance with those hermeneutic principles on which alone it is safe to explain either the sacred writings or any other writings; and partly from an eagerness to extend to all men the application of some passages which are limited, of necessity, to spiritual believers of the gospel.

The following paragraph convinces us that the writer was not insensible to one of the difficulties which clogged his attempt to

support a prominent doctrine of the religious sect to which he belonged by the language of the scriptures—that he might lay this theological peculiarity at the basis of his moral system.

‘Now here the reader should specially observe, that where the Christian scriptures speak of the existence and influence of the Divine Spirit on the mind, they commonly speak of its (His?) higher operations; *not of his office as a moral guide, but as a purifier, sanctifier, and comforter of the soul.* They speak of it in reference to its secret and awful operations in connection with *human salvation*: and thus it happens that *very many citations* which, if we were writing an essay on religion, would be perfectly appropriate, do not possess that distinct and palpable application to an argument which goes no further than to affirm that it is a moral guide.’—pp. 20, 21.

We have marked some of these expressions, to indicate the obvious glimpse which the writer had of the truth, and to show the fallaciousness of the reasoning by which he was misled in saying, after all:

‘And yet it may be most reasonably remarked that if it has pleased the universal Parent thus, and for these awful purposes, to visit the minds of those who are obedient to this power, he will not suffer them to be destitute of a moral guidance. The less must be supposed to be involved in the greater.’—p. 21.

Here is, first of all, an inference from general principles of natural religion in an argument professing to be one of simply scriptural authority. Secondly, here are passages of scripture which are *acknowledged* to have one specific meaning and application adduced for an avowed purpose which is not that for which such passages were written. Thirdly, the argument which assumes the less to be involved in the greater, is here employed, in reality, to prove that the less *implies* the greater. For the argument stands thus: God has given his Spirit to *some* men as their purifier, sanctifier, and comforter; therefore, he has given that same Spirit to *all* men as their moral guide. We are, of course, aware that so gross an error in reasoning was not likely to be committed by so calm a writer: he must, in this argument, have considered the Divine Spirit as performing these higher functions *universally*. But we dissent from this doctrine for the most obvious and authoritative of all reasons: namely, that, as we understand the scriptures, these operations of the Divine Spirit ‘in connection with human salvation’ are never described as universal, but always as accompanying the instructions conveyed through the medium of the gospel to accomplish the special purposes of grace. It is not requisite for us to enter into a controversial view of that question: it is

enough that we have shown its relation, not to universal morals, but to the actual history of the Christian redemption.

That we may not appear to be influenced by attachment to one creed, in expressing our regret that this writer has not escaped the bias of a similar attachment to another, we beg the attention of our readers to the superficial and uncriticising spirit in which traditional expositions of scripture passages have been used in this argument.

'So early as Gen. vi. there is a distinct declaration of the moral operation of the Deity on the human mind; not upon the pious and the good, but upon those who were desperately wicked, so that even every imagination of the thoughts of their heart was only evil continually. 'My spirit shall not always strive with man.' Upon this passage a good and intelligent man writes thus. [Job Scott's *Journal*, c. i. is referred to in the margin.] 'Surely if his spirit had striven with them until that time, until they were so desperately wicked, and wholly corrupted, that not only some, but every imagination of their hearts was evil, yes, *only* evil, and that continually, we may well believe the express scripture assertion, that 'a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal!'

To this passage are added three prophecies from Jeremiah and Isaiah relating to the spiritual condition of the church of God in the times that were to come; the language of St. Paul and of St. John to Christian believers in their epistles; the phrases in which our Lord is described as the light of the world—the light to lighten the Gentiles, the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and the remarkable reference in Romans ii. 14, to the Gentiles as being 'a law unto themselves.' Now we are far from questioning 'the moral operation of the Deity on the human mind.' Without such '*moral* operation,' we can frame to ourselves no conception of a moral government. But we demur—barely on principles of interpretation—to the sense in which the passages of scripture which have been referred to, have been taken in the argument before us. We appeal to every Hebrew scholar who has attended to the text in Genesis, when we say that the striving there spoken of is—judging, condemning, in the ministry of an inspired human preacher; and we prefer the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apostle Peter, as expositors of the Old Testament, to any other men, however intelligent or good.*

That any mere words, taken by themselves, will *bear* a certain meaning, and that they will even suggest that meaning to those

* See Hebrews xi. 7. 'By the which he *condemned* the world,' compare this passage with 1 Peter iii. 19, 20. The slightest examination of 1 Cor. xii. 7, might serve to show that the words, not the *meaning* of the Apostle, are applied to this question.

who have not examined them in their connection, is one of the most fruitful sources of error, and one which we should have thought too obvious to require exposure, but for its frequent recurrence, not only in loose discourses and in polemical encounters, but in works so generally cool and well digested as these essays. Our objection, however, lies against the author's *unnecessary* anxiety to prove, that what other writers have regarded as the Creator's testimony on behalf of virtue in the moral constitution of human nature is as real, though not as extensive, a supernatural inspiration as that of prophets and apostles; and to his unskilful attempt at supporting this particular theory of moral principles by the authority of Divine revelation.

The second part of the first essay is on the '*Subordinate means of discovering the Divine will.*'

The first chapter is on the Law of the Land. Here the author admits that the utility of government is a reason for obedience; but he rests its practical authority on those Scriptures which teach us 'for conscience-sake,' and 'for the Lord's sake,' to submit to magistrates and their ordinances; though it is clear to us that these very scriptures imply that there are antecedent moral grounds of private obedience to public law, whilst the truths revealed in the Gospel are designed, in this respect, to elevate the motives, and to define the limits, of that obedience. While there are many duties created by the law of the land, that law is not superior nor even equal to the moral law; and therefore it can neither oblige the subject to go beyond, nor warrant him in following short of, his higher obligations. The straightforward path of moral obedience does not, indeed, sanction the forcible resistance of the authority of government by a private individual; but it does require him, in his voluntary acts, to satisfy himself of the soundness of his principles, and to abide by them, whatever may be the consequences. One great advantage to governments and states of clear and vigorous private morality is this—that the conscientious man will need no watching.

'The magistrate has a security for such a man's fidelity which no other motive can supply. A smuggler will import his kegs if there is no danger of a seizure; a Christian will not buy the brandy, though no one knows it but himself.'

The second chapter is on '*The Law of Nature,*'—or the moral authority of our natural instincts and rights; such as our right to life, liberty, and a share of the fruits of the earth. Having shown the foundation of these rights in the clear expression of the will of God, and having pointed out their limitations in subordination to the supreme moral law, the chapter is

closed by the following admirable observations on the uses and abuses of the term *Nature*, and the phrase, '*LAW of Nature*.'

'When it is said that *Nature* teaches us to adhere to truth, there is considerable danger that we have both fallacious and injurious notions of the authority which thus teaches or condemns us. Upon this subject it were well to take the advice of Boyle. '*Nature*,' he says, 'is sometimes, indeed commonly, taken for a kind of semi-deity. In this sense it is best not to use it at all.*' It is dangerous to introduce confusion into our ideas respecting our relationship with God. A *law of nature* is a very imposing phrase; and it might be supposed, from the language of some persons, that *Nature* was an independent legislatress, who had sat and framed laws for the government of mankind. *Nature* is nothing: yet it would seem that men do sometimes practically imagine that a *law of nature* possesses proper and independent authority; and it may be suspected that with some the notion is so palpable and strong that they set up '*the law of Nature*' without reference to the will of God, or perhaps in opposition to it. Even if notions like these only float in the mind with vapoury indistinctness, a correspondent indistinctness of moral notions is likely to ensue. Every man should make to himself the rule, never to employ the word *Nature* when he speaks of ultimate moral authority.

'A law possesses no authority; the authority rests only with the legislator: and as *Nature* makes no laws, a *law of Nature* involves no obligation but that which is imposed by the Divine will.'—p. 26.

Whilst the writer's principles exclude Utility as the STANDARD of virtue, he makes some very just and instructive observations on Benevolence, as clearly required by the Will of God, and on the tendency of given actions to promote the happiness of mankind, as the expressions of that will directing our duty in those particular instances. The Creator has endowed us with the faculty of reason, that we may discover what is fit to be done; has implanted the principle of benevolence to prompt us to acts of kindness; has furnished us with the means of judging of measures in their bearing on the general happiness; has expressly enjoined that we should do good to all men: therefore we are placed under a *moral* obligation to do all the good in our power. This moral expediency, however, being a subordinate law of action, and the happiness of man including his future as well as his present happiness, the author animadverts with due seriousness on the immorality, whether in private or in public life, of reducing all virtue to Expediency, and then narrowing Expediency within the limits of the present life.

The Law of Nations is a result of the moral law, never going beyond its requirements, and of no force whatever in opposition to them. It is, moreover, a law which can easily be proved to

* Free Inquiry into the vulgarly received Notions of *Nature*.

have no authority over nations that are not parties to it. The same general principle applies to the obligations of Treaties. Nor can any engagement ever bind individuals to do that which is *morally* wrong.—What is called the Law of Honour is in the the same predicament—it is the duty of performing our *lawful* engagements. We fully agree with Mr. Dymond in his manly exposure of the mischiefs and absurdities produced by the Law of Honour as a system of human life.

‘ Even its advantages are of an ambiguous kind ; for although it may prompt to rectitude of conduct, that conduct is not founded upon rectitude of principle. The motive is not so good as the act. And as to many of its particular rules, both positive and negative, they are the proper subject [object ?] of reprobation and abhorrence. We ought to reprobate and abhor a system which enjoins the ferocious practice of challenges and duels, and which allows many of the most flagitious and degrading vices that infest the world. The practical effects of the Law of honour are probably greater and worse than we are accustomed to suppose. Men learn by the power of association to imagine that *THAT* is lawful which their maxims of conduct do not condemn.

‘ A set of rules which inculcate some actions which are right, practically operates as a sanction to the wrong. The code which attaches disgrace to falsehood, but none to drunkenness or adultery, operates as a sanction to drunkenness and adultery. Does not experience verify these conclusions of reason ? Is it not true that men and women of honour indulge, with the less hesitation, in some vices in consequence of the tacit permission of the Law of Honour ? What then is to be done but to reprobate the system as a whole.

‘ In this reprobation the man of sense may unite with the man of virtue ; for assuredly the system is contemptible in the view of intellect, as well as hateful in the view of purity.’—p. 31.

Having laid down his principles in the first Essay, the writer proceeds in the second to apply them to Private Rights and Obligations. We have seldom read anything to be compared to the searching manner in which these rights and obligations are examined in the seventeen chapters of this Essay.

Though religious obligations necessarily include the exercise of piety towards God, as well as the outward signs of reverence and devotion, the author has offered no more than a few paragraphs on the former. In some respects this is to be regretted. All virtue, not less than religion, is an operation of mind ; we consider that discharge of moral duties to our fellow-creatures essentially defective which is not prompted by virtuous motives ; and virtuous motives must comprehend the highest of all considerations—a devout regard to the will of God. We entirely agree with the chastely-expressed views which are here given of the spiritual character of devotional worship, and of the de-

lusions which many practise on themselves in mistaking the power of music, oratory, natural scenery, architectural and other artistic associations, for religious feeling.

'To religious feelings as to other things the truth applies, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' If these feelings do not tend to 'purify the affections from debasing attachments; if they do not tend to form the inclinations to piety and virtue, they certainly are not devotional. Upon him whose mind is really prostrated in the presence of his God, the legitimate effect is, that he should be impressed with a more sensible consciousness of the Divine presence; that he should deviate with less facility from the path of duty; that his desires and thoughts should be reduced to Christian subjugation; that he should feel an influential addition to his dispositions to goodness; and that his affections should be expanded towards his fellow men. He who rises from the sensibilities of seeming devotion, and finds that effects like these are not produced in his mind, may rest assured that, in whatever he has been employed, it has not been in the pure worship of that God who is a spirit. To the real prostration of the soul in the Divine presence, it is necessary that the mind should be still: 'Be still, and know that I am God.' Such devotion is sufficient for the whole mind; it needs not—perhaps in its present state it admits not—the intrusion of external things. And when the soul is thus permitted to enter as it were into the sanctuary of God; when it is humble in his presence; when all its desires are involved in the one desire of devotedness to Him; then is the hour of acceptable *worship*—then the petition of the soul is *prayer*—then is its gratitude *thanksgiving*—then is its oblation *praise*.

'That such devotion, when such is attainable, will have a powerful tendency to produce obedience to the moral law, may justly be expected; and here indeed is the true connexion of these remarks with the general object of the present Essays. Without real and efficient piety of mind we are not to expect a consistent observance of the moral law. That law requires sometimes sacrifices of inclination and of interest, and a general subjugation of the passions, which religion, and religion only, can capacitate and induce us to make.

'I recommend not enthusiasm or fanaticism, but that sincere and reverent application of the soul to its Creator, which alone is likely to give either distinctness to our perceptions of his will, or efficiency to our motives to fulfil it.'— p. 32.

We are sorry to say that we must withhold our full approval from some observations which are made in this Essay on *Religious Conversation*. We are not ignorant of the temptation to insincerity in many circumstances, and of the injury too often done to the most sacred and delicate of human emotions, by formality, by excess, by a want of discrimination as to persons, seasons, and places. At the same time we must avow our deliberate conviction that the cutting away of all the branches is not the best mode of securing a deeper root of piety—that the stifling of unaffected social communications on religion is more

likely to reduce it to a cold and passive quietism than to increase the purity and fervor of its inward power. This is one of the many practical questions in human life, in which the wisest and the soberest minds are easily thrown, from their disgust of one extreme, into another which is not less distant from the central point of truth and safety. We should hope that a wider, longer, and more truly liberal acquaintance with the habits of spiritually-minded persons would have led the author to modify his belief—'that religious conversation is one of the banes of the religious world.'

We have little to observe on the author's views and reasonings in reference to ceremonial institutions and devotional formularies. Aware of the peculiarities of the religious society to which he belongs, he abstains with commendable modesty from obtruding them on the reader; and whilst he plainly shows the leaning of his own opinions, and illustrates, from the writings of Hannah More, the evil of attachment to religious forms, he expresses himself with much Christian candour towards those who feel more dependence on outward helps to devotion than he considers to be either necessary or desirable.

We so rarely meet with this temper in the treatment of disputed questions, and we believe it to be at once so becoming fallible men, and so much more likely than controversy to promote truth, that we have no disposition to criticise severely the arguments which fail to convince us.

It is impossible for us to compress within reasonable limits the uncompromising testing of all the usages of society by the moral standard, which is carried throughout the remainder of this Essay. The author aims at nothing short of a total reform of opinion on all those questions which arise in connexion with property, litigation, legal practice, promises and oaths, education, amusements, duelling, suicide, and self-defence.

On nearly all these questions it is our opinion that his examination is careful, his reasonings are sound, and his morality is that of the purest principles and of the happiest tendency. We had marked some paragraphs in which we thought him in error; and in most instances the error arises from his taking a partial view of the question immediately before him, instead of regarding it in the light of broad and comprehensive principles.

The reader will find ample illustrations of this tendency in the animadversions on the use of the ancient classics in education, and in the superficial consideration bestowed in the seventeenth chapter on the rights of self-defence. The chapters on Property contain discussions as creditable to the acuteness of his understanding as they are to the rectitude and benevolence of his heart; and a comparison between Paley and this writer

on these subjects would sufficiently demonstrate the occasional superiority of the Quaker to the Archdeacon, both as a reasoner and as a moralist.

There is no portion of this work more important than the chapter on the Influence of Individuals upon Public Notions of Morality.

The power of public opinion on any and on all subjects is confessedly great: to correct that opinion on moral questions is philanthropy of the highest order; wilfully to increase or perpetuate its mistakes is wickedness and cruelty of the deepest dye.

That public opinion respecting right and wrong in human actions should agree with the moral law so generally known, and so uniformly praised, is what one would naturally have expected; yet a comparison of the one with the other displays a frightful discordance. Even good men are misled in their judgments, and injured in some of their habitudes, by the mistakes of public opinion; how dark then must be the moral perceptions of the multitudes to whom that opinion is the highest law!

'Now with a participation in the evils which the mis-direction of public opinion occasions, every one is chargeable who speaks of moral actions according to a standard which varies from that which Christianity has exhibited. Here is the cause of the evil, and here must be its remedy. Public notions of morality constitute a sort of line of demarcation which is regarded by most men in their practice as a boundary between right and wrong. He who contributes to fix this boundary in the wrong place, who places evil on the side of virtue, or goodness on the side of vice, offends more deeply against the morality and welfare of the world than multitudes who are punished by the arm of law. If moral offences are to be estimated by their consequences, few will be found so deep as that of giving good names to bad things. It is well indeed for the responsibility of individuals that their contribution to the aggregate mischief is commonly small. Yet every man should remember, that it is by the contribution of individuals that the aggregate is formed; and that it can only be by the deductions of individuals that it will be done away.'—p. 71.

In this spirit Mr. Dymond sheds the light of moral truth on the processes, in private life and in domestic intercourse, by which public opinion is gradually corrupted so as to become the patron of the false against the true, the guardian of the wrong against the right, the parent of misery instead of happiness to individuals and to society.

With earnest and truth-loving fearlessness he denounces the practice of calling actions by improper names, and traces the formation of the most pestilent characters that taint and wound society, in a great degree, to this one cause. We wish the

vigorous exposition of his views on this too-much neglected department of morals to be diffused far and wide. The power of public opinion is necessarily great in proportion to the freedom and general intelligence of the community; and in the present state of our own country, who can calculate the importance of giving a salutary tone and a right direction to this vast and growing power? Of this power the press is the great organ; and the periodical press exerts a moral sway, for evil or for good, in almost every page of its ever-recurring sheets. Of the newspaper press it is our opinion that it has, for some time past, been undergoing (in this country we mean, would that we could add America,) a most decided improvement; and it is for men who feel that they are responsible for all the known influence of their opinions and practices to see to it, that this improvement shall go on. Might we not suggest that a more comprehensive, pointed, and energetic order of pulpit instruction in social morals than has been usual, would increase rather than lessen the force of those evangelical doctrines to which recourse must be had, if ever such an order of virtue as Christianity inculcates is to be seen in actual life?

We pass over an entire chapter on Intellectual Education, for two reasons: first, because, as it seems to us, it is but indirectly related, if at all, to the proper subject of a work on morals: however accurate, sagacious, and practically important many of the suggestions may be, they are not, strictly speaking, of an ethical character. If education is supposed to be essentially connected with the formation of the human character, as we, of course, believe it to be, we do not think this a sufficient reason for taking it up in this place. Why not include physical as well as intellectual training? Our second reason is, that there are many opinions on intellectual education propounded in this chapter which we do not embrace, on the discussion of which we have not time or room to enter. We refer especially to his conception of the design of intellectual training, and to the bearing of classical learning on that design.

The chapter on Moral Education is appropriate, though even here we lament some imperfections which increase our unavailing regret that the writer did not live to revise, *after* publication, what he must have prepared with much diligence and carefulness.

The moral influence of the nursery has never, perhaps, been sufficiently appreciated. Neither has enough vigilance been exerted over those myriads of moral associations which are woven around the active and susceptible minds of children by their brothers and sisters near their own age, and by the companions of their school-hours and their cheerful intervals of

play. All the *principles* of moral truth are better apprehended by the child than by the man. Wherever the affections are most quickly and naturally excited, that is the school of morals in which the conscience receives its strongest lights, the heart its prevailing bias, and the character its permanent impulse. The moral discipline of families and of schools ought to resemble that of our Heavenly Teacher, ever suggesting the happy connection of what is right with our own approbation, and drawing us to goodness and to happiness by the endearments of 'love which passeth knowledge,' and by the attractions of an example which shows us what we ought to be, and wins our hearts to follow it.—We hope there is nothing more than a verbal oversight in confounding the communication of moral dispositions with the furnishing of motives for adhering to what is right : if otherwise, we are bound to protest against what we cannot but regard as a most serious error in the second sentence of this chapter :

'To a good moral education two things are necessary : that the young should receive *information* respecting what is right, and what is wrong ; and that they should be furnished with *motives* to adhere to what is right. We should communicate moral knowledge and moral *dispositions*. . . . He that would impart moral knowledge, must begin by imparting a knowledge of God. We are not advocates of formal instruction—of lesson learning—in moral any more than in intellectual education. Not that we affirm that it is undesirable to a young person to commit to memory maxims of religious truth and moral duty. These things may be right, but they are not the really efficient means of forming the moral character of the young. These maxims should recommend themselves to the judgment and affections, and this can hardly be hoped, whilst they are presented in a didactic and insulated form to the mind. It is one of the characteristics of the times, that there is a prodigious increase of books that are calculated to benefit whilst they delight the young. These are effective instruments in teaching morality. A simple narrative, (of *facts* if it be possible,) in which integrity of principle and purity of conduct are recommended to the affections as well as to the judgment, without affectation or improbabilities, or factitious sentiment, is likely to effect substantial good. And if these associations are judiciously renewed, the good is likely to be permanent as well as substantial. It is not a light task to write such books or to select them. Authors colour their pictures too highly. They must, indeed, interest the young, or they will not be read with pleasure ; but the anxiety to give interest is too great, and the effects may be expected to diminish as the narrative recedes from congeniality to the actual condition of mankind. A judicious parent will often find that the moral culture of his child may be promoted without seeming to have the object in view. There are many opportunities which present themselves for associating virtue with his affections—for throwing in amongst the accumulating mass of mental habits, principles of rectitude which shall pervade and meliorate the whole.'—p. 85.

The second object of moral education—the inducing of good principles and dispositions, is admirably set forth. The great object, after enlightening the conscience, is to urge its authority over every inclination, and over all the calculations of apparent expediency ; and with a view to this object it is of the highest moment to accustom young persons to the habit of reflection on their own moral judgments and emotions, whilst the utmost care is required to cultivate and guard them.

‘ It is to be regretted that in the moral education which commonly attains, whether formal or incidental, there is little that is calculated to produce this acquaintance with our own minds ; little that refers us to ourselves, and much, very much, that calls and sends us away.

‘ Of many it is not too much to say, that they receive almost no moral *culture*. The plant of virtue is suffered to grow as a tree grows in a forest, and takes its chance of storm or sunshine. This which is good for oaks and pines, is not good for man. The general atmosphere around him is infected, and the juices of the moral plant are often themselves unhealthy.’—p. 87.

As one half of the work before us consists of an Essay on Political Rights and Obligations, it is necessary that we should give some account of the political opinions which the author advocates. His great principle is, that the *moral law is our authoritative guide in politics as it is in every other department of human duty*. In prosecuting this argument, the author's acquaintance with the history of nations, with the economy of states, with the working of the theories of government, or with the principles of political science, is neither profound, extensive, nor critical ; yet he shews considerable sagacity as well as soundness in exposing the doctrinal fallacies and the practical mischiefs which have sprung, both in this and in other countries, from the neglect of simple morality in the management of public affairs.

The fundamental principles of political philosophy are concisely expressed :

(1st.) ‘ Political power is rightly *possessed* only when it is possessed by the consent of the community :—

(2nd.) ‘ It is rightly *exercised* only when it subserves the welfare of the community ; and—

(3rd.) ‘ Only when it subserves this purpose by *means* which the moral law permits.’

Brief and summary as these enunciations are, they are illustrated at considerable length with no small skill, judgment, and knowledge of prevailing opinions and practices ; and they are applied to nearly every question affecting the constitution of the government,—the state and the administration of the

laws,—religious establishments—patriotism, slavery, and war. In most of these discussions, it appears to us, the author's mind labours under the difficulty of consistently following out his theory without committing himself to political doctrines, with whose advocates and followers he expresses great anxiety not to be identified. He is continually hampered, moreover, with the manifest impracticability of some of his plans of improvement, and that in a manner which would only excite the scorn of the politician, hardened and hackneyed in the ways of the world, towards the simple writer and his arcadian fancies. It seems to have been clear to the writer's own mind, as it certainly is to ours, that until the entire frame of individual morality is regulated by the high standard for which he so conscientiously and so earnestly—and, we must add,—so ably contends, it is not possible that the extended and complicated affairs of nations can be brought within even a considerable distance of the mark at which he would place them. So far, however, are we from thinking that either the principles of the book are unsound, or that his applications of them to questions of jurisprudence and government are unwarranted, that we gratefully rejoice in seeing such principles so applied, and applied with so much coolness of thought and undeviating energy of purpose.

We believe it would be a great blessing to our country, and ultimately to all the nations of the world, if indolent acquiescence in things as they are, impetuous agitation for specific changes, and corrupt or stupid opposition to every effort towards improvement—the three great elements of political retardation,—*could* be so far overcome as to gain a patient audience for the calm appeals to enlightened reason and unfettered conscience, which give to a large portion of this essay so much of the vividness of truth and of the majesty of virtue. The comparison of superficial notions with well-considered thoughts on any subject is always refreshing to the intelligent reader. The contrast of temporizing expedients with fixed principles raises the mind to a sense of dignity. The penetration of moral daylight into the dark haunts of political crime and legislative blunders is full of sublimity, assuring us of a government which can never be accused of error, of a law which is the utterance of supreme goodness, and of a tribunal before which we shall all stand to abide the issues of eternity!

It is not our opinion, nor indeed do we gather that it was Mr. Dymond's, that such alterations as he believed to be required by the unswerving principles of morality, are likely to be soon adopted. We think it not only unlikely, but impossible, except as the result of instilling the principles them-

selves into nascent minds, and ever urging on those who embrace them to act upon them to the utmost of their power; commending them by the graces of example, and upholding them by argument, and humble steadfastness. In proportion to the real truth of any principles—such especially as affect on a large scale the character of men and the destiny of nations—is the trial of spirit that must come to him who understands and loves them. He must lay his account with being misapprehended, misrepresented, laughed at, neglected, hated, and sometimes trampled in the dust or even bathed in his own blood. But if what he holds is true, he knows it must some day be preached, and if his conscience tells him that it is his duty to affirm and vindicate that truth, there is no form of mere power that can stifle it in his bosom, or confine it there. It is not the speculative belief of remote truths and abstract propositions that fills the ranks of martyrs, but facts clearly seen, rights firmly maintained, principles strongly grasped,—freedom,—virtue, and—religion. It was not always that such men as Hampden, Sidney, and Russell, would have been understood in England: there are gorgeous lands in Europe and in Asia, teeming with splendid people, rich in history, and chivalry, and poetry, and military glory, where such names would have no power to touch men's spirits now. But what power they have among *us*! and why? but because these men saw the true—loved the good—stood up for the right;—and thus opened those fountains of national greatness and prosperity which can never cease to flow but with the ruin of the country they have fertilized and blessed.—Let no man put away from him the substance of this essay, saying that it is not practical. If there be any moral truth, any foundation of right and wrong, very much of the discussion is of that nature which claims the attention of every conscientious reader; the conclusions drawn by fair reasoning from sound moral principles, are not of a kind to be trifled with; they are capable of application, and they ought to be reduced to practice.

We have said that some of the author's plans of improvement are offered with the apparent consciousness of difficulty. We must now go further, and say that, in our view of moral obligations in connection with political science, his survey is incomplete: he takes no notice, for example, of the momentous questions relating to commercial freedom; and some of his opinions strike us as narrow, savouring of prejudice, betraying a want both of theoretical accuracy and of practical wisdom, and likely to do more harm than good, if they should happen to be propagated among certain sorts of men in seasons of political excitement. Many of the errors which precipitated and disgraced

the French revolution were nearly *allied*, it should be remembered, to the profoundest political truths; but, unhappily, they were spread abroad by men wanting in discernment of the shades by which truth is darkened into error, and they were eagerly caught up by others who cared not for either truth or right, or any thing but the flattery of the silliest vanity, or the glutting of the most ferocious passions.—Though we do not agree with Mr. Dymond in his opinions on the *rights* of self defence, we would cherish with him the spirit of forbearance. We differ from him in the wide question of the *abstract unlawfulness* of war, but we would go all lengths—not involving the breach of what we revere as moral bonds—in urging and promoting peace.—Even with these abatements in our estimation of this essay, we still commend it to the candid and discriminating reader as a contribution towards the truth, fully satisfied that in the end more good arises from the honest though imperfect inculcation of political morality, than evil from intermingling with the lesson the mistakes of a good and conscientious man. Alas! the tendencies of society are not on the side of squeamishness. Excessive refinement of moral feeling has not yet invaded halls of legislation, or courts of justice: neither the press nor the election booth are in immediate danger from this quarter. We fear that, for a great while to come, the excess and danger will be, as in times past, on the other side. Then who does not perceive the importance of enforcing, universally, and at all seasons, the great principle which these essays were written to illustrate:—that in every act of life, through all the departments which the progress of civilization and the institutions of society have created, it is required of man that he shall do the will of God?

Whether it may be reasonably objected to a work of this description, that it does not include a consideration of the highest motives for obedience to the will of God, we will not now undertake to determine. We acknowledge, however, that we do not look on any moral treatise as complete, and likely to gain the practical end for which it is composed, in which these motives are not lucidly and earnestly exhibited. We believe that the Christian revelation is founded on the eternal and immutable principles of moral truth, as well as on the glorious mystery of grace; and that the harmony of those principles with this mystery constitutes the grandeur of the gospel. It follows that, whilst pure morality is the natural fruit of Christian faith and spiritual life, we have no security for the production of the former, but in the cultivation of the latter. For this reason, we close the present observations with expressing our belief that a full, consistent, and energetic work on morals is still a desideratum in modern literature.

Art. V. *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, embracing their Antiquities, Mythology, Legends, Discovery by Europeans in the sixteenth century, Re-discovery by Cook, with their Civil, Religious, and Political History from the earliest traditionary period to the present time.* By James Jackson Jarves. London: Moxon. 1843.

THE problems of history may be solved either on a narrow or an extended scale. Although they do not admit the same precision as the demonstrations of pure mathematics, wherein that which is found true concerning any particular figure is sufficiently determined concerning the class of figures to which it belongs, yet, by a careful discrimination of agreements and differences, general laws may be ascertained according to which the phenomena of human history may be classified, understood, and foretold. There are, undoubtedly, advantages in the study of the changes which have affected the more important and extended sections of the race of man. It is interesting to trace revolutions, great in themselves, and still greater if contemplated as the cause of others which follow them within or beyond their immediate circle. There are some benefits, however, peculiar to the investigation of history on a narrower field, and within the compass of a smaller and less notable population. In this latter case, causes are commonly associated more immediately with their effects. The web of history consisting of fewer threads, is less tangled and more easily unravelled. The actions and thoughts of men present themselves in more distinct forms, becoming thereby readier objects of inquiry and knowledge. There is a pleasure, also, in deviating from the beaten track, and in furnishing new illustrations of those general principles which are found to pervade the history of a race which presents itself under many varieties, but has been made of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth. The history of a nation's progress to civilization and greatness, written and perused by those who have passed through their national infancy, and are therefore by experience qualified to understand the events of which they write and read, cannot fail to prove interesting and profitable.

In the midst of the vast Pacific ocean, towards the northern part of it, lie the Sandwich Islands. There are eight large inhabited islands, with some few others small and uncultivated. The largest and most important island of the group, and that which often gives its name to the rest, is Hawaii, or, as some have called and spelt it, Owhyhee. Their title of Sandwich islands was given them in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the Admiralty, when they were discovered by Captain Cook. The present knowledge, civilization, and enter-

prise of the inhabitants afford a reasonable prospect of their increasing influence in the world, while their central position must render these islands of the utmost value to commercial nations. For the voyager in crossing the Pacific, whether by wind or steam, through air or water, they will furnish a desirable haven. The wits of a coming age may possibly speculate on the affinity between their early title, and the position they shall occupy as the refreshment rooms for travellers from the ends of the earth. The British public, within the last few years, has obtained various information respecting these islands from the works of Ellis and Stewart, and now an American has written the above chronicle of the kings of Hawaii, and published for the world, if it pleases to read, the formal history of the Sandwich Islands. It is something more than a mere chronicle of kings. The title of the volume, though a long one, is not too full a description of the matter which the book contains. There is no want of ample information respecting the numerous topics of which the writer treats. The first four chapters are occupied with the natural history of the islands, the traditions, ceremonies, warlike and domestic habits, and physical condition of the inhabitants. The fifth chapter commences the history in relation to Europeans. Our author thus states his opinion, that our countryman, Captain Cook, was not the first European who visited these distant shores.

'Not a reasonable doubt can exist that the Hawaiian islands were visited by Europeans two centuries or more before the era of Cook. The knowledge of such events has been perpetuated in numerous traditions, which coincide with much collateral evidence. The precise time of these visits it is now impossible to ascertain, though from the reigns to which they are referred, and the few particulars which have been preserved relative to them, they must have been long anterior to that of the English navigator. If their original discoverers were the Spaniards, as is most probable, they were acquainted with their position previous to the seventeenth century. In an old chart of that period, 'Captured by Admiral Anson in a Spanish galleon, a cluster of islands called La Mesa, Los Majos, La Desgraciada,' is found delineated as situated in the same latitude as the Hawaiian islands, and bearing the same relative situation to Roca Partida as on modern charts, though several hundred miles farther eastward. As the Spanish charts of that time were not remarkable for accuracy, the discoveries of Quiros, Mendana, and others, in the Pacific, being also placed in the same relative nearness to the coast of America, this may have been an error either of calculation, or the engravers, or design. Further proof must be derived from the aborigines themselves. Cook found in the possession of the natives of Kauai two pieces of iron; one a portion of a hoop, and the other

appeared to be part of the blade of a broadsword. The knowledge and use of iron was generally known. These relics may have been the fruit of the voyages of the natives themselves to some of the islands more to the westward, which had been visited by Europeans, or they may have drifted ashore attached to some portion of a wreck; else were left by foreigners themselves—a supposition which, as it coincides with the native traditions, is the most plausible. Tradition states that ships were seen, many generations back, to pass the islands at a distance. They were called Moku (islands), a name which vessels of every description have since retained. Several accounts of the arrival of different parties of foreigners exist.'—pp. 88—90.

Several traditions of the natives respecting the visits of wonderful strangers at different times, are then recorded. Whatever may have been the case in regard to this subject, the recollection of these visits at the time of Cook's arrival appears to have been exceedingly indistinct, so as scarcely to prepare the natives for renewed intercourse with Europeans.

'The appearance of Cook's ships, when he first made the islands of Niihau and Kauai, on the 19th of January, 1778, was, to their unsophisticated senses, novel, fearful, and interesting. Canoes filled with wondering occupants approached, but no inducement could prevail upon them to go on board, though they were not averse to barter. Iron was the only article prized in exchange; the use of other things was unknown, and even ornaments at first despised. On the following evening the ships came to anchor in Waimea Bay, on the south side of Kauai. As the islanders were not generally apprised of their arrival until morning, their surprise was extreme. They asked of one another, 'What is this great thing with branches?' Some replied, 'It is a forest which has moved into the sea.' This idea filled them with consternation. Kaneonea and Keawe were then chief rulers, and reigned over both islands. They sent men to examine the wondrous machines, who returned and reported abundance of iron, which gave them much joy. Their description of the persons of the seamen was after this manner: 'Foreheads white, bright eyes, rough garments, their speech unknown, and their heads horned like the moon;' supposing their hats to be a part of their heads. Some conjectured them to be women. The report of the great quantity of iron seen on board the ships excited the cupidity of the chiefs, and one of their warriors volunteered to seize it, saying, 'I will go and take it, as it is my business to plunder.' He went, and in the attempt was fired upon and killed. The wonderful news spread rapidly. It soon reached Oahu, from whence one Moho, a Hawaiian, carried the particulars to Kalaniopuu, king of Maui. The strange spectacle of the vessels, with their sails, spars, and flags, were minutely described. 'The men,' he said, 'had loose skins (their clothes), angular heads, and they were gods indeed. Volcanoes belching fire, burned at their mouths (tobacco-pipes), and

there were doors in their sides for property—doors which went far into their bodies (pockets), into which they thrust their hands, and drew out knives, iron, beads, cloth, nails, and everything else.’—pp. 96—99.

The conduct of Cook towards these islanders was utterly unworthy of a great man. He took advantage of his superiority in knowledge to impose on their credulity and ignorance, affected rather than refused the homage rendered him as a god, and on many occasions practised tyranny and extortion. Although at first the simplicity of the natives allowed him to employ this unjustifiable conduct with success, the novelty of his character, and the imaginary powers with which they had invested him, gradually ceased to hold in terror minds naturally sagacious and alive to observe injustice or deceit. His lamentable and cruel death, according to their barbarous warfare, and scarcely in opposition to the principles which regulate the conflicts of nations professedly civilized and Christian, must be regarded as a natural retribution of his previous conduct. It was indeed an action greatly to be deplored, but one in which the exasperation and ignorance of the savage furnished a great diminution of the guilt of the offence. Whilst the death of Cook is often spoken of and described as a foul murder, we may properly enquire the difference between *it* and conduct which has received from many a vain-glorious nation the most authentic and substantial applause. Outrage committed by a savage on an educated and civilized man is certainly not a more heinous offence than when it occurs between parties on an equal elevation of knowledge and refinement. It is well that, at least when the impulse of vengeance has died away in the heart of a nation, it should rightly measure the actions by which that vengeance has been aroused, and be prepared to apply to its own conduct the same principles according to which it would condemn the cruelties of others. Our author thus describes the conduct of Capt. Cook :

‘Great numbers of both sexes flocked around Cook to pay him divine honours. Among them was a decrepid old man, once a warrior, but now a priest. He saluted Capt. Cook with the greatest veneration, and threw over his shoulder a piece of red cloth. Stepping back, he offered a pig, and then pronounced a long harangue. Religious ceremonies similar to this were frequently performed before the commander. The punctilious deference paid Cook when he first landed was both painful and ludicrous. Heralds announced his approach and opened the way for his progress. A vast throng crowded about him. Others, more fearful, gazed from behind stone walls, from the tops of trees, or peeped from their houses. The moment he approached, they either hid themselves, or covered their faces with great apparent awe; whilst those nearer

prostrated themselves on the earth in the deepest humility. As soon as he passed, all unveiled themselves, rose, and followed him. As he walked fast, those before were obliged to bow down and rise as quickly as possible; but not always being sufficiently spry (?) were trampled on by the advancing crowd; at length the matter was compromised, and the inconvenience of being walked over avoided, by adopting a sort of quadruped gait; and ten thousand half clad men, women, and children were to be seen chasing, or fleeing from Cook on all fours. On the day of his arrival, Cook was taken to the chief Heiau, and presented in great form to the idols. He was led to the most sacred part, and placed before the principal figure, immediately under an altar of wood, on which a putrid hog was deposited. This was held towards him, while the priest repeated a long and rapidly-enunciated address; after which, he was led to the top of a partially-decayed scaffolding. Ten men, bearing a large hog, and bundles of red cloth, then entered the temple, advanced near him, and prostrated themselves. The cloth was then taken from them by a priest, who encircled Cook with it in many folds, and afterwards offered the hog to him in sacrifice. Two priests, alternately and in unison, chanted praises in honor of Lono; after which they led him to the chief idol, which, following their example, he kissed. Similar ceremonies were repeated in another portion of the Heiau, where Cook, with one arm supported by the high priest, and the other by Captain King, was placed between two wooden images. He was then anointed on his face, arms, and hands with the chewed kernel of a cocoa nut, wrapped in a cloth; the disgusting rites were completed by drinking awa, which was first prepared in the mouths of attendants, and then spit out into a drinking vessel, and being fed with swine meat, which, as the greatest mark of civility, was first chewed for him by a filthy old man. What opinion must be formed of the religious character of a highly gifted man who could thus lend himself to strengthen and perpetuate the dark superstitions of heathenism?—pp. 102, 103.

An account of the fatal attack on Captain Cook, together with all the unhappy circumstances from which it arose, is given at considerable length. Want of space forbids us to quote it, and it is probably more or less familiar to our readers. The early history of a nation rising into importance and independence is generally distinguished by the presence of some superior and enterprising spirit, who is able to consolidate its forces and impart to its operations unity and strength. The annals of our nation present us Egbert, and the still more illustrious Alfred. This consolidation partakes sometimes of a civil, and at other times of a religious nature. An instance of the latter kind occurs in the reign of Numa at Rome. The hero of the Hawaiian history is Kamehameha. Before his time the islands were subject to the dominion of numerous petty chiefs, whose private quarrels were determined by the strength and blood of their subjects. By great activity and energy of mind, combined with bodily qualifications not to be despised in the struggles of

a savage state, Kamehameha succeeded in reducing all the islands under one monarchy. He encouraged Europeans to settle in his dominions, and promoted them to offices of trust and importance. Under his wise and pacific government laws were enacted and promulgated; property acquired a permanent value; and intercourse and commerce with other nations rapidly increased. In such projects of internal policy and foreign alliance Kamehameha received great assistance from the wise and justly celebrated Vancouver, who concluded a friendly treaty with him on behalf of the British government. The king, during the latter part of his life, received intelligence of the progress of the gospel in the island of Tahiti, and seems to have expressed a desire to become acquainted with the truths of the Christian faith. He died at the age of sixty-six, on the 8th of May, 1819. His character is thus sketched by the historian of Hawaii.

‘ If judged by his comparative advantages, he may be justly styled the Napoleon of the Pacific. Without the worst traits of his prototype, he possessed, according to the situation he occupied, equal military skill, as vigorous an intellect, and as keen a judgment as his illustrious contemporary; a like force of character in bending wills to his own, and a similar ingenuity in adapting circumstances to his designs. Nothing in intellectual or physical nature that arrested his attention proved beyond his grasp. It was his misfortune not to have come in contact with men whose moral qualities were sufficiently pure and developed to have rightly influenced his religious aspirations. He felt himself, and justly so, above them all, the ruling mind; avarice, drunkenness, lust, and tyranny, the besetting sins alike of civilized and savage monarchs, he manly withstood. To this day his memory warms the heart and illumines the national feeling of every Hawaiian. They are proud of their old warrior king; they love his name; his deeds form their historical age; and an enthusiasm everywhere prevails, shared even by foreigners who knew his worth, that constitutes the firmest pillar of the throne of his son.’—p. 188.

By the death of this powerful prince, idolatry sustained, amongst other changes, a severe shock in the hold which it still retained over the customs and manners of the islanders. Increased knowledge had demonstrated the absurdity of the rude pagan worship, and scepticism as to the creed of heathenism generally prevailed. The Hawaiian nation, in its religious condition, was much as the tribes of Hindoostan are becoming every day. On the 30th March, 1820, the first missionaries reached Hawaii from America, and, notwithstanding opposition offered on the part of artful and depraved Europeans, they were cordially received. Their progress in improving the physical and spiritual condition of the inhabitants began rapidly to appear. Many of the chiefs sought their counsel, and the instruc-

tion which they communicated in the useful arts, contributed greatly to increase their influence. The printing press was established, and the highest personages in the state, in common with the multitude, were taught to read. Marriage was solemnized in the island, and the licentiousness and barbarism of savage life, although manifesting themselves in occasional and sudden outbreaks, gradually declined. The influence of the missionaries, and the arrival of many vessels from the United States, increased the association between the kingdom of Hawaii and the Americans.

In 1824, the king and queen visited England, where they were courteously entertained by his Majesty George IV. Whilst in this country they were attacked with measles, and the disease, in both instances, proved fatal. Their remains were conveyed, with appropriate respect, to Hawaii, in the *Blonde* frigate, commanded by Lord Byron. An influential party was speedily formed in the island in opposition to the missionaries. The motives which actuated it, appear to have been hatred of their power, the love, in some instances, amongst Europeans of licentiousness, which the presence of the missionaries had effectually arrested, and in part, according to our author, jealousy in the minds of the British of American influence.

The year 1827 witnessed the introduction, we regret to say, under the auspices of the British consul, of the Romish mission of the Jesuits. Great opposition was, at first, manifested on the part of the government to their settlement. The priests were repeatedly requested and ordered to remove, but either by stratagem or boldness maintained their position. The chiefs, accustomed in pagan times, to the habits and exercise of arbitrary power, were unacquainted, as well they might be, with the principles of religious liberty, and in some instances oppressed the papists in defence of protestantism. Three civil powers, the French, the English, and the American, became more or less interested in the termination of these religious disputes. The priests, being dismissed from the state of Hawaii, returned, and were compelled by the government to leave in the vessel in which they came. The owner of this vessel, wearing English colours, though himself a Frenchman, refused to receive the priests again on board, and being obliged so to do, protested that his vessel had been seized by the Hawaiian government, and claimed damages to the amount of 50,000 dollars. The French, by force of arms, sustained the exorbitant demands made by the French jesuits. The English had for some time vacillated, according to the personal preferences of the commanders of English vessels. America scarcely interfered in the dispute. The admiral, Du Petit Thouars, whose name has

become famous in the islands of the Pacific as the military upholder of French Jesuitism, arrived soon afterwards. It was arranged by him and the captain of an English sloop, with the government of Hawaii, that the priests should remain until an opportunity of leaving occurred; and that during their residence, they should conform to the laws of the country. By these documents, observes Mr. Jarves, it is evident that they admitted the right of the government to keep from their border individuals of any nation dangerous to the state. The dispute, however, was by no means yet terminated. By various subterfuges, the Jesuits contrived to maintain or acquire a footing in the islands. The chiefs became exasperated, and proceeded to persecute the native papists. At last, on July 10th, 1839, the French frigate, the *Artemise*, arrived at Honolulu, the chief town of the islands; the admiral, Laplace, declared that by refusing to tolerate the Romish priests, the government of Hawaii had insulted France; he demanded, on her behalf, that the catholic worship should be declared free throughout the Sandwich islands; that a site for a catholic church should be given in the capital, and that 20,000 dollars should be paid into his hands as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty. French wines and brandy were also to be received at a duty not exceeding a certain amount. In the most hasty and arbitrary manner these terms were forced on the government of Hawaii. A comparatively defenceless people had only to choose between them and utter and immediate ruin. Jesuit priests and French brandy were accordingly preferred to the devastation of French ammunition. The inhabitants of Hawaii are still liable to the exorbitant demands of the Romish priesthood, sustained as they may be by the first ship of war that arrives at the island. England experiences, we imagine, sufficient regret for her unnecessary interference in the quarrels of her neighbours; and in national proceedings, as in the lives of individuals, the common proverb ought to be correct, that a burnt child dreads the fire. It surely, however, becomes her to co-operate with the United States in a strong remonstrance and avowal of her determination to sustain the liberties of an ancient ally, and to protect the rights of her own subjects. In our estimation, war, apart from its uncertain issue, is too terrible an evil to be lightly or unadvisedly undertaken. It must be an extreme case which presents it as the preferable alternative. If, however, British frigates, kept afloat by the expenditure of British taxes, and bearing with them professedly the armed champions of British rights, are to be found on the high seas, the presence

of one among the islands of the Pacific ocean might restrain any future aggression of such admirals as Du Petit Thouars, and Laplace. We rejoice in any acts of royal intercourse and hospitality which may tend to banish an absurd and mischievous rivalry between two powerful neighbours. Without the shedding of blood, always a dubious method of maintaining justice, the moral power of Great Britain and of the states of America, if wisely and firmly exerted, will be found sufficient to defeat the advance of priestly tyranny in alliance with military strength.

We thank Mr. Jarves for his able volume. It has some of the peculiarities of the style of his country, which may offend the ear and taste of critical Englishmen, and displays also a not unnatural partiality towards Americans and their proceedings. It forms, however, a noble monument in the facts which it records to the united progress in these islands of Christianity and civilization.

Art. VI. *Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science.* Part III. *Mechanical Philosophy.* Part IV. *Horology and Astronomy.* By William B. Carpenter, M.D. Foolscep 8vo. pp. 567. 1843. London.

OUR readers may recollect that, about two years ago, we noticed with approbation a popular Treatise on Vegetable Physiology, which appeared as the First Part of the Series whose title we have quoted above. The name of the writer was not at that time attached to it; but we ventured to assert that 'the talents and attainments of its author are evidently such as to qualify him to take his station as an original author, experimenter, and discoverer, amongst the most exalted sons of science.' A delay took place in the continuation of the work, but it has now passed into the hands of another publisher; and, from the regularity with which the parts have followed one another since the change, we anticipate the uninterrupted completion of the series. The author's reputation as a physiologist, founded upon his two elaborate Treatises on Comparative and Human Physiology must be well known to many of our readers; and those treatises in themselves afford sufficient evidence of his attainments in general science, to warrant us in looking forward with confidence to the satisfactory execution of that portion of the Popular Cyclopædia, which is devoted to the branches of knowledge included under this head.

The two parts before us (which make up one volume) may be taken as a fair sample of this part of the work. The first ne-

cessarily bears a general resemblance to many elementary treatises on mechanics already before the public; but it differs from them, in its combination of a higher philosophical tone than is usual in such works, with the simplicity which is required for its adaptation to the previously uninstructed reader. Moreover, from the connexion existing in the author's mind, between the subjects of this and of other treatises in the series, many facts and principles are introduced, which do not ordinarily find a place in Treatises on Mechanics, but which give to the subject a greatly increased interest. Of this kind of illustration we may select the following from the first chapter, on what is usually a very dry and repulsive subject—the General Properties of Matter, as a fair illustration.

'This attraction of solid bodies for gases produces several important results in the economy of nature. There are many insects, which, although they breathe air, are inhabitants of the water; and they are enabled to surround themselves with a film of air, by its adhesion to their hairy bodies, which they can carry down with them for use at a considerable distance beneath the surface. In the same manner, the diving spider carries down successive quantities, by which it gradually fills its delicate little bell with a quantity sufficient for its supply during the whole winter; the amount of adherent air is so considerable, that the spider cannot descend by its own weight, but is obliged to creep, with considerable muscular exertion, down any stems or leaves that may conduct it from the surface of the water to its destination. There is another most important practical result, that arises from the attraction exercised over gases by many porous substances, which will absorb and retain quantities of gaseous matter equal to many times their own bulk. Thus newly-burnt charcoal will absorb 90 times its bulk of ammonia (the pungent gas contained in spirits of hartshorn), and 35 times its bulk of carbonic acid (the foul air of wells, caverns, &c., also produced by the breathing of animals, the burning of charcoal, &c.). It will also take in watery vapour; the weight of the charcoal being in some cases increased nearly one-fifth by a week's exposure to air. Other porous substances possess the same property, though usually in a less degree; and it is by the exercise of this attraction by our soil, for the ammonia and carbonic acid of the atmosphere, that a large proportion of the nourishment obtained by plants is derived. So large a quantity of common air is sometimes condensed by powdered charcoal, that a great amount of heat is given out by it, according to principles which will be explained in the treatise on Heat; and in one instance which has come under the author's knowledge, a cask of animal charcoal in powder had actually become red hot in the interior, from no other cause.'—pp. 28, 29.

Another example we may draw from a subsequent part of the same chapter; in which it will be seen that, in regard to one point of much interest, the divisibility of matter, the naturalist who studies the works of the Creator can arrive at conclusions

far more wonderful than those of the mechanician who confines himself to the examination of the productions of man. We are told (§ 52) that it is possible to discern a particle of gold, laid over silver by the process of gilding, which is calculated to weigh no more than 1-216 million-millionth of an ounce; but let us compare this statement (which, by the way, expresses a division that never has been actually made) with the following wonderful account of the recent discoveries of Ehrenberg.

'Again, there is found at Bilin, in Germany, a deposit of siliceous (flinty) character, which occupies a surface of great extent, (probably the site of an ancient lake,) and forms slaty layers of fourteen feet in thickness. This bed supplies the *tripoli* used by artisans in metal for polishing their work, and also the fine sand employed to form moulds for casting small articles in Berlin iron. For these purposes its consumption in Berlin alone is not less than from 50 to 60 cwt. yearly. It is almost entirely composed of the sheaths or coverings of a kind of animalcule, which has the power of separating flinty matter from the water in which it dwells, and of producing out of this a sort of case analogous to the shell of a crab or lobster. The length of one of these is about the 1-3500th of an inch; and it is hence calculated, that about 23 millions of them are contained in a cubic line of the sand, and 41,000 millions in a cubic inch. As a cubic inch weighs 220 grains, about 187 millions would be contained in a grain weight of this sand.

'The minuteness of these is yet surpassed by that of the animalcules of the iron-ochre, a yellowish-brown substance found in certain marshes. These are only about 1-12,000th of an inch in diameter; so that a cubic line would thus contain 1,000 millions of them, and a cubic inch nearly two million millions. Yet these animalcules must have each had a fabric composed of a number of parts, whose size would be small in comparison to that of its whole body. There seems, therefore, no limit whatever to the subdivision of material particles in the natural growth of animal bodies.'—pp. 40, 41.

This treatise differs, moreover, from others of its kind, which are generally but abridgments of larger and older works, in embracing the results of several interesting investigations of great practical importance. The following, in these days of railroad travelling, 'comes home to the business and bosoms' of all our readers:

'The fibrous structure on which depends the toughness of malleable or wrought iron, is liable to disappear under peculiar circumstances; and to give place to a crystalline structure, which will, like that of cast iron, be accompanied with great brittleness. This change depends upon a new internal arrangement of the particles; and may take place without any alteration in the external form of the substance. Thus, a wrought-iron furnace-bar, of whatever quality it may have originally been, is invariably converted, within a short time, into crystallized iron, by the alternate heating and cooling to which it is exposed; and the effect may

be still more speedily produced, by heating and *rapidly* cooling (as by quenching a few times in water) any piece of wrought iron. The same brittleness is produced by continually hammering a bar of iron at a low temperature. If it be hammered at welding heat, the very contrary result is obtained; but it is often found, in the manufacture of wrought-iron bars, that one portion has become quite brittle from being hammered too long after it has partly cooled, whilst the rest possesses the highest degree of toughness. The effect appears to depend upon a peculiar state of vibration into which the particles are thrown by the blows; and this vibration does not take place when the iron is softened by heat. If a small bar of good tough iron be suspended, and struck continually with small hand-hammers, so that a constant vibration is kept up, it becomes so extremely brittle, after the experiment has been continued for some considerable time, as to fall to pieces under the light blows of the hand-hammer, presenting throughout its structure a highly crystalline appearance. Any continual *jarring* will produce the same effect. A piston-rod has been known to undergo this change, in consequence of a ceaseless jarring to which it was subject, from not being fixed tightly into the piston; it broke short off, close to the piston, and presented at its fracture a highly crystalline appearance, whilst at a short distance it possessed the tough fibrous character, which (there was good reason to believe) originally belonged to the whole rod. It is, probably, to this cause that we are not unfrequently to attribute the breaking of the iron axles of carriages, carts, railroad carriages, &c. That some such change must have taken place in their interior structure seems evident from the fact that, in many instances, they have been used for years with much heavier loads; and that they have at last broken without any apparent cause, under lighter burdens and less strain than they have formerly borne. In these cases, the crystalline structure does not prevail equally through the whole axle, but is found in the highest degree in the part where the jar is most felt by it. The causes of this change are not yet properly understood. It takes place much more rapidly in the axles of railway-carriages, than in those of common road vehicles; and there is reason to believe that the electricity and magnetism which are produced in the working of the former have a share in the effect. However this may be, the knowledge of the possibility of this important change should cause great attention to the strength of the axles, in order to avoid such lamentable accidents as those which recently occurred from this cause on the Versailles and Birmingham railways.—pp. 16—18.

We might also notice, as an interesting scientific novelty, the account of the recent repetition of Cavendish's celebrated experiment, for the determination of the density of the earth, which has been performed under the direction of Mr. Baily; but these extracts will suffice to exhibit the plan and distinctive features of the treatise; and we shall, therefore, pass on to the second part, merely observing that we think the author has fully accomplished the purpose he has expressed in his preface, of 'carrying on his readers, step by step, from the known to the

unknown, without requiring from them more than an accurate acquaintance with the ground over which they have already passed.

We believe that the special introduction of the subject of Horology is a novel feature in a popular work ; it is not, however, by any means inappropriate ; for it serves well to connect the science of Astronomy, the very foundation of our precise knowledge of which, is the accurate measurement of time, with the subjects of the first part. The construction of ordinary clocks and watches is first explained ; and those elaborate and ingenious contrivances, on which the wonderful accuracy of chronometers depends, are then described, with the aid of numerous well-executed figures. The following quotations, containing some interesting original facts, respecting the importance of marine chronometers, and the perfection to which they have been brought, may serve as a specimen of this part of the treatise.

‘ It is surprising that, in spite of the great advantages resulting from the use of chronometers in navigation, many ships are sent to sea without them, even for long voyages. Not unfrequently must it occur, that the knowledge of the exact position of the ship, which may be obtained by the chronometer, produces a great saving of time, as well as contributes to the avoidance of danger. A remarkable instance of this was mentioned to the author, a few years since, as having just then occurred. Two ships were returning to London about the same time, after long voyages, one of them provided with chronometers, the latter destitute of them. The weather was hazy, and the winds baffling ; so that no ship, whose position was uncertain, could be safely carried up the British Channel. Confident in his position, however, the captain of the first ship stood boldly onwards, and arrived safely in the Thames ; whilst the other ship was still beating about in uncertainty near the entrance to the channel. The first ship discharged her cargo, took in another, set sail on a fresh voyage, and actually, in running down the channel, encountered the second ship still toilsomely making her way to her port !

‘ Of the degree of accuracy which chronometers are capable of exhibiting, some idea may be formed from the following statement, kindly communicated to the author by a gentleman practically conversant with them. A chronometer made by Molyneux, had its daily rate determined, in August 1839, to be a loss of seven seconds per day. It was then placed in a ship which traded to the coast of Africa, and was consequently exposed to great variations of temperature. Yet when again placed under careful observation, in November, 1840, (sixteen months afterwards,) its daily loss had only changed to 6·7 seconds, being a difference of only three-tenths of a second a day. As opportunities for ascertaining the real position of the ship, without chronometers, frequently occur at sea, any error in these may almost always be detected, before it has accumulated to any great extent ; but even supposing that no such opportunity had occurred for six months, and that the alteration of the rate had taken place at once, and had been entirely unknown, the whole

error would have been under a minute of time, and consequently less than fifteen miles of space. Another chronometer, constructed by Muston, which had made the same voyage, and been out about the same length of time, had its previous gaining rate of 1.9 seconds a day increased to 2.3 seconds; the difference being here four-tenths of a second. It is customary for two or more chronometers to be carried by the same ship, that they may check one another; for if one alone were trusted to, an accidental irregularity in its going might lead to great error. The average of several,—their errors counterbalancing each other,—will be most likely to give the real time with great exactness.'—pp. 354—355.

The department of Astronomy, though the subject of so many popular works, is here treated in a manner which is, we think, peculiarly adapted to convey a correct idea of the present state of that most interesting science; combining an explanation of its most familiar facts, with the highest scientific principles. The following quotations will give an idea of the author's plan:

'In a formal treatise on astronomy, it may be proper to begin with the first principles of the science, which are no other than the laws of motion and of mutual attraction, which have been stated and illustrated in the earlier part of this volume; and to carry out and apply these, so as to explain the movements and changing appearances of the heavenly bodies. Or, on the other hand, we might commence with the observed facts, and might bring them together in such a manner, as to make evident the real explanation of those facts; in each case avoiding all mention of the erroneous systems which have formerly prevailed, and which still have possession of the minds of the ignorant. It is, again, not an unfrequent or uninstrusive mode of commencing, to give a history of these systems, showing how long it was before the truth was arrived at, and explaining the various steps by which it was attained. In the following chapters, an attempt will be made to combine these three methods,—each having its particular advantages. The principal appearances, which strike every person of common observation, will first be noticed; and the explanation which the ancient philosophers gave of these, corresponding as it does with what seem to be the deductions made from them by common sense, will naturally follow. In the progress of time, however, more careful observation detected many circumstances which appeared inconsistent with this view; and after many attempts to make it conform to them, it was abandoned by the most intelligent seekers for truth in favour of another, which appeared at first sight less satisfactory, but which explains every principal phenomenon that could be discovered with the unaided eye, and even predicted some which were not actually witnessed, until the invention of the telescope afforded to astronomy precisely the assistance of which it then stood in need. By carefully combining the observations which were made on these more correct ideas, and with improved means, and by sagaciously reasoning upon them, those high and general principles were arrived at by Kepler and Newton, which give to the astronomy of the present time the character of such perfection and completeness.'—pp. 368, 369.

Those who plunge at once into the exposition of astronomical science from first principles, have frequently but little idea how much difficulty is felt by the uninstructed beginner, from the apparent inconsistency of these with the evidence of his own senses. But by following the course of the History of Astronomical science, without dwelling too strongly on exploded theories, so as to distract the attention of the student, the author has succeeded in showing forth the grand principles of the science as it now stands,—developed by the labours of Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, the Herschels (father and son), Laplace, and others of scarce inferior note—in the light of necessary results of correct reasoning upon the most familiar phenomena. The astronomy of the fixed stars,—raised into so much interest by the observations and sagacious guesses of Sir W. Herschel, and by the profound reasoning of Laplace,—and pursued with so much zeal by Sir J. Herschel, Professor Struve, and others,—receives its due share of attention in this Treatise; and those who desire to attain an acquaintance with its present state, will find it here briefly and clearly set forth. The following is the author's general summary of the celebrated 'Nebular Hypothesis' of Laplace; which has recently obtained almost demonstrative proof from the mathematical investigations of M. Comte, of which the results are given in the preceding paragraph.

'The nebular hypothesis, then, supposes that there was a time when matter existed in no other form than that of the diffused self-luminous vapour, of whose existence at the present time we have sufficient evidence; and that from the simple property of mutual attraction which the particles of this matter possess, its gradual concentration into solid masses commenced; whilst the mode in which this concentration would take place, produces the separation of each into smaller masses, having independent motions of their own. The particular size, number, and movements, of the solid bodies produced in each individual case must depend upon the size and form of the nebulous mass in which they originated. In our own system, this consolidation must have long been almost complete; we perceive no indications that it is still going on; but it is probable that the luminous atmosphere already described is gradually becoming condensed upon it, and that it is even drawing into itself the comets which revolve around it. The same obstruction which causes them to approach him more nearly in every revolution, must act also upon the larger masses of our system; and must cause them, in a period of almost infinite length, to be drawn into his sphere,—thus forming a part of the same mass at the period of their greatest condensation, as they did when their particles were most widely diffused.

'The idea of the nebular hypothesis appears to have been taken up and prosecuted at nearly the same time, by Sir W. Herschel and by Laplace;—the former, one of the greatest astronomical observers, and

the latter one of the most profound mathematicians, that the world has ever seen. In the estimation of the former, it derived its evidence from the various appearances which the heavens revealed to his penetrating gaze, indicating progressive change and formation; whilst in the mind of the latter it was the result of a train of reasoning of the very highest kind, and would probably have been to *him* little less satisfactory, if no evidence of change and progress had been obtained, provided the complete results accorded, which they have been shown to do. By many persons the nebular hypothesis is looked upon with suspicion, as substituting the idea of a self-existent matter for that of the Great First Cause; and Laplace has been stigmatised as atheist for the manner (perhaps too unguarded) in which he spoke of the influence of the Deity. But the same charge was brought against Newton, when he developed the application of the great law of gravitation, to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies, and, as we have seen, without the least foundation. For, after all, the question arises,—whence the nebulous matter itself—and how did its particles become endowed with the property of mutual attraction? The very fact, that, as we look backwards and forwards, there is still *progressive change*, leads us to perceive that the present order of things has not existed from all eternity, and that it is not destined to endure for ever. 'If we establish by physical proofs, that the first fact which can be traced in the history of the world, is, 'that there was light,' we shall still be led, even by our natural reason, to suppose that, before this could occur, 'God said, Let there be light.'—pp. 563, 564.

We should not do justice to the temper in which Dr. Carpenter has prosecuted his labours, if we did not quote the closing paragraph of his volume. It breathes the spirit of genuine philosophy, enlarged and purified by the disclosure of that clearer revelation with which the Divine goodness has supplied us. Nothing is more exhilarating than the spectacle of natural science, looking out from its narrow circle and its partial disclosures, to that more perfected state for which enlightened reason in common with revelation bids us look. Science and religion have been too long dissociated by the impiety and ignorance of man; and it gives us unfeigned pleasure to perceive in so able an investigator as Dr. Carpenter, the clear indications of a reverential regard for that fuller and more authoritative exposition of the Divine mind, which has been communicated to our race.

'Of the destiny of man, in that nobler state of existence to which reason and revelation alike point, we *know* nothing, but have abundant field for most delightful speculation. It is well that every one is left to form his own conception of it; and however elevated that conception, however exalted his imagination, we know that the reality will far transcend it, being such as 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' As the purest intellectual

pleasure of which the mind of man is susceptible in this state of being is derived from the contemplation of the power and wisdom displayed in the Creator's works,—and as his purest moral happiness is derived from the contemplation of that goodness which is manifested with equal universality and perfection, we cannot be wrong in the belief that a great part, at least, of the happiness of a future life shall consist in the more extended survey, which our nobler faculties and our purified feelings will enable us to take of the grand scheme of creation, and in the gradual approach towards the perfections of the Creator, which we shall thus be enabled to make. Things which at present appear devoid of expression, shall speak to us of Him; those which we now look upon through the mists of doubt and ignorance, or the darkness of error, shall then present themselves in the effulgence of His glorious brightness; and those which have led our finite understandings to some faint comprehension of His infinite greatness, or which have caused our hearts to expand in the contemplation of His perfect goodness, shall then be regarded by us with a yet deeper and higher interest, as the instruments by which the Creator deigned to lead our minds towards Himself,—the forms in which he clothed those attributes that our present gross apprehension cannot otherwise receive,—the material types of that spirituality, which, however apparently various in its operations, is one in its essence, and one in its design. To the inspired bard, in ages long gone by, did 'the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament show forth His handiwork.' How much more do they *now* reveal it to the philosopher who, by the study of their laws, has learned something of His infinite wisdom. How much more *will* they reveal it, when all the barriers that now obstruct the progress of the mind of man, shall be removed, and when, instead of a limited existence of 'three-score years and ten,' *Eternity* shall be the scope of his researches.'—pp. 566, 567.

We need not say much in the way of express commendation, as the materials with which we have furnished our readers will enable them to form their own judgment—which cannot fail to be a favourable one—on the work before us. For an enlarged knowledge of the facts of science, a philosophical acuteness in their analysis and arrangement, and a nice perception of the province of the teacher, the *Popular Cyclopædia* yields to none of its compeers; whilst its freedom from complexity, its simple and lucid style, and, above all, its power of awakening the spirit of inquiry and research in its readers, place it greatly above them.

Art. VII. *Hints for the Revival of Scriptural Principles in the Anglican Church.* By the Rev. G. Bird, Rector of Cumberworth. 8vo. London : Whittaker and Co.

IF report in the public papers speaks truth, the worthy author of this volume has already smarted for his frankness and fidelity. Verily the doom of Sisyphus awaits all who attempt to revive scriptural principles in the Anglican church. *Aut petis, aut urges, ruiturum, Sisyphe, saxum.* This forlorn hope has been essayed by a succession of honest but impolitic reformers, who have inherited more or less of the principles of puritans and nonconformists, but without some other qualities possessed by those heroic men. They may acquit their consciences by delivering their faithful protest, but they may rely upon it, no happier fate awaits them than that of rolling a stone up hill, which will uniformly recoil upon themselves, without effecting the slightest benefit to the cause they have espoused. We have no wish to taunt the honesty which impels them to advocate the revival of Scriptural principles in the Church of England, but we cannot resist the impulse we feel to ask them, how they ever expect to realize their object? What good have all the attempts at such reform effected within the last hundred or two hundred years, during which the most learned, pious, and prudent men have publicly pointed out the glaring discrepancies between Scriptural principles and those of the Church as by law established? They have indeed manifested the zeal and devotion of Curtius for their country's welfare, and have displayed the same heroism in casting themselves into the yawning and bottomless gulf; but though like him they have been heard of no more, they have not like him gained even the posthumous reputation of having healed the breach and saved their country.

Nothing is more distant from the thoughts of church rulers, nothing more abhorrent to their feelings, than the spiritual reform of the church. Some arrangements of its temporalities, some corrections of its race for wealth, and some rules for establishing a little more fairness, and a little less gambling in its lottery of prizes and blanks, may, after years of consultation and higgling with the prime minister, be conceded: but, as to a revival of Scriptural principles, it must appear to every practical man, that the proposal is about as rational as to revive the rotten timbers and crumbling walls of a decayed and tottering edifice. Better take it down at once, and build a new one; or, if that is too dangerous, then let all who are oppressed and alarmed by its condition, remove to a safer and more comfortable dwelling.

The very project of reviving Scriptural principles in the church has become not only utopian in the view of all sober persons, who have in consequence either left it, or made up their minds to shut their eyes and continue to groan in secret over the abomination of desolations, but it has become the mockery and scorn of the rising and dominant party—who say, ‘Reform, indeed, we have had too much of reform already, and must labour to set the broken limb of the reformation. We detest your reformation; and shall make all prudent haste back to the original condition, from which your predecessors boasted that they had reformed the church, when they only perverted it from the perfect model of tradition and antiquity.’ At present, undoubtedly, church reformers in the line of our author are by no means in request. They must not expect to be consulted by the bishops, or honoured even by lay patrons for their fidelity. They preach to the winds, and bring a straw against the tide. The current of anti-reform or re-reform is rising and swelling beyond all former precedent. Not only is the cause espoused by this author more hopeless than ever, through the apathy and ignorance of the people of the church, but the departure from Scriptural principles is widening, the advocates of unscriptural superstitions are increasing in number and in boldness; and what ecclesiastical wisdom and learning may next propose for the adoption of the Anglican church, no man out of their councils can augur. After the utterance of the recent metropolitan oracle, that the question to be debated by churchmen is not, ‘What saith the Scripture? but what says the church?’ who can hope to see a revival of Scriptural principles before the age of the Greek kalends, or who could expect anything but his lordship’s strenuous and pious opposition in so unchristian an enterprize. Do history and experience lift up their voice in vain to these modern advocates of Scriptural principles? Surely they are not ignorant of the fruitless efforts of reformers in past ages, and of the impregnable bulwarks of corruption which defied their courage, and laughed uninjured at the feebleness of their assault. It is in the simplicity of their heart, we are willing to hope, that they thus express the uneasiness of their consciences, and not for the sake of reconciling those disturbed consciences to evils which they denounce as sinful, but yet tolerate and sanction by their conformity. They have an alternative. If the attempt to procure such reforms as their views of Scripture deem necessary is in itself utterly hopeless, then, it appears to us, they ought rather to be meditating some good really practicable within the life of man, than for ever essaying what is as feasible as the drying up of the ocean, or a railroad voyage to the moon, and what a growing majority of their

brethren tell them shall never be conceded to them. With those who feel that they have, like the primitive apostles and ministers of Christ, a testimony to bear in the midst of a gainsaying and ungodly world, to the truth and purity of the gospel, and whose period of delivering it is rapidly ebbing away, we should hope it is now becoming a question of serious inquisition, how they may make their own Scriptural principles tell most speedily and effectually upon the ignorant and perishing masses around them, rather than how they may spin out theories of reform, which have only deluded the expectations and exhausted the energies of their predecessors.

Such men as our author, and some score or two of others whom we might name, men who have treated the question of church-reform with ability and candour, with probably some hundreds of others, who silently sympathise in their plans and efforts, but whose timidity and dependence prevent them from openly avowing what they inwardly feel to be grievous burdens upon their conscience, cannot but be aware, that they are so deeply in the minority, and that minority so obviously sinking still deeper, that there remains to them not the slightest chance of all their protests availing to the removal or alleviation of the most trivial of the many grievances which afflict their souls. Moreover, those very grievances of which they complain, those blemishes and plague-spots which *they* denounce, are the very beauties which the majority admire, the excellencies which inspire their veneration, and which they are not only resolved to preserve and fortify by every means in their power, but to augment and heighten, by adding some further touches of grace after the true ecclesiastical *antique*. The hope, therefore, of ever effecting the purpose which these worthy writers on church reform have in view, comes to a par with that of discovering the philosopher's stone, and the perpetual motion.

We deprecate, however, the charge of pronouncing upon this question a hasty opinion, or of being wanting in friendly feeling towards good and liberal men in the church; we shall, therefore, place before them and our readers generally, a brief view of the grounds on which we feel persuaded that no revival of Scriptural principles in the church of England can now be reasonably expected; save and except always the extraordinary and miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit, which might undoubtedly at once bring the whole body, or a large majority of the clergy, under the enlightening influence of Scriptural principles, to the total abandonment of their superstitions, the renunciation of their puerile fondness for antiquity, and the abjuration of their traitorous and disgusting sympathy with the hoary apostacy of Rome. This is, indeed, a desideratum upon

which we are not allowed to reason, and the ultimate effects of which might go further than churchmen even of the best school might like to anticipate; for were it to occur, then, according to our ideas of Scriptural principles, they must necessarily cease to be a state-controlled, and consequently a state-endowed church—since the latter, without the former, would be intolerable and perilous. But, setting aside such a supposition, and looking at the question of this said church reform, for which evangelical and conscientious men have long been waiting and praying, let us just glance at the means that might be deemed eligible, or within the reach of the reformers, and to which as practical men they may be supposed occasionally to turn their attention, whether with hope or despair we shall not inquire.

Some few years ago the number of evangelical men in the church was perhaps greater than at any period since the fatal St. Bartholomew's day. It was said, by competent authority, to amount to one fifth, or, as some sanguine calculators thought, one-fourth of the entire ecclesiastical fraternity. Even this was fearful odds. Three against one! Yet there was an approach towards hope, that if this leaven should go on to leaven the whole, or nearly the whole, lump, some day an effort might be made to reform the church's constitution, so as to get rid of the burdensome parts of the ritual, and relieve the consciences of spiritual men. Hence we have heard in public meetings of the clergy, prognostications uttered, that they should speedily be able to have a Convocation that would make the church what it should be. We have even heard some enthusiastic speakers at clerical meetings clamour for it, and almost *demand* it, as sure to bring about all they could wish. This cry has been raised at intervals ever since the powerful appeal made in the 'Free and Candid Disquisitions' of the Rev. John Jones, of Alconbury, more than a century ago, whenever powerful qualms of conscience have come over certain of the clergy. But of late the subject of the Convocation has been mooted on both sides. The anti-evangelicals have called for the restoration of the church's rights, and for what purpose the opposite party may shrewdly guess. The fact is, no party appears to be satisfied with the church as it is, though the reasons of dissatisfaction are wide as the poles asunder, and the objects for which the different parties ask church reform are at antipodes to each other. And no wonder, for there never was such another Noah's ark heard of since the day that the flood drove the clean and unclean beasts into a common shelter.

Supposing it one way or other eminently desirable, we come next to the inquiry, How is it ever to be effected, and what probability exists, that any constitutional authority either can or

will undertake to cleanse the Augean stable. The power that is constitutionally provided for such matters is the Convocation, consisting of the two houses of the clergy. Let us suppose, for a moment, that her Majesty was advised, by her prime minister, to concede to the Convocation the liberty to proceed to discuss and determine what matters needed reform—we have then to consider the complexion of the two parties that make up the church's parliament. No person can reasonably doubt, for a moment, that the Puseyite clergy in both houses would show an overwhelming majority. Would such a Convocation entertain, for one instant, proposals from the evangelical section of their own body, having in view the expurgation of the church from popish doctrines and ceremonies? Would those alterations be made in the liturgy and offices which that body is seeking to effect? Would baptismal regeneration, would sacramental efficacy, would apostolical succession, would the authority of tradition, and of the Nicene Fathers, stand the slightest chance of being disowned? Would they not rather be all declared by that *venerable* body to be most *venerable* truths of the gospel, and to be placed upon the same ground in the public formularies, and in the teaching of the church, as the sacred scriptures—yea, even as above the scriptures—because more certain and tangible? May we not go further, and ask—is there any reason to believe that the present powerful leaders of the new party would show such a degree of forbearance and toleration towards their evangelical brethren, protesting as they are sometimes doing against the popish doctrines, as to leave them in the quiet possession of their livings and curacies, and permit them to proceed undisturbed in the prosecution of their sacred functions? Is there not every reason to fear from the numbers, earnestness, and determination of the men, that they would first proceed to suppress all opposition to their own dogmas, all evangelical teaching, as now understood, and upon contumacy alleged and proved, take the next and final step, of ejecting from the church all clergy of the opposite school? The temper of the men is not at all obscurely intimated in their writings, and had they but liberty to wield the power of Convocation, there is every probability that their bulls would thunder as loud through the land as ever did those of Rome. Could the ecclesiastical senate be once revived, there is little doubt that another Bartholomew's day would disgrace British history. Now this appears to us, from the present state of the Anglican church, and the temper of its organs, so clear and certain, that we deem it in the main undeniable. Every evangelical clergyman and layman, if he reflects but calmly for a moment, must assent to our statement. If he have any doubts upon the subject, we could almost wish him the satisfaction of the experiment. Let him witness but one day's

sitting of this ecclesiastical body, with her Majesty's commission to proceed to business, and to open their mouths upon questions of church reform, and he would soon discover 'which way the wind blows.' It would not require many days to produce such a storm as might possibly make some of these worthy reformers glad to take shelter within the humble walls of our meeting-houses.

The Convocation! Yes, it would be at the present moment an edifying sight to have the English Convocation assembled, just to supply a set off to the Scottish; and why not? the two would furnish a pair of portraits, by which history might hereafter teach invaluable lessons upon the philosophy of establishments. In England, the scene would supply a counterpart to the Scottish upon a somewhat larger scale, and with more pomp both of machinery and costume. Here, the evangelicals would be expelled by a much larger proportion. The reformers of the church of England may henceforth bless their stars that the Convocation never meets for the despatch of business, and in future hold their tongues about reviving its powers, unless, indeed, they are ambitious of becoming martyrs. They may, not without some peril and constant uneasiness, pursue the course they have chosen, of writing against the inroads of popery; but as to the revival of Scriptural principles, or the reform either of their church constitution or the liturgy, they may never expect anything of the sort to be done by the Convocation, for no prime minister of England will ever allow it to sit again. Reform, therefore, from this quarter, such at least as these good men advocate, is mere matter for dreams.

The only other source of hope to the church-reformers is the parliament. The parliament of England has done strange things, and it may again. We presume not to prophecy upon such a body or such a subject. But we will venture to say, that, of all parties, they are the last that we should like to see engaged in such a work. Good churchmen themselves can scarcely wish them to undertake it. The less they intermeddle with religion and church-affairs, the better for all parties. Surely they have enough, and are likely to have enough, to do with worldly affairs; and if they had not, their competency to adjust theological questions might not only be fairly doubted, but their propensity to make bad worse might be confidently affirmed. What hope is there left then to the well-meaning advocates of church-reform upon scriptural principles? Some of them, perhaps most of them, would say their appeal is to the people—the protestant population, and that their hope lies in the attachment of the people to the pure word of God. We greatly fear there is as little hope in that quarter as in the others;

for, in the first place, ignorance and indifference possess the larger portion of the population ; another portion will acquiesce quietly like sheep in their shepherds ; and the remainder have already settled the question of church-reform for themselves, without waiting either for the Convocation or the parliament, by renouncing the state-church altogether, and forming different bodies of separatists, as their convictions and their circumstances lead them. Thus the whole affair of church-reform becomes a *caput mortuum*, and all essays and treatises upon it miss the mark. There can be no church-reform, but by secessions from the establishment. Let every man who perceives the growing corruptions and impending dangers, cease to lend his numerical strength to a system against which he is reclaiming, and prove his sincerity as a reformer, by acting out his own conceptions of what scriptural principles demand ; otherwise, that becomes true of him which was once said of a certain senator,—‘ the cause of the people has the shadow of his speech, but the government the substance of his vote.’

There are scores, perhaps hundreds of pious and upright men in the ministry of the church of England at the present moment, whose situation is growingly irksome ; who are compelled to go through services which their consciences feel to be unscriptural ; who are constrained to acknowledge as brethren men whom they know to be decided and public opponents of what they hold to be the most essential doctrines of the gospel ; and who see the ship in which they are embarked setting sail for the enemy’s port, the majority of the crew in a state of open treason against their divine sovereign, and themselves daily in jeopardy of being laid in irons for their loyalty to the only King of Zion ; and yet they try to wrap it all up with protests and pamphlets upon scriptural principles—when they ought to emulate the conduct of Moses, and standing in the door of the camp, cry out, ‘ Who is on the Lord’s side ? let him come unto me !’ We wish particularly to put this question to those true friends of the protestantism of England—Of two lines of procedure in the present circumstances of your church, which is likely to have the best effect, so far as your influence can extend, in perpetuating the principles for which the reformers contended and suffered,—your continuing in your present position—or your secession as a reformed episcopal community, reclaiming against the Puseyism, or popery of the day, and adhering to the doctrine of the reformers as understood by yourselves ?

These alternatives are, no doubt, at the present moment agitating many minds. Upon them we would offer a few observations, particularly in reference to that rule of conscience which we must presume to be adopted by every good man and faithful

minister, viz. to subserve the cause of the gospel most effectually while he lives, and take the best means for ensuring its perpetuity after he is dead. Let us then first assume the supposition—that such a man continues in the church of England, and faithfully preaches the gospel to his parishioners—he has at the present moment the prospect of being all his life long contradicted and persecuted by his brethren of the same church, and of being succeeded by a Puseyite, who will labour to undo all the work of his life, and when the favourable time arrives, of handing over the entire church to the dominion of Rome—or something as near to it as possible. Take the other side of the alternative, and suppose the body of yet uncorrupted and evangelical clergy and laity of the episcopal body, with two or three yet sound protestant bishops at their head, deciding at once to renounce a fellowship, in which there is and can be no real fraternity, and to commence a reform upon scriptural principles; this would carry not only a very considerable portion of church-people with it, and prove an invaluable barrier against the growth of popery, but it would tell most effectually and permanently upon posterity, in the preservation of those principles which this section of the church counts most dear and most important for the salvation of future generations. Let them wait a few years longer, and their own ranks will be gradually thinned, their adherents scattered and disheartened, the weight of their testimony lessened, and their influence on succeeding generations immensely weakened. At present they have a large body of the people with them; but if they suffer themselves to be supplanted by the spread of Puseyism, and their enemies to proceed in the propagation of error, and perversion of the people to popish ceremonies and doctrines, they will soon cease to have any weight or any voice in the religious affairs of their country. Already they are beleaguered on every side. The toils of their enemies are spread over the whole land, and the maintenance of their position is daily becoming more painful and difficult.

We have stated our own views of church-reform. Let us now hear our author. The present volume is a very singular one. The writer is evidently neither an Evangelical nor a Puseyite—neither a Spiritualist nor a Sacramentarian. It is beyond our skill to determine what he is, though, on some points, he lets us know what he is not. He is not a successionist, in the conventional sense of that term, nor is he a leveller, though he grievously lowers the authority of the clergy. He proposes many questions for the decision of the church, yet he never defines the authority to which he would submit. He preaches up discipline, and shows the utter abandonment of it in the practice of the church; but he still leaves it undetermined what shall be the final rule of discipline, and who should enforce

it. In short, though we have read the volume with close attention, and, we hope, becoming candour, yet we cannot find that its author is very anxious for any thing beyond the morality and benevolence of the gospel, and the restoration of that kind of discipline which should enforce these matters upon the observance both of clergy and laity. We are pleased with the frankness which exposes so fully the prevalent errors and delinquencies of the church, but we cannot say that the author's ideas of scriptural principles appear to us to be correct as a whole. He tithes mint, and cummin, and anise, and neglects the weightier matters of the law. He severely judges and condemns methodists and spiritualists; but, in the harshness of his judgment, commits the very sin of censoriousness for which he censures them. In fact, his own idea of Christianity approximates very nearly to the formalism against which he protests. The sound and faithful administration of gospel doctrine and discipline is not, we suspect, that for which he agitates, but a stricter definition of churchism, and a nearer approach to something like discipline. From all that we have been able to learn of his views, he would sanction any degree of latitudinarianism in theory, provided there were but some tolerable appearance of decency and seriousness—something like conformity with the pattern of primitive Christianity. It is possible, however, that we may have mistaken his real sentiments, for he writes so much like a theological Pyrrhonist, that we can find out little beyond these two points—that he wishes the church clearly to say what its sentiments and laws are, and then rigidly to enforce them.

There are many matters in which his sentiments appear to us highly unscriptural; but there are other matters in which he has ably exposed and exploded the notions of churchmen. Upon the theory of apostolical succession, he has produced a chapter which we will take upon us to say no Puseyite will answer or can answer. We can only wish that all his brethren would read it. Their lips would then be effectually sealed upon that question, and their treatment of other ministers of Christ would become less arrogant, and their own pretensions more modest and becoming. No extract can impart a just conception of the able and original manner in which he has treated that subject.

The pretence, however, to priestly authority and exclusiveness is, we expect, too flattering to the pride of human nature, and the dignity of office too convenient a stepping-stone to emolument and worldly consequence, to admit of any voluntary renunciation. The powers which have set up the imposition must in all probability be employed to destroy it—and the sooner the better—though we confess we have not at present much hope of seeing a conversion of the civil authorities to scriptural principles.

The chapter on the Church and State, although brief, much too brief, contains a very clear statement of what such a connexion implies, and a very able and satisfactory refutation of some of the principal arguments of its advocates. Our astonishment is that, with such views, the author can possibly remain a stipendiary of a state-church. One or two passages from this part of the work we must quote. After supposing various cases of amicable relationship between the church and state, he proceeds thus :

‘ Such amicable relations of a church and state are, therefore, quite consistent with a complete separation, with the most independent discharge of their respective duties.

‘ Connexion between church and state implies something more than this. It implies a settled compact between the two bodies—a compromise of principles ; it implies an agreement, expressed or understood, that the one body will do, or refrain from doing, something which it would otherwise have done, in accommodation to the views and principles of the other body ; it implies a submission of the one system to the other, or a mutual compromise—an engagement to reciprocal concessions,

‘ When applied to the church of England, the latter idea is usually attached to the expression, viz. that of reciprocal concessions. It is implied, that rights, or at least pretensions, of the church are conceded to the state, and that in return the state has conceded some rights, privileges, or advantages, which properly belong to itself.

‘ Now it will not require any lengthened argument to show that such a compromise of principles is not only derogatory to the dignity of a Christian church, but also that *it is utterly incompatible with its fundamental principles, utterly contradictory to its essential constitution.* (The italics are ours.) Religion is a thing, which, if it exist at all, must be paramount in the breast of the individual. The individual who deliberately allows a superiority, or even an equality, to any other principle, is neither in his character nor in his privileges a Christian—he is an alien from the commonwealth of Christ—he is a servant of Satan. It is no matter of degree ; he is not merely inferior as a Christian, in comparison with other Christians—he is not what is sometimes termed a less advanced Christian—he is no Christian at all. Again, Christianity, by which is intended here not the duties, the creed and the rites, but the mental aim and resolution ; not the practice but the principle, forms one indivisible whole ; it cannot be adopted in part and rejected in part. He who knowingly, habitually and determinedly rejects one single portion of the Christian scheme, is not a partial Christian—is not a Christian in most things and unchristian in one point—he is no Christian at all.

‘ A church is an association of Christians, combined for the sake of mutual encouragement in the practice of religion ; it is in itself no original source of truth, of duty, or of ritual obligation ; it has no power to alter, enlarge, or suppress any portion of the Christian religion ; it has no discretion in exalting or degrading its authority ; it is, in fact, merely a subordinate instrument of religion.

‘Neither is a church a self-instituted, purely voluntary society—it was instituted by the Son of God. Not only, indeed, are we commanded to associate, but certain express public forms are appointed to be observed by the Christian society. The Bible, in fact, may be considered as containing all the more important and general rules of the society; for, although there is some latitude allowed as to the particular details of ecclesiastical practice, the spirit which should animate all the regulations of the society, forms a subject of inspired instruction. * * *

‘The admission of a principle at variance with the Scriptures, or which leads to the neglect or contravention of one single Scriptural injunction, is an evident outrage upon all ecclesiastical consistency.

‘Let these considerations, therefore, be applied to the question of a connexion between church and state. The state, as such, is a purely human institution; it cannot, therefore, in its own nature, have any authority over a society of God’s direct appointment; it cannot, at least of its own right, have any independent authority in ecclesiastical matters. * * * *

‘It has been shown that no authoritative interference should be permitted which naturally leads to the neglect even of one single scriptural precept. Let it then be admitted, which can scarcely be disputed, that a state proceeds upon principles distinct from religion; let it be granted, also, as a matter of fact, that the majority, both of governors and governed, in a civil community, are immoral and irreligious; it follows, as a natural inference, that irreligious men, who, under a system which is not religious, undertake the management of ecclesiastical affairs, must, in a greater or less degree, sin against the scriptural precepts.’—pp. 131—135.

Mr. Bird examines very acutely and completely Dr. Chalmers’ famous argument for establishments derived from the analogy of demand and supply. ‘That religion is not like other commodities, sought after in proportion to its deficiency, but rather in the inverse ratio; in other words, the more depraved a man is, the more reluctant he is to seek for a spiritual remedy; and hence it is argued that the state, which is interested on its own account in the spread of religion, ought not to leave it, like other commodities, to be ruled by the free operation of trading principles—by the natural oscillancy of demand and supply.’ He then proceeds to complete this part of his work in the following manner:

‘Let the question be now contemplated in a historical light. The history of the Christian church may be divided into three marked epochs: the first embraces the period from the death of Christ to the reign of Constantine; the second forms the interval between the last mentioned event and the time of the Reformation; the time from the Reformation downward, forms the third epoch. Of these, the first era represents the separation of church and state; the second, their junction, and more particularly the supremacy, at least in name, of the church over the state; the last era is remarkable for the open and

avowed subjection of the church to the state. The first was an age of ecclesiastical purity—the second and third, ages of corruption. The first was the age of Christianity; the second, of hypocrisy; the third, of formality.


‘Now it is possible, that these facts are only accidentally contemporaneous with the different relations of church and state; still it must be allowed that such coincidences, whether fortuitous or otherwise, naturally suggest a doubt whether it is or is not really advantageous that a connexion of any kind should exist between the church and the state. If, also, independent investigation should lead us to conclude that the connexion is an evil, the fact now alluded to must serve to strengthen that conclusion.

‘On the whole, the practical inference arrived at, is as follows:—the church may assist the state, or the state the church; but no unauthorized compact justifies the slightest compromise of the liberties of the church, or the neglect of any single ecclesiastical duty.’—pp. 139, 140.

We need scarcely observe, in conclusion, that these are our own principles, and the author who avows them is theoretically a dissenter. Scarcely any dissenter would wish his views to be more clearly defined or more ably advocated. It is quite cheering to find that there are clergymen who have boldness enough to avow and publish them. In this respect Mr. Bird stands foremost, in the present age, as the honest but calm advocate of the principles taught in the Divine record. If a few more such men should be prompted to step forward at the present time to rebuke the madness of the church, and point out the unsoundness of its whole system, a powerful effect would be produced. A reaction might be anticipated. But still, unless a systematic reform could be effected, the present church-formularies would still remain to give countenance to the superstitions and errors of men disposed to magnify their importance, and arrogate superior authority. Is there then any hope for men who, like this honest disciple of Christianity, advocate and promise themselves the desired reform? We think, for the reasons before stated, there is none. And therefore the only consistent course dictated to such, alike by their own arguments, their own convictions, and the circumstances of the time, is to renounce their connexion with such monstrous enormities and corruptions, and to form for themselves a church upon scriptural principles. They would not only carry with them the hearty concurrence of all the truly pious and untainted part of their own people, but if that would be any consolation or support, the affectionate sympathy and fraternal recognition of all the dissenting communities.

Before the preceding article was penned, we had accidentally observed, in some provincial newspaper, that the publication of

Mr. Bird's 'Hints' had caused some significant *hints* of another kind to be conveyed to himself. These were alluded to in the commencement of our article. But notwithstanding, though we had heard of other living writers on church-reform, who had either been ejected, silenced, or informed by their superiors that their retirement from the church would be more acceptable than remonstrances, yet we were not prepared for so speedy and decisive a movement as Mr. Bird's expulsion in the present agitated and militant state of the whole ecclesiastical body. But so it is! Mr. Bird, we are informed by the newspapers, has ceased to be rector of Cumberworth. The circumstances of his withdrawal, we might almost say, riotous expulsion, may be read in the *Patriot* of October 9th. His attempts to carry out in practice his own ideas of church-reform excited such a commotion in his parish, that even his person appears to have been in danger; and no alternative was left him, but either to give up his living or his conscience. He chose the path of an honest man, and is so far worthy of all the honour we can ourselves render and bespeak from our readers. But we cannot dismiss the notice of these facts without pointing out the confirmation they yield to the arguments we have urged. Little, indeed, did we anticipate when writing, that our entire scope would receive so decisive and practical an enforcement. The hopelessness of church-reform, the ignorance of church-people or parishioners, the silencing or expulsion of clergymen who advocate reform, and the duty of secession, have all received emphatic illustration in the fate of Mr. Bird. Has any writer on church reform, who has spoken out fully and faithfully, met with encouragement and support from the heads of either church or state? Has not every one of them shared the fate of Curtius? He has leaped into the breach, but he has been heard of no more. With the solitary exception of the famous or infamous sermon of Dr. Pusey, has any Puseyite clergyman of a parish, rector, vicar, or curate, been silenced or expelled? Appeals have been made by parishioners in various parts of the kingdom, but the bishops, one and all, profess to have no power to stop these errors. They can do nothing, poor harmless persons, against the men who are unprotestantising the church, but they can find power enough to annoy, silence, or eject—and that very summarily, too, nearly every man who dares to advocate church-reform upon Scriptural principles! Are not these signs of the times sufficiently significant, and sufficiently alarming? When will the yet untainted body of evangelical clergy and laity feel it to be their duty to combine and let their influence and weight be felt, in connexion with the other bodies of sound protestant Christians, against the apos-



tacy which is hastening the consummation? Individual protests are of little avail. The hero of church-reform uniformly becomes its victim. A combined movement is imperiously demanded. It may be deferred till it is powerless.

Art, VIII. *The 'Nonconformist,'* No. 131. Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1843.

EVER since the proposal to Parliament of Sir James Graham's bill for the better education of children and young persons in factory districts, we have anxiously watched for a suitable opening to submit to our readers a few thoughts on the duty of dissenters in relation to the establishment. The time appears to us fully ripe for the performance of our meditated task. We shall address ourselves to it, we trust, with the deference due to the distinguished body for whom our observations are especially intended, with the fidelity which we owe to truth, and with all the seriousness of spirit and sense of responsibility demanded by a question, the settlement of which involves consequences pregnant with the present and eternal well-being of mankind. We ask a candid and thoughtful perusal of our remarks, and this being granted us, we cherish the hope of conducting our readers to some important practical conclusions.

That Christianity is the great agent appointed by Providence for the renovation of society is a sentiment which wears an aspect of triteness. Trite as it is, however, it is but too little considered. Like a jewel of brightest lustre and extraordinary worth, it is used chiefly on state occasions, and, during the period which intervenes between them, is consigned to the darkness of the casket in which it is preserved. And yet, if it be true—if it may be looked upon as a condensed but luminous exposition of a divine purpose—if it really lay bare to view the only moral power able to grapple successfully with the evils which, on every hand, beset and afflict fallen humanity—it ought to be ever present with us, ever operative, to guide our judgments, to rein in wild and visionary hopes, and to spur sluggish energies into constant activity. From the height of this truth what a commanding view one gains over the whole district of religious duty! how clearly may the several lines of Christian obligation be traced! how all the special reasonings which, seen from a less elevated position, appeared to obstruct the path of earnest patriotism, and raised up doubts and created perplexities as to its ultimate direction, sink into their proper relative dimensions, and leave the eye free to glance over and beyond them to its

very terminus. If that revelation of Himself which God, in his infinite mercy, vouchsafed to man, be indeed the destined and only agent to elevate our race, to purify human passions, to give liberty to nations, peace to the world, then surely the varied and multitudinous interests of that vast brotherhood to whom earth has been assigned for a temporary habitation, impose upon us, who recognise the claims of divine truth, the responsibility of guarding its integrity with anxious care, and of refusing to give even a tacit sanction to systematic modes of presenting it to the public mind, which, from want of harmony with its spirit and purport, neutralize its influence, destroy its power, and convert what was given to man as an inestimable boon into a fertile cause of bitterness, oppression, degradation, and death.

‘We have this treasure in earthen vessels.’ This is one of those incidental remarks by which Paul, oftener than any other apostle, flashes down the long vista of successive ages a light, by the aid of which observing minds may catch an explanation of events otherwise shrouded in impenetrable mystery. What may be the ultimate purpose which Providence has in view, in committing truth, seemingly unprotected, to human keeping, it is impossible to determine. Our position, to say nothing of the feebleness of our faculties, renders us incompetent to discover the value of any one of the designs in all its bearings. Doubtless there are now working out, under the superintendence of invisible laws, problems of the highest import, and apparently infinite intricacy, the solution of which will affect the destiny of our race both here and hereafter. For aught we can tell, the surest, the largest, the most permanent, as well as the most complete triumph of Christian truth over the great family of man, will be insured by suffering every mistake which can be made respecting it, and every absurdity to which it can be perverted, to take palpable form, without other hindrance than that which the exercise of reason may prevent. Be this as it may, the fact indicated by apostolic authority is placed beyond dispute, and the history of the church is but a continuous illustration of it. The sole efficient remedy for human ills, intellectual, moral, social, and spiritual, is entrusted, for universal dispensation, to men compassed about with infirmities—to men who, although unable to change its nature, or destroy its intrinsic worth, may, by their mode of exhibiting it, deprive it of all efficacy, and by mixing it up with their own follies and corruptions, aggravate the very evils which it is designed to cure. Hence the purity and spirituality of the church are only second in importance to the integrity of revelation itself, and almost equally affect the highest interests of our race. If truth is the moral power by which man is to be subdued, and thereby restored to order,

peace, and happiness, the church is the instrument in which that moral power resides, or more properly, perhaps, the appointed agency for wielding it with effect.

The obviousness of these remarks should not tempt us to overlook the importance of their bearing. Since God's message of mercy is alone competent to dry up the spring of human wretchedness, whether individual or social—since the promulgation of it has been confided exclusively to erring men—and since we have no reason to imagine that He will interpose by extraordinary means to prevent them from so dealing with it as to deprive it of all moral efficacy, it follows as an inevitable conclusion that it is no less incumbent upon the subjects of his kingdom to watch over the formal modes adopted for the exhibition of the gospel than to preserve the gospel itself from mutilations or additions. The one is equally a religious duty as the other. Neglect of the first is no less criminal than is that of the last. In both cases the awful consequences are the same. The fountain of living water is poisoned at its source. The remedy prescribed by Heaven for man's sin and misery—the only remedy adequate to meet the case in all its extent—is neutralised and vitiated. The world is thus left to languish in utter hopelessness under the pressure of disease. The elements of evil which convulse and rend it, in the absence of an antagonistic power, run riot, and work out, unchecked, their most direful results. The great law of moral gravitation is annihilated. The conservative principle of society is extinguished. The bounty of God is turned into the bane of man; and the church, instead of working out universal regeneration, becomes the body-guard of depravity in all its forms.

No thinking mind can have failed to observe that the efficiency of moral and spiritual truth mainly depends upon the instrumentality by which, and the purpose for which, it may happen to be wielded. Virtue itself may be made to pander to the desires of vice. The purest agency may be employed to compass the vilest ends. Christianity, in common with every other blessing, shares this liability of being perverted to the most infamous designs. The sublime doctrines of the gospel may, by crafty and ambitious men, be used to gild a system of corruption, violence, and rapacity, as hateful as any that could be charged to ancient paganism. It is not enough to ask what men say and do—wisdom will inquire by whom and with what intent it is said and done. Not every one who has his face towards Heaven is wending his way thither; nor is revealed truth, in every hand, an instrument for good. The arch-foe of God and man could make holy scripture subservient to his purpose, when he would tempt the Son of God to swerve from his obedience. The worst

deeds of cruelty have heretofore been prefaced by incontrovertible maxims of religion. The artillery with which the subjects of Christ are bidden to subdue the nations to his sway may be captured and turned against themselves. It becomes consequently a matter of immense importance, one, too, which touches closely the fidelity of sincere Christians, to concern themselves in securing not merely that sound doctrine be promulgated, but that it be promulgated by the friends of the Redeemer, by means which are in unison with his supremacy, and with a view to ends which have his expressed approval.

These general observations may serve to introduce the subject to which this article is devoted. We are about to speak of church establishments, and of the duty of dissenters in relation to them. It may save us much trouble if, in the outset, we gain a clear notion of what a religious establishment essentially is. The following, then, constitutes, in our judgment, the primary idea of the establishment, whether episcopalian or presbyterian, in these realms—it is the dispensation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, in a state of more or less purity, by worldly authority, for purposes of government and of property. Strip the matter of all its accidents—reduce it to its naked simplicity—and it will be found to be none other than even this. Questions respecting the scriptural character of the articles embodied in the national church—utterances of joy that the number of evangelical clergy who minister at its altar is yearly increasing—commendations of the liturgical service, the weekly reading of which it enjoins—do not so much as touch the subject under notice. These, and numberless other topics dilated upon so frequently, and with so confident a conviction that they must prove unanswerable, have no bearing, not even the remotest, upon the question of church and state alliance. Christianity taken under superintendence by those who, for the most part, neither bow to its claims nor appreciate its spirit, nor entertain even a passing care for its ends—that moral power by which the Most High designed to purge human hearts of selfishness and sin, wielded by civil rulers for state purposes, made an instrument to work out the schemes of political faction, and used with a view to large pecuniary results—the religion of love upheld by the sword, and the maintenance of it enforced by a palpable violation of its weightiest precepts—this is a correct translation of the term, establishment, as applied in Great Britain. It means, God's church presided over by the world for merely worldly objects. It is nothing more nor less than the forcible possession by 'the powers that be' of the fountain head of spiritual instruction, that the quality, quantity, and direction of its streams may be regulated by a regard to the interests of the governors. It is

heavenly truth turned to earthly account—immortal souls played with for base and perishable counters—the forms, institutions, and influence of religion made to mount guard over crowns, coronets, titles of distinction, and sources of temporal wealth.

It is important, moreover, to observe, that this position of presidency by secular rulers over spiritual concerns can only be reached by a daring trespass upon the sovereignty of Christ, and a profane usurpation of his rightful throne. Our Lord committed his doctrine to the care of his own disciples—devolved upon them the honour and the responsibility of publishing the tidings of mercy to a perishing world—bid them go forth careless of ease, reputation, wealth, and even life itself, and taking their station between the living and the dead, to swing aloft the censer whose fragrant odour might stay the progress of the moral plague—promised, for their encouragement, his presence; for their aid, his Spirit; for their reward, a crown of eternal life. He warned them, in reference to the affairs of his kingdom, to call no man master on earth. He claimed their willing obedience to himself. Whatever they did, they were to do ‘as to the Lord, and not unto men.’ Constituted by His Father ‘King of Saints,’ and ‘Head over all things to the church,’ he settled once for all the principles of his administration, definitely marked out its sphere, enacted its laws, and moulded its institutions. His kingdom was not of this world. The weapons of warfare, in the hands of his servants, were not to be carnal but spiritual, and mighty *through God*. ‘The kings of the earth exercise lordship,’ he told his followers, ‘but it shall not be so with you.’ And surely it ill becomes the allegiance due from the body to its Head to witness with something approaching to a tacit connivance, rather, we should say, without unequivocal expressions of horror, the intrusion into his sphere of government of secular authorities—the assumption, by inimical power, of his regal sceptre—the alteration, at will, of what he has settled—the substitution of their plans for his—maxims of conduct which He enjoined treated with contempt—practices which he had forbidden unscrupulously resorted to—the church made to rest upon other bases than those upon which he founded it, and himself virtually thrust aside as unequal to the administration of His own empire, to make way for a more vigorous statesmanship than his own. And yet the establishment of Christianity involves all this. Does any individual doubt it? Let him turn to Scotland. What have we lately witnessed in that kingdom? The secession from the kirk of nearly five hundred of her clergy, and of a considerable majority of her elders and communicants. Whence comes this terrible disruption? The professed subjects of Christ will not sanction patronage, which they hold to be un-

scriptural in principle and deadly in effect. The worldly power under which the kirk, for temporal assistance, has placed herself, asserts that patronage is its law—the law of the land—and must be submitted to. That it is in consonance with the mind of Christ is not pretended—that it was ever contemplated by his apostles, who made known his will, none have had the hardihood to affirm—that they who recognised it would be guilty of obeying God rather than man was not denied. Patronage, however, had become a matter of property, and a means of government. The authority which presumes to rule the church could not dispense with it. It must be insisted upon accordingly. And legally as well as morally, practically as well as theoretically, the doctrine has been enforced—‘no obedience, no endowment.’

Taking with us this radical idea of a church establishment—the dispensation of revealed truth by merely secular power, and for avowedly temporal ends; the assumption by worldly functionaries of that authority over the church of Christ which he has forbidden even to his own disciples, and which he has expressly claimed as his own royal prerogative; and the substitution of other and even opposite modes of exhibiting the gospel to those ordained by the Lord himself—it may be useful for us to glance at some of the results which the management of the church by the world has produced. We shall select only the most striking, the least questionable, and those which are best calculated to produce an impression upon truly pious minds.

It was only to be expected that the system which places Christianity in the hands of civil rulers to be used as a means of government, and to be converted into a source of wealth for their supporters, would attract towards it crowds of men anxious to undertake the duty of teaching divine truth, simply that they might share the spoil. Facts bear a mournful testimony that such an expectation would not have been misplaced. We do not deny—on the contrary, we are forward to allow that the established church possesses many clergy whose religious character ranks deservedly high. Cordially can we adopt the language of a recent writer on this topic, and admit that there are amongst them ‘men of sound learning, of liberal principles, of eminent piety; men who would be ornaments to any denomination, useful in any sphere, respected by any party, steadfast amidst every change; laborious ministers, Christian gentlemen, true patriots, zealous philanthropists.’ Yet is it notorious that these are exceptions serving only to prove the rule. Four-fifths of the clergy may, without the smallest breach of charity, be regarded as practically ignorant of the first principles of the gospel, the purifying power of which they have never felt, nor even professed to feel. The office allies them with the aristocracy, and

a *living* ensures to them a certain, and in many cases, an ample income. The church has its prizes to attract, and its honours to distribute amongst, the sons of our nobility and gentry. Moved by impulses of the most worldly kind, they flock to our universities, to prepare themselves for 'holy orders.' The training they undergo is in perfect keeping with the whole system. Theology is the last thing to which their attention is called—religion, in any sense worthy of the name, almost the only influence with which they never come in contact. Oxford and Cambridge are known to be the very centres of abandoned profligacy. Immorality walks their streets unabashed, and fills the surrounding villages with victims, whose self-respect is destroyed, whose reputation is for ever blasted. In these places, human depravity, heaped up in masses, reeks out its most offensive exhalations. From these schools of corruption go forth, year by year, the authorized expositors of Christianity, carrying with them, for the most part, habits imbued to the core with worldliness, and understandings and hearts alike profoundly ignorant of the things which pertain to life and godliness. What is the inevitable consequence? The flocks over whom they preside learn nothing at their lips of 'the unsearchable riches of Christ,' see nothing in their lives illustrative of 'the beauties of holiness.' The clergy go through their dull routine of formality, where necessary, in person, where practicable, by proxy, and for the rest—they are gentlemen. Can it be wondered at that amongst such men filling such a position, the absurdities and blasphemies of Puseyism should spread with fearful rapidity? Could they be otherwise than predisposed to take the *virus*, when all their previous practices and habits had virtually reduced religion to outward rites, priestly manipulations, and senseless dogmas? And yet these men, like a tissue of net-work, overspread the land from end to end, and in the dread name of Him whose authority they but little revere, assume to themselves the exclusive right to be regarded as 'the ministers of Jesus Christ.'

Happily, both within and without the pale of the establishment, there are individuals whose religion rises above the level which the world's rulers deem to be sufficiently high. Spite of the deadening influence of this secular type of the gospel, there are thousands who cheerfully own a willing subjection to 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' They see, with bitter grief, the prevalence around them of spiritual disease and death. And what they mourn over in secret, they openly and actively labour to remove. Christian zeal burning with desire to extend the reign of the Son of God, sends forth into our neglected towns, and amongst our stolid peasantry, hosts of labourers, of various de-

nominations, to rescue immortal souls from a cruel and fatal bondage. But, from whom do these godly and self-denying men encounter the most violent opposition? Invariably, from the clergy of the establishment, and from the squirearchy who listen to their counsels, and act upon their suggestions. Go into almost any village of the empire, and set yourself down there to win souls to Christ, and your bitterest foe, your most energetic and untiring antagonist will prove to be the clergyman, the state-appointed 'minister of Jesus Christ.' The very first symptoms of spiritual life which show themselves among his parishioners—social meetings for prayer, anxious inquiries for the way of salvation, eager attention to the proclamations of the gospel—will attract his vigilant notice, and call forth his severest censure. The thing is so common, and has been, from time immemorial, that it ceases to awaken surprise. Would you stir up in men's minds serious concern respecting their highest interests, the parish 'priest' will cross your path at every step. Gather around you the children of the poor, to instil into their young and susceptible hearts the doctrines of the gospel, and, instantly their parents are menaced with a forfeiture of all claims upon parochial charity. Circulate from house to house plain, pungent, religious tracts, and in your second or third visit you will learn that the vicar has forbidden their reception. Assemble a few men and women 'perishing for lack of knowledge,' that you may preach to them the doctrines of the cross, and ten to one you will hear, in the course of a few weeks, that the occupant of the house in which you laboured, has been served with a notice to quit. It matters not that your efforts are free from the slightest tinge of sectarianism—they are regarded as intrusive and mischievous. How many villages are there in this country in which, through clerical influence, it is impossible to hire a room, within the narrow walls of which to proclaim to rustic ignorance the tidings of eternal life! How many more in which, from the same cause, misrepresentation, intimidation, and oppressive power, are brought to bear upon miserable dependents, to scare them beyond reach of the gladsome sound of mercy! How many millions of souls, hemmed in on all sides by this worldly system of religion, cry aloud from the depth of their ruin, to earnest Christians for help, whom, nevertheless, state-churchism renders it impossible to reach! Surely it was with this awful picture before his eyes that Mr. Binney pronounced so emphatically his opinion, that 'the church of England destroys more souls than she saves.'

Trace now the influence of this system upon the religious condition of the various classes of society in these realms. Of the aristocracy little need be said. Their habits are but too well

known: their domestic arrangements, their favourite pursuits, their amusements, their very legislation, prove them to be, in the vast majority of cases, men who 'have no fear of God before their eyes.' Such as they are, however, they constitute the legislative guardians of the national church.

The middle-classes within the pale of the establishment, consisting of bankers, merchants, members of the liberal professions, manufacturers, farmers, and tradesmen, exhibit, under a milder phase, it is true, but with scarcely less distinctness, the deleterious effects of the world's form of Christianity. Their morals are not of the highest order, but neither do they sink to the lowest grade of the scale. The duties of domestic relationship are commonly attended to. They are industrious, sober, not inclined to dishonesty, but, catching the manners of those above them, not over-careful of living within their means. Their religion is almost wholly confined to a tolerably punctual attendance at church upon the Sabbath day. Profanity of speech is far from rare amongst them. Family devotion is seldom practised. That life of faith which, in pleasurable anticipation of eternal rest, looks with comparative indifference upon the enjoyments of time—that fear of God which shrinks from sin with greater sensitiveness than human reproach and scorn—that love to the Saviour which glows in the heart, making submission easy, and duty a delight—these alas! can be discovered in few instances; the vast majority would brand them with the opprobrious epithet of *methodism*. And yet how many of these outwardly decent, but spiritually ignorant people, ever dream that they are devoid of religious principle? The suspicion seldom, if ever, crosses their minds, that they are not Christians. They live in unconcern, and they die in hope. And they do both, with scarcely a ray of knowledge as to the gospel method of salvation. In respect of the grand truths which the apostles laid as the foundation of Christian character—repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ—they remain in darkness as hopeless as the more pitied, but not more pitiable, heathen in New Zealand or in China. They have Bibles, indeed, but they seldom deem it necessary to read them. They have access to religious publications, but rarely avail themselves of the advantage. The forms of the church satisfy them, and a sentimental devotion, if it ever rises to so high a mark, indulged in on Sundays, during divine service, not merely sets conscience at rest, but raises a flutter of self-gratulation over the fancied superiority of their Christian attainments.

Coming down to the lower walks of life, we track the influence of a state-church in darker lines. The great mass of the working men are the victims of the grossest superstition, or have

escaped from that only to rush into the jaws of infidelity. Nine-tenths of them, in town and country alike, absent themselves from public worship altogether. Identifying Christianity with the nationally authorized exhibition of it, and, taught by bitter experience to connect the church with every oppression which crushes them to earth, their natural distaste for the truths of the gospel is irritated into a malignant hatred. Priestcraft has worried, deceived, and fleeced them; and confounding priestcraft with the religion of the Bible, they turn from both with strong aversion. They live in utter ignorance of God. Their spiritual darkness is truly pagan. And, if perchance, such light as is refracted by neighbouring piety disturb their slumbers at the close of life, the visit of a clergyman, and the reception of the sacrament, soothes them to a rest which nothing but the realities of eternity can break.

We shall touch upon but one more topic in illustration of this mournful subject, and that will be, the reflex-influence of an establishment upon piety beyond its pale. The state-church is, as we have already intimated, the world's authorised edition of the religion of Jesus. We have seen its practical results in the general condition of the classes referred to—a condition to which, in each case, there are, of course, numerous exceptions. It inevitably happens, owing to the causes already specified, that prevailing notions set the standard of piety at a miserably low grade. Public opinion operates even within the precincts of the real church of Christ, and the tone of godliness approximates far too closely to what the world has decided that it ought to be. The name of Christian is no longer distinctive of character. The assumption of it indiscriminately by all upon whom ecclesiastical rites have been performed, and this, not only with the consent, but at the bidding, of the establishment, obliterates the line of demarcation between the subjects and the enemies of the Redeemer. Profession of attachment to him, consequently, appears to involve no serious responsibility. They who call themselves his disciples, are not necessarily, in these days, men everywhere 'wondered at.' The badge of service which they wear is so common as to attract no attention. Hence springs up a temptation even to the sincere to press to no great distance beyond the world's notion of practical Christianity. A reputation for godliness may be enjoyed at an easy rate, and the general atmosphere of society is unfavourable to any vigorous and hardy development of spiritual principle. Accordingly, self-denial, suffering for the truth's sake, and the regulation by religious motive of all the departments of life, without regard to their privacy or their comparative insignificance, have become too unfrequent even amongst those of whom charity cannot but

hope favourable things. There is piety, but it is unstrung by the surrounding temperature—renewed character, but it is enfeebled by an enervating climate. Sickliness ‘pales o’er’ the countenance of Christ’s church, and, living at ease, she becomes faint-hearted and indolent.

Before we pass on to the more immediate object of this paper, it may not be amiss to collect into one focus whatever light is emitted by the preceding observations, that it may tell with concentrated power upon the judgment and conscience of the reader. What is it that we have just now seen? What is the gloomy picture upon which we have been gazing? God’s revelation of himself, whereby he graciously aims to affect the heart of rebel man, and win him back to obedience, love, and joy,—sole remedy for human sin and woe—sole hope of a ruined race—seized upon by secular power, and employed as a tool wherewith to hew out political and pecuniary advantages. A system of spiritual truth, designed for spiritual ends, clothed with the highest spiritual sanctions, and capable of producing the grandest spiritual results, taken under superintendence by worldly men, for the accomplishment of worldly objects. In this awful perversion of sacred and heavenly things to low, passing, and paltry purposes, we see multitudes of individuals entering upon the most solemn engagement to which human powers can be consecrated, moved by worldly motives, educated after a worldly model, introduced to pastoral relationship by worldly patronage, and drawing a temporal subsistence from a worldly source. And these, the world’s servants, for compassing the world’s objects, by promulgating the world’s notion of Christianity, are, as might reasonably have been anticipated, fearfully active in extinguishing, wherever they meet with it, the light of earnest piety, and have extensively succeeded in diffusing through these realms a spurious religionism, which consists in a decent attention to ecclesiastical formalities, and which leaves the conscience unenlightened and the heart unchanged. The land is thus filled with, and pre-occupied by ‘another gospel’—not God’s, but man’s—unsanctified man’s—and, be the truth proclaimed whatever it may, it is proclaimed by men holding their authority from the state, subject to its will, made dependent upon its bounty, and, by avowed alliance with it, identified with the world. The lever by which the empire of darkness is to be overthrown is thus taken in hand by powers and authorities known to be hostile to evangelical vitality—and truth, in the camp, and under the orders, of the rebellious, ceases to exert its elevating and purifying influence. Earth’s moral remedy is administered in combination with ingredients which completely neutralise its power.

Owing to whatever causes, and we cannot now stay to examine them, this terrible desecration of divinely appointed means, has been permitted, in this country at least, to continue and to produce its disastrous results, without any direct, united, and systematic effort on the part of the sincere and devout followers of Christ, to bring it to a close. Strange as it may appear, it is not less strange than true, the perversion of a single ordinance, the Lord's Supper, to state ends, excited a horror, roused an indignation, and called out an activity, more intense than the abuse, for similar objects, of every institute of Christ. It is not easy to assign a reason for the marked difference of feeling exhibited in these respective instances. If in the first case that which all esteem sacred was obviously wrenched from its appointed use to answer purposes of worldly policy, it is, in a tenfold degree, more so, in the last. The one was not more profane than is the other, occasioned not more hypocrisy, endangered not a greater number of souls, and exposed not the gospel to more undeserved or more bitter reproach—and yet, this was assailed with skill, vigour, perseverance, triumph—that has been left untouched and even unmenaced. Not, indeed, that individual effort has been wholly wanting in this great cause. Many a shaft has been hurled, and many a lance shivered, in single combat with the leviathan of the spiritual world; nor most it go unrecorded, that in Scotland, a well-planned, and manfully-sustained movement, was, not many years since, made for its overthrow. But against the principle of an establishment—against the alliance, as such, between things secular and sacred, the virtual subjection of the church to secular authority, and the control of professedly Christian institutions by secular power—we are not aware that English dissenters have ever combined in any general and active measures. Content with the enjoyment of personal freedom of conscience, they have allowed the prerogatives of Christ to remain under usurpation, and his system of spiritual agency to be controlled by those who understand it not.

We are by no means forgetful of the fact that there have been, and are, amongst us, different societies of more or less efficiency, which have aimed to curb the tyranny of an established church, and to prevent it from pushing its outposts beyond their existing range. But it is not to be concealed that, in operation, they are protective rather than aggressive. They aim to throw a shield over the dissenter, not to enfranchise truth from a degrading servitude. To repel injustice constitutes their main design. They raise a barrier against priestly intolerance around person and property. The principal object to which their efforts are directed, is the security and

enlargement of the civil interests of those who scruple to conform to the state church. To deliver men from the wrong inflicted upon their souls by the prevalence of an unscriptural system of gospel ministration—to expose the anomaly of the management by worldly men of institutions framed to overcome the world—to denounce the evil, in religion's name, and on religion's behalf, that God's truth, rescued from unhallowed hands, may go forth in primitive simplicity and power, wielding His authority, and reliant solely upon his blessing, to subdue the hearts of men to the government of love—this has formed no part of their plan. With the exception of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Society, conducted under the auspices of Sir Culling Eardley Smith, all such associations, based upon whatever principles, aim at temporal rather than spiritual results, and labour to improve the position of nonconformists, rather than to promote the practical triumph of their principles. We deny not that, where wisely managed, they may have their uses. But we aver that they do not meet, and are not adapted to meet, the pressing exigency of the case. The civil interests of dissenters may be worth looking after, but the entire freedom of Christ's church is more so. It may be desirable to protect a section of the community from intolerance—it is far better to protect the community itself from a spiritual deceit. Liberty is valuable, but religion is all-important.

It is our serious belief—a belief fully sustained, we think, by the preceding reflections, and others of a like character, that it behoves dissenters to meet this devastating evil in a far different spirit to any they have yet exhibited. The matter must come before them, and must be taken up by them, not as one to touch or to let alone as present convenience may prompt, but as one of deep personal religious obligation. The usurpation, by an established church, of our Lord's exclusive prerogatives—its misrepresentation of the objects, claims, and spirit of Christianity—the all but insurmountable impediments it opposes to the diffusion of earnest piety—the delusive hope which it fosters of eternal felicity apart from the godliness which the gospel requires—its neutralisation of the moral power of revealed truth just there where revealed truth should display its most potent efficacy—the angry passions which it stirs up—the union which it prevents—the hypocrisy and pharisaism which it engenders—these things, we think, should stir religious feeling to its very depths, and cause it to flow forth in fervent prayers, and incessant anxiety, and self-denying efforts to rid society of so terrible a curse. The heart which is pained by a contemplation of far distant heathenism, must be brought to deplore with grief not less intense, the blighting influence at home, of nominal,

but essentially secular, Christianity. The tear which is dropped in commiseration over the moral darkness of savage lands, must be equally ready to start into the eyes at the view of the not less fatal but more plausible delusion which, in this empire, delivers over its victims to ignorance and death. The urgent sense of responsibility which impels us, spite of the sneers and derisions of baptized infidels, and undeterred by difficulties and dangers which, to mere human calculation, are not to be overcome, to go up in God's strength against the hoary fortresses of idolatry, must constrain us also to cancel the word 'impossibility,' in respect of the enfranchisement of religion from state trammels, and must urge us to combine, to resolve, to labour, to contribute, to pray, to suffer reproach, to endure persecution, to be 'instant in season and out of season,' in the last case equally as in the first. Never until the evil to which we have adverted is put by dissenters into the same class, and upon the same footing, with all others which obstruct the universal reign of Jesus Christ—never, until it is viewed, as facts and Scripture alike warrant us in doing, as the determined enemy of spiritual light, offensive to God and destructive of the supreme interests of man—never until in the name, and on the behalf, of our great Master, we set our faces against it as a flint, and sound the trumpet with no feeble and uncertain blast, to warn our fellow-countrymen that this is *not* Christianity; will our own consciences be absolved from guilt, or the church of the Redeemer set free from bondage? As dissenters, we profess to know the truth, to have detected the imposture, to refuse participation in the wrong. But, oh! are there not millions who, destitute of our advantages, live, under state-church superintendence, in utter neglect of God, and in profoundest ignorance of the gospel, to whom it never occurs to question their safety, and whose consciences, even in the midst of sinful indulgence, sleep unmoved till death, lulled by the opiate administered by the gospel of priests and statesmen? Why are these to be left to find out their error when it is too late to retrieve it? What good reason can be rendered why we should stand by and witness in silence their destruction? Of what avail is it to them that we preach glad tidings, when the system by which they are surrounded as effectually debars them from listening to us, as if they dwelt in the strongest holds of heathenism? The wretched victims of formalism and sacerdotal pretence, how can truth get at them, until the walls of their prison-house have been first battered in, and levelled with the dust? We have our Missionary Society to combat spiritual delusion abroad, and every church deems it incumbent upon it to connect itself with so noble an undertaking, to uphold its hands, to take part in

its proceedings, to contribute to its resources, to pray for its success. We cheer on the churches in America in the noble efforts they are making to rid their country of the sin and curse of slavery. And yet, here, in our own land, where myriads are deluded by a system of state religionism, and where the rights and interests of immortal souls are trampled upon by ascendant power, we have made no serious, no earnest, no religious effort to rid our country and the world of the dishonour and the wrong.

In thus proclaiming our conviction that the question of establishments must be taken up *in a spirit of allegiance to the Head of the church, and from a deep sense of religious obligation*, we must not be supposed to counsel the employment of none but strictly religious means. The anomaly grows out of a political soil, and can only be ultimately destroyed by political agency. But there is a right time and place for all things. Dissenters have first to be prevailed upon to view the subject in its proper light. If opinion has not to be created amongst them, it has to be greatly extended, and deepened into conscientious feeling. Prior to the use of this or the other species of instrumentality, there must exist a power, competent and willing to wield it. That power, the prevalence of right views, and the force of spiritual principle, amongst nonconformists, would supply. Enlighten them in this matter, teach them to regard it as one identified with the progress of the gospel, attract towards it their religious sympathies, and rouse their determination to deal with it for the truth's sake, and you will put them into the legitimate position for availing themselves of all lawful means for compassing the church's freedom. Then, when the will is fixed, and the arm nerved, the lever of constitutional and political power may be grasped and wielded with startling effect. No state arrangement in this country can long withstand the calm but vigorous onset of the religious world. Whenever its energies are once fairly aroused, the largest and most deeply-rooted interests must give way before its tremendous moral power. But as instrumentality is useless in the absence of an adequate force to apply it, so no force, however overwhelming, can ensure success otherwise than as it applies the fitting instrumentality. Political authority made a state church, and political authority must needs unmake it. Every political means, therefore, consistent with Christian principle, must in due time be worked with energy and zeal, to compel 'the powers that be' to forego their profane assumptions, and their mischievous intermeddling with the affairs of Christ's kingdom. In short, we must conduct this warfare, not merely with a view to religious ends, but in the exercise of practical wisdom and

sound common sense; nor must we delude ourselves by supposing that true hearts will avail us without strong hands.

Scarcely less important, in our estimation, is it that the pursuit of the end in view should be direct, and explicitly avowed. From the very outset, the faces of dissenters should be set towards their ultimate object. As missionary enterprise proposed to itself nothing less than the conversion of the world, so non-conforming zeal must aim at nothing short of severing the tie which connects church and state. The magnitude of the undertaking ought not to forbid our solemn and inflexible resolve to achieve it. No timid and half-going proposal will suffice to evoke in its behalf the invincible energy of Christian principle. No zig-zag approaches to the question will fire religious men with the ardour of pious resolution. Nothing less than the extermination of state-sanctioned and state-supported nominalism,—nothing less than the thorough cleansing of Christ's church from the corrupting influences of secular patronage—can constitute an object of agitation equivalent to the wants of the age, or to the onerous responsibilities devolved upon us. How, else, shall we awaken men's minds to the extreme exigency of the case? Standing upon what other ground can we command such a sweeping range for the artillery of argument and appeal? From what less elevated position are we to get at the sympathies of those who hide themselves from the din and turmoil of political warfare? Neither to ourselves, to the abettors of an establishment, to the world, nor to Christianity, shall we be doing justice, unless we cover the whole ground of truth. We must contend for the principle, or we might as well resolve not to contend at all. Thus, only, can we expect to be understood. Moving in any other direction, we shall be exposed to a thousand misrepresentations, plausible enough to damp our spirits and to check our career. The conviction should be forced upon friends and foes, that our enterprise is a generous one, aiming not to improve our civil position, but to rescue the souls of men from a perilous environment of deluding and debasing influences.

We have already urged enough to shew the propriety of entering upon this engagement, fully prepared to sustain temporary and severe reverses. It would be cruel as well as useless, to hide future probabilities behind a screen of silence. Far better is it to forewarn dissenters, that a resolute and persevering discharge of their duty to their Master, will demand the exercise of self-denial, and claim no slight amount of self-sacrifice. Not willingly, not without a desperate struggle, not without an unscrupulous resort to every species of intimidation and petty persecution, will the aristocracy of these realms forego

the political power and the pecuniary advantage which the established church insures to them. The press, which is largely under their control, may be expected to assail with foulest calumnies the reputation of those who take an active part in this warfare. Ministers must lay their account to offend some whose good countenance they would fain enjoy. Tradesmen must anticipate angry withdrawals of custom. The whole body of dissenters may, haply, have to endure the revocation of some of their privileges, and the sudden collapse of their conventional influence. It is even possible that worse things than these may be in store for them. But the sharper the contest, the shorter. And thus much is certain, that however sharp, the cause is one which will richly repay the conscientious sufferer. If, then, it is to be taken up in the spirit of Christianity, it must be taken up with a fixed determination, in God's strength, to run all hazards. We must learn to do, as well as to menace—to suffer, as well as to dare. Nothing but the love which 'endureth all things' will bear us through. Ah! well would it be for us, and a happy presage for the world, if we could imbue our minds with something of the serious earnestness which distinguished our forefathers, whose constancy, fidelity, and fortitude we are more wont to admire than to imitate. What prospects of triumph would burst upon the church of Christ, if the nonconformists of the present day would put on the mantle which dropped from the shoulders of their ancestors, when they cheerfully welcomed 'mockings,' mutilations, imprisonment, and even death, if they might but bear a testimony to the truth!

It is to be hoped that there are, in this country, not a few who are disposed to take up this subject, with Christian resolution. The immediate *desideratum* is to unite such men in counsel and in action. Brought together to one centre, they might kindle a fire, the vivifying warmth of which would diffuse itself over the whole nonconforming body. A movement begun in a becoming spirit and by serious men would soon attract towards itself, and ultimately absorb, whatever now exists of enlightened and sincere zeal for the liberation of the church. If so conducted in its earliest stages as to command confidence, its influence would rapidly extend, and make itself felt in our numerous churches. As knowledge was disseminated, strength would increase. Dissenters, incessantly plied with scriptural reasoning and fervent appeal, would gradually awake from slumber, shake off their listlessness, stretch themselves for active exercise, and gird themselves about with manly resolution. Christianity, as a means of moral renovation, is not to be rescued from the grasp of worldly power in a day. There must be a beginning to every thing; and if it be but sound, it matters not that

it be comparatively small. Sound, however, it must be, in this instance, if destined to survive its earliest trials. How, then, may a commencement be most wisely and effectively made? What first step may be taken with greatest promise of success?

The *Nonconformist* newspaper has, for several weeks past, been urging the assembling of an anti-state-church convention, and its efforts in this direction seem to have been responded to by a large number of its readers, and to have been seconded by a fair proportion of the provincial press. If we understand aright the scope of its articles on this subject, the proposed conference is not deemed of importance as a demonstration to affect the minds of churchmen, but principally as a means of attracting the attention, and of stirring up the energies of dissenters themselves. It alleges, and with some show of reason, that in the absence of a well-planned combination, unity of aim and action is impossible. To secure this, there must be an unsuspected centre of influence, counsel, and purpose. This, it contends, nothing but representation could, at the present moment, create. A body of delegates, fairly chosen, with a view to seek the separation of church and state, might fix the leading principles of any future movement, develop the means to be resorted to, impress with the whole weight of their moral authority its claims upon nonconformists, and appoint an executive to carry out its plans, with instructions to summon, within a definite period, a second convention, to whom it is to hold itself responsible, and into whose hands it may deliver up its trust. The following quotation, from the *Nonconformist*, will serve to explain its views:

‘The probable beneficial results of such a convention, we have touched upon heretofore; but the importance of the subject may well silence our fears of repeating what has already been advanced. Its effects, whether upon those who take part in it, or upon those who look upon it from afar, would be such as cannot well be overrated. The burning coals, when heaped together, glow with intenser heat than when divided. The shivered particles of a mirror, scattered over a given surface, may give back in sparkles, at innumerable points, the sunlight which falls upon them; but it is when combined into one consistent whole, that they reflect the fullest blaze of radiance. When mind meets mind upon some common ground, and by actual communion they become one, each glows with augmented ardour—previous impressions are deepened—faith becomes more confiding—earnestness more earnest. It is a peculiarity of human nature, that when men, seeking some common object, meet together, the feelings of each will acquire the depth and intensity of all. The standard of sincerity, zeal, and devotedness, is thenceforth elevated, in respect of every individual, to the pitch which it attains in public assembly. And that which thus naturally improves itself, which stirs up its own fire, and blows it into a hotter flame, becomes, by the self-same process, more potent in its influence upon others, radiates its light

to a greater distance, and flashes truth upon consciences to which, otherwise, no beam would have succeeded in penetrating.

'There exists, as we have said, and as every one who watched the agitation against the Factories' bill must have observed, an anti-state-church feeling diffused through the country, considerable both for its amount, for its intelligence, and for its zeal. The true policy of dissenters is to draw out this feeling—to combine it—to systematize it—to direct it. It wants to be gathered up, and made to act in obedience to definite laws. A convention would instantly evoke it from obscurity, organize its power, and employ it to practical uses. Let but a rallying point be proclaimed, and from every part of the country, talent, at present concealed, strength yet undeveloped, and earnestness, scarcely known beyond its own immediate neighbourhood, would press towards it and unite. Courage and decision would soon take the place of timidity and vacillation. Indifference would be roused, slothfulness shamed into active exertion, and the work thus commenced with a solemnity becoming its vast magnitude, would be prosecuted with corresponding vigour.'—*Nonconformist*, July, 26, 1843.

The suggestion, however, need not now be treated as one resting upon a mere individual basis, since we find the following document, signed by seventy-six ministers resident in the mid-land counties, has been published in both the *Patriot* and the *Nonconformist*, and we are informed that a copy of it has been sent to the respective secretaries of the dissenting body in London.

'We whose names are undersigned, being Protestant Dissenting ministers, resident in the Midland counties, regard, in common with our brethren in all parts of the empire, with intense interest, those events which are passing around us, affecting the rights of conscience and the prospects of dissenters. We have witnessed with indignation the recent attempt made by Her Majesty's government to undermine our liberties; and have seen, with heartfelt satisfaction, the energetic efforts of the great dissenting community in defence of their claims. From what has already appeared, as well as from those signs of the times, which the dullest cannot fail to understand, we are convinced that the great cause of religious freedom will not be left without further assaults, and that there is neither safety nor honour to the nonconformists of these realms, in leaving in its present position the question of religious establishments. We, therefore, very respectfully, but most earnestly, request our ministering brethren and their friends, residing in London and its vicinity, as many as approve of our design to convene, with as little delay as possible, a conference of dissenting ministers and others from all parts of the country, for the purpose of seriously deliberating upon, and adopting measures for promoting, by all Christian and constitutional means, the dissolution of the union between the church and the state.'

That we may put before our readers all the information on this subject requisite for coming to a definite judgment upon it, it

may be well to state that the paper which we have prefixed to the present article contains, from a correspondent, a 'plan for a national convention to seek the separation of church and state.' Our limits will not allow of its insertion, and but few words will suffice to describe its main features. It is proposed that the convention consist of not less than three hundred delegates, each to be nominated by five hundred constituents resident in the district which he is appointed to represent, and professing that they are voluntary supporters of the Christian worship of Almighty God. The nomination of each delegate is to be certified within a specified date by a paper signed by his constituents, and is to be accompanied by the sum of ten pounds, out of which sum 'the expenses of the delegate in travelling to and from, and remaining at the convention shall be defrayed by the treasurer of the convention on its rising, and the balance be applicable to the general expenses.' The preparatory arrangements proposed to secure the assembling of this body are the following. The convention is to be summoned by a public requisition, signed by two hundred names, to be issued so soon as two hundred districts or towns shall have remitted to some central point the sum of one pound as the contribution of separate parties prepared to unite in obtaining the nomination of a delegate. With a view to obtain these names, (amongst which it is proposed that there shall be two at least from each county of England and Wales, and some from Scotland and Ireland,) a preliminary address is to be issued, setting out the objects and detailing the plan of the convention, by parties who are to constitute a trust for the reception and disbursement of the funds until the assembling of the delegated body, and a provisional council to carry out the plan and to make all requisite arrangements. We have only to add, that the plan seems to have been drawn up with great care, and that each of its provisions is clearly explained and defended by the originator of the scheme in accompanying notes.

We have given some attention to the general proposition to which public attention has been specifically called by the above cited memorial. We have weighed, with an anxious desire for impartiality, the arguments in support of and against the holding of a convention, as a first step towards obtaining the church's freedom. Looking at the present position of dissenters, at the prominence into which recent events in the three kingdoms have pushed the question of establishments, at the objects proposed to be accomplished by the assembling of such a body, and at the powerful and beneficial influence it might be made to exert, not indeed upon the supporters of state controul in matters of religion, but upon dissenters themselves, we cannot but

regard the proposal in a favourable light. Cautiously and wisely reduced to practice, we believe it would be productive of no trivial amount of good. That a movement for the separation of the church from the state is to be desired, our foregoing observations will prove to be our decided conviction. Safety for themselves, concern for the souls of their fellow-countrymen, regard to the progress of revealed truth, and allegiance to the Divine Head of the church, impose upon dissenters, at least in our judgment, the duty of taking up this subject with all seriousness of spirit, and fixedness of determination. Some starting point they must needs have. A convention appears to us to be a rational one. If it be important for the body of non-conformists to enter upon so large and difficult an undertaking as the dissolution of the alliance between church and state involves, it seems natural to commence proceedings in solemn council, and to constitute by the free suffrage of the dissenting community a centre of influence to which all may look up with respect, and whose practical suggestions all would be disposed to entertain, if not to adopt. Such objections to this scheme as we have met with, and we confess they are but few, seem to us to carry with them no great weight, and to stand in the way of any movement in this direction, rather than of this mode of commencing one. Since, however, the main object of the present paper is to set before dissenters their responsibility in relation to establishments, and to induce them to deal with the question in such manner as the interests of religion demand at their hands, we are the less anxious to discuss the feasibility of specific plans, and having submitted to our readers the only one now before the public with which we are acquainted, and stated in general terms our opinion of its merits, we hasten to conclude our task with two or three reflections of a more general character.

The attempt, then, to which we are anxious to see the great body of protestant nonconformists devote themselves—the rescue of divine truth, viewed as a moral agent for human regeneration, out of the hands of those who pervert it to ignoble ends, employ it to subserve the purposes of political faction, and, by the mode in which they apply it, deprive it of its spiritual influence—is a truly great and worthy enterprise. Hitherto, it is plain, it has not been generally seen in this light. The time, however, we would fain hope, is not far distant when this question will, by all Christians pretending to intelligence, be taken out of the list of subjects regarded as peculiarly belonging to party politicians, and be classed amongst those deemed most fitting to engage the attention, and awaken the anxieties, and stir the sympathies, and elicit the prayers, contributions, and exertions of our con-

that he depends upon them, and that they may dispose of him.'

Whatever may have been the real state of the prince's feelings towards his father-in-law, he does not seem at this period to have formed any project to supersede him on the English throne. Many proposals were made, many projects were suggested, and the possibility of such an issue must therefore have occurred to his mind. However this may have been, he scrupulously avoided giving countenance to the views of his more zealous friends, at the same time that he refused to concur in those schemes of the English Court which he deemed incompatible with the liberty of Europe. Mr. Sidney was on the best, and so far as their positions allowed, the most confidential terms with the prince. He was known to be attached to his party as distinct from that of the duke; and the following record, under date of November 3d, 1680, is therefore of importance on this point:—

'At seven I was with the prince. I told him all our affairs, and endeavoured to persuade him to come over, but I could not prevail. He told me he saw plainly that he was very likely to be deprived of his right in England, and at the same time to be undone here; but if the stake that he hath in this world were ten times greater, it should all go, rather than that he would save it by doing an ill thing. He thinks excluding the duke an injustice, and he would not advise the king to do it for all the world; he believes he shall be the first that will be undone, but he hopes God will give him patience, and have a care of him in all conditions. He spoke admirably, and it would have charmed any body to have heard him; in fine, he is convinced he may be a great prince if he does what he is advised to, and that he shall be undone if he does it not; but that he will rather choose that than do a thing against his conscience.'
—vol. ii. p. 120.

It is well known to every reader of English history, that the project of excluding the Duke of York from the throne was in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. the turning point of party spirit and action. In the parliament which met in November 1680, a bill for the accomplishment of this object was introduced and carried rapidly through the Lower House, and the letters contained in the present collection refer to the passing theme. In the Upper House its reception was less successful. Lord Halifax led the opposition with more than the close of the debate, which extended to four of eleven o'clock, the measure was defeated by 63 to 30. How different this result from what even of the best informed, may be seen from Mr. Sidney, dated November 8, writ-

poses. And the mistake rests not in its awful consequences with themselves. The whole world suffers from it. It is not merely an impediment thrown across the channel of truth, it is a diminution of its volume in the very fountain. Let it not be supposed, therefore, that the rectification of this matter is a thing of merely partial, local, and political interest. The welfare of the whole family of mankind is closely identified with the settlement of this question; and succeeding generations through all time will have to regret our neglect of it, or to rejoice in our fidelity in putting it to rest.


Nor can it be truly pleaded, that this great work neither becoms nor becomes the churches of the Son of God. That it will subject those who take part in it to sore temptation is not to be denied; but of what really magnificent enterprise might not the same thing be affirmed? The path of duty never leads us beyond the reach of danger, and the perils which encompass a post of responsibility, are ever in proportion to its prominence and importance. It may be, that in this warfare, zeal will be apt to run into acrimony, and harsh passions to take the place of calm energy of purpose. Controversy is never to be courted for its own sake, but neither is it to be shunned when truth bids us go forward. Had Luther valued his own quiet, the world would yet have remained in the thrall of Rome. He is but a craven-hearted soldier of the cross who, to avoid temptation, gives place to his Master's foes. But as there are evils to be dreaded, so are there rewards to be anticipated. For a lengthened period, religious principle among dissenters has been comparatively languid in its exercises. Seldom called to put itself forth in acts of self-denial, or to brave the world's contumely, it has sunk into feebleness, and lost no little of its native hardihood. Is it unlikely that, engaged in close and mortal conflict with a system of evil which, unlike most others, is at our very doors—is it matter of improbability that, following truth with a certainty of provoking against ourselves the determined opposition of the whole aristocracy of the land, the deadly hate of the authorized priesthood, and, for a time at least, the scorn and bitter reviling of that large portion of society which feels their influence—is it, we repeat, altogether a vain imagination, that our very novelty of position, the dangers which confront us, the roughness of our path, and the stupendous obstacles which block up our career, would throw us back upon resources the power of which we have scarcely tested, and would teach our now slumbering principles the secret of their own strength? Might we not, in such an encounter, learn that God's gift has been imparted to us for some other purpose besides our enjoyment of it? Might we not catch a glimpse of the meaning of our Lord's

maxim, that 'it is better to give than to receive?' Possibly the very effort of resolution required for entering upon and prosecuting this great undertaking would tend to brace up into new vigour our spiritual activities. There would be inducement enough for the exercise of unwavering faith—occasions manifold for displaying cheerful submission—ample room for fervent and importunate prayer—and arguments, scarcely less frequent, for grateful praise. If undertaken in the right spirit, love would prompt, love would direct, and love would sanctify the whole enterprise.

Let us not, moreover, lose sight of the probability, becoming every day more palpable, that if this work be not prosecuted by Christian men, it will be attempted by the violent and the unbelieving. It is impossible to keep out of view the fact that our labouring population, manufacturing and agricultural, cherish the most deadly enmity to the dominant church. Devoid of true religion, and filled with the fiercest passions against their chief oppressor, who can picture to himself the devastation which these men would commit, if, by any unforeseen conjuncture of events, they should be roused to shake off the incubus? Left uninstructed by our supineness, and unable to discriminate between Christianity and the establishment, what fearful mistakes might they not commit, and how likely is it that in their blind revenge they would involve the whole of our religious institutions, established or voluntary, in one common ruin. No! the work belongs not appropriately to them. Not by such instrumentality do we wish to see the fate of state-nominalism sealed. The task, of right, devolves upon the nonconforming churches of our land, and piety, not infidelity, must perform it, if it is to be efficiently and permanently performed.

To us, oft meditating upon this solemn theme, it has been a solace, from midst the din of parochial strife, the hypocrisy and self-delusion of senatorial professions of anxiety for the spiritual interests of our countrymen, the unseemliness of an arrogant and rapacious priesthood, the wide prevalence of a mere ritual religion destitute of a single spark of vitality, and the listlessness of Christian churches without the established pale, to glance forward, in the exercise of an assured faith, to the break of that brighter day, yet in store for this nation and for the world, when secular government shall be compelled to withdraw its profane and polluting hand from the ark of God's testimony, and when once more it shall rest exclusively upon the shoulders of the consecrated Levites of the sanctuary. With glowing anticipations we have cast our admiring eyes around the temple of the living God, when the spirit of Christianity, like its once despised Master, shall have scourged out of it those who make merchandise within

its sacred walls, and shall have overthrown the tables of the money-changers—when its ornaments of attraction shall be no longer the pomp of its services, nor the wealth of its resources, nor the political power of its clergy, nor the worldly titles of its dignitaries, but the meekness, purity, faith, and fervour of those ‘lively stones’ of which it is composed—and when the pillars of its strength shall be, not the enactments of human legislature, but the inviolable promises of the King of saints. We have endeavoured not seldom to imagine what those emotions will be which will agitate the bosom of the church of Christ, when He who, at the grave of Lazarus, imposed upon death itself his dread command, shall say with like effect, to the rulers of this empire, in reference to his own church, ‘Loose her, and let her go!’ When, for the first time these many ages past, she shall stand forth free from every worldly trammel—when for the first time there will rush into her heart the overwhelming sense of her own unshared and undivided responsibility—when, looking around upon the millions of the sons of industry and toil, in this our land, she shall behold their spiritual destitution, disclosed now in all its nakedness, and reft of that veil of nominalism by which it was once concealed from public view—and, when the conviction will come home to her that upon her sympathy they are cast, upon her fidelity they are dependent, upon her liberality their sole expectations rest—O! then, we think we witness the fervour of that supplication which she will put up to Heaven for strength, and the resolution with which she will gird herself to reclaim for her Lord the appalling moral waste. Her joy for her own deliverance will be surpassed by her zeal for the religious emancipation of the myriads by whom she will be surrounded. Thrusting aside the little, sectarian controversies in which she had taken too deep an interest, she will betake herself in earnest to her proper work of evangelization. Her spirit will rise with her position. Her sacrifices will correspond in cheerfulness and in magnitude with the mighty exigency which calls them forth. Incessant exercise will invigorate all her powers. In glorious simplicity and majestic independence, she will address herself to the consciences and to the hearts of the ungodly, and by her own intrinsic loveliness will aim to win them to the obedience of faith. Then, and not till then, will the sublime prayer put into her mouth by our most illustrious bard be uttered with a full sense of its propriety, and with an implicit faith in its success—‘Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty! take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee! for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed!’



Brief Notices.

The President's Daughters ; including Nina. By Frederika Bremer.
Translated by Mary Howitt. 3 vols. London: Longman.

We are glad to learn from the preface to these volumes that Mrs. Howitt has resolved to present to the English public the entire series of Miss Bremer's works. This is as it should be. They are worthy of being known to our countrymen, and we should be sorry to receive them from any other hands than those of the fair translator, whose accurate judgment of their worth, and nice perception of the taste of her countrymen, emboldened her first to present them in an English dress. Six years since Mrs. Howitt informs us that an English translation, by an accomplished scholar, of one of Miss Bremer's works, was offered to the principal publishers of London, no one of whom would undertake the risk of printing it. This is not a solitary instance, and we are gratified to find that the experiment made by Mrs. Howitt, under such discouraging circumstances, has been signally successful. We trust she will be permitted to enjoy the fair reward of her enterprise; and for ourselves must be permitted to say, we shall look with no favour on any attempt by another translator to divide the suffrages of the public. We have already placed on record our protest against such literary misdoings, and need not, therefore, repeat it on the present occasion.

Our notice of the former productions of Miss Bremer, will prepare our readers for the expression of a favourable opinion on the present work. *The President's Daughters* is everyway worthy of the author of *Home* and of *The Neighbours*. It is distinguished by the same life-like and truthful sketches, the same distinctness of individual portraiture, a power of description, whether of character or of scenery, which, without being elaborate, is at once true to nature, and in harmony with the human mind, and a purity of thought and feeling arising not from ignorance of the actual world, but from the supremacy of those better principles which constitute the glory of our nature. The social life which it exhibits, partakes at once of the attributes common to the human family, and of those which are peculiar to the Swedish character. We see beings like ourselves, moved by our passions, characterized by our virtues and our errors, and yet influenced by prejudices distinct from our own, and combining into forms of social life at once unique and national. We shall not attempt any analysis of the story, or minute criticism on the personages introduced. Some of the latter,—we may instance Angelica, Edla, and the lovely Nina, beautiful even in her weakness—appear to us to be exaggerations, too far removed from actual life to answer all the purposes of fiction; and some of the scenes depicted, as the agonized surrender of Count Alarik by the beautiful and loving Adelaide, and the marriage of Nina with the unsympathizing and cold Count Ludwig, are wanting in the truthfulness and probability which constitute the great charm of the work.

We cannot speak too highly of the skill displayed in the character of

some of the dramatis personæ. Miss Greta and Baron H——, the calm, apparently immovable, yet deep feeling Clara, and Edward Harvey, the Swedish pastor, so full of wisdom and kindness, so beloved of all, so ready to every good word and work, and yet so truly human with his deep but virtuous passion, are charming pictures, the sight of which awakens our love of human excellence and truth.

To the ordinary class of novel readers these volumes will probably seem cold and dull. There is too little of incident, too little rapidity of change and action, too little, in a word, of the grosser appliances by which fiction in the hands of many modern authors seeks its object; but to another and better class, who love fiction only as it accords with their nature, and as it is the vehicle of communicating the lessons of an enlarged and ripened knowledge, they will prove both instructive and entertaining. To such we recommend them, assured that whatever may be their feeling on a perusal of the earlier pages, they will close the work with no light estimate of the intellect and heart of the author.

Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British Provinces in North America, with a Plan of National Colonization. By James S. Buckingham. London: Fisher and Co.

This volume concludes Mr. Buckingham's Narrative of his Travels in America, and is distinguished by the same qualities as its predecessors. As an eye witness he describes with accuracy and spirit, and as a historian, he has diligently availed himself of the best accessible authorities, which he has compared and sifted with a scrupulous regard to the fidelity of his narrative. The fluency and animation of his style, combined with the copiousness of his materials, and the intelligent beneficence diffused over his writings, give to the present volume, as they have done to its predecessors, strong claims on the patronage of the reading public. As a compendious and deeply interesting delineation of all that pertains to our North American Colonies,—their history and institutions, their laws and commerce, the habits of their people, their social and religious state, their future prospects, and the benefits to be secured by a free interchange between themselves and the mother country, the volume is worthy of attentive perusal.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, Editor of the Pictorial Bible, &c. &c., assisted by various able scholars and divines. In Parts at 2s. 6d. each. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longman and Co.

This work, of which six numbers are now out, is proceeding in a way calculated to meet and even surpass the warmest expectation of the subscribers. The pledge given in the prospectus, that it should 'be chiefly occupied by matters which find no place, or no sufficient place, in other works,' is thus far handsomely redeemed. The possessor of

Calmet's, Taylor's, Jones's, or any or every other Biblical cyclopædia or dictionary, need not, therefore, fear that, in procuring this he will be purchasing the old matter over again. Indeed, not only is the selection of matter new, but the matter itself is, to a comparatively large extent, new also. It cannot, however, be said of this work, as may too frequently be said of works connected with Scripture, that what is good in it is not new, and what is new in it is not good. The old may possibly be still the soundest part of the work, for it is natural that that which has passed through the ordeal of ages, should be tested and refined by every really critical examination to which it has been subjected. But the new matter is the product of the labours of some of the most vigorous and exercised intellects of which biblical literature can boast, and, should portions of it hereafter have to be cleared away from the abiding map of truth, it is such as no real biblical student will willingly do without for the present; for what is not established as true, is often eminently valuable as a means to the establishment of truth.

Among the numerous articles included in the parts which have been published since our former brief notice, there are several which exhibit the result of very extensive research, and are otherwise of high interest. It is, perhaps, difficult to specify any without seeming injustice to others, but as our present object is merely to direct attention to the work, and convey some idea of its contents to those who have not seen it, we may refer, as instances of the kind intended, to the articles, Anthropomorphism, Antilegomena, Antiquities, Apocrypha, Apostle, Arabia, Arabic language, Arabic version, Aram, Aramaic language, Arch, Ark [Noah's] ark of the covenant, Armenian language, Armenian version, Arms, Armour, Artaxerxes, Artemis, Article, Ashtoreth, Assyria, Attitudes [of prayer, &c.] Baal and its compounds, Babel, Babylon, Babylonia, Balaam, Banquets, Barnabas, Baruch, Bath Kol, and Behemoth.

In articles connected in a subordinate degree with the study of Scripture, such as Arch, Arms, Armour, Astronomy, Athens, &c., the editor has adhered to his engagement to notice them 'in those relations only which connect them with biblical history, antiquities, or literature.'

There is a single point on which, had we possessed the editor's ear at an earlier stage of his labours, we should have suggested what we think would be an improvement. We have a great objection to folding plates in a manual lexicon. It is with reluctance that we find any fault either with the maps or the steel plates. The only thing, indeed, which they want is adaptation to the work in which they are placed. Their clearness and the picturesque beauty of the scenes engraved, are admirable. But for economy of room we should have preferred the latter, had they been engraved in wood, for though they might in that case have lost something, they would not have interrupted the text as inserted plates do. And we think that had the maps been a little reduced, so that they might have been inserted like those in Bagster's polyglot and polymicrian testaments, they would have been clear enough for every purpose, and would have run less risk of mutilation. For the large maps of Palestine we would have recommended the substitution of a woodcut, inserted at the head of that article, and intended to serve as a key map, while each tribe might have been similarly represented in its appropriate place on a

larger scale. How well this might have been done, the beautiful little cut of the Areopagus (p. 206) abundantly shows, though this extends to the width of but one column only. The countries embraced within the travels of Paul, might also easily have been brought within the limits of a single opening of the book, as in Bagster's Polyglot. But though we think such a plan would, for a manual dictionary, have been preferable to the one adopted, and should recommend it to be used even now as far as practicable, we must admit that it is not a matter of very great importance, and we wish the accomplished editor and his coadjutors all success in the progress and reception of their work.

1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1844.* By the Author of 'The Women of England.'
2. *The Juvenile Scrap Book.* 1844.
3. *China, in a Series of Views displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that Ancient Empire. Drawn from Original and Authentic Sources.* By Thomas Allom, Esq. *With Historical and Descriptive Notices.* By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. London: Fisher and Co.

These beautiful volumes are come to hand too late in the month to receive the extended notice which they merit. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a simple announcement of their publication, and the promise of a fuller review next month.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Crisis is Come; or the Crisis in the Church of Scotland, the Apostacy in the Church of England, and the Fall of the Church of Rome, with an Appendix. By Rev. B. D. Bogie.

A Memoir of Hilmar Rauschenbusch, late Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Elberfeld, Prussia. By W. Leipoldt, M.A. Translated by R. F. Walker, M.A.

An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church. By Lord Peter King. In Two Parts. With an Appendix, in answer, by a Clergyman of the Church of England.

Novum Testamentum Græcum. Editio Hellenistica. 2 vols.

On the Moral Principle of the Atonement; also of Faith; and of its two sorts, Conviction and Confidence, and of the Connexion between them. By the Rev. John Penrose, M.A.

Eight Sermons: being Reflective Discourses on some Important Texts. By the Rev. Robert Montgomery, A.M.

The Church of Christ Portrayed as to the Peculiar Character of its Unity, Ordinances, Visibility, and Spirituality. By Rev. C. J. Yorke, A.M.

Memoirs of Rev. John Thornton. By John Thornton, Stockport.

A Comprehensive View of Puseyism; exhibiting from its own writings its Twenty-two Tenets; with a careful Refutation of Each, and an Exposure of their Tendencies. By R. Weaver.

The Union Tune Book; a Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes suitable for use in Congregations and Sunday Schools. Arranged by Thomas Clark, of Canterbury.

The Juvenile Harmonist : a Selection of Tunes and Pieces for Children. By Thomas Clark.

The Present State of the Exposure of the Sick on the Banks of the Ganges : a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon. By Rev James Peggs.

Jamaica : its Past and Present State. By James M. Phillippo.

The Highlands, the Scottish Martyrs, and other Poems. By Rev. James G. Small.

The Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science : Animal Physiology. Parts I. and II. By W. B. Carpenter, M.D.

Reflections after Reading ; or Sketches, Biographical, Ecclesiastical, and Historical. By John Cockin.

Prostitution in the Borough of Liverpool : a Lecture delivered in the Music Hall. By Rev. W. Bevan.

The Proceedings of the First General Peace Convention held in London, 1843, with Papers and Letters.

Traditions of the Covenanters : or Gleanings among the Mountains. Third Series. By Rev. R. Simpson.

The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran. Recognised and Established by subsequent Councils and Synods to the Council of Trent. By Rev. John Evans, M.A.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol. III., Part I. Antelim—Aristophanes.

Diary of the Times of Charles the Second. By the Hon Henry Sidney ; including his Correspondence with the Countess of Sunderland, and other distinguished persons of the English Court. Edited with Notes. By R. W. Clencowe, Esq., A.M. 2 vols. 8vo.

Tales of the Colonies : or Adventures of an Emigrant. By Charles Rowcroft. 3 vols. 12mo. Second Edition.

The Works of William Jay. Collected and Revised by Himself. Vol. VIII. **Memoirs of Rev. John Clark, Essays, and various Sermons.**

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Part II.

The Book that will Suit You ; or a Word for Every One.

Ruins and Old Trees associated with Remarkable Events in English History. By Mary Roberts ; with illustrations.

Poems ; Original and Translated. By Charles R. Kennedy.

The Perils of the Nation : an Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, the Higher and the Middle Classes. Second edition, revised.

Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa, and Journeys in other parts of Abyssinia in the years 1839—1842, &c. Illustrated by Maps.

The Juvenile Scrap Book. By the Author of the *Women of England*. 1844. With sixteen plates.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1844. By the Author of the *Women of England*. With thirty-six engravings.

China, in a Series of Views displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that ancient Empire. Drawn by Thomas Allom, Esq. With Historical and Descriptive Notices. By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. I.

Exposition of Hebrews XI., as setting forth the Nature, Discoveries, and Effects of Faith. By an Indian Layman.

The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament ; being an attempt at a Verbal Connexion between the Original and the English Translation. With Indexes. 2 vols.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1843.

- Art. I. 1. *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament.* By G. H. A. Ewald, Doctor of Philosophy, &c. &c., *Translated from the last edition, and enriched with later additions and improvements of the Author.* By John Nicholson, A.B., Oxon. 1838. London: Whittaker and Co.
2. *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language.* By Isaac Nordheimer, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Munich; Prof. of Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental Languages, and Acting Prof. of Hebrew in the City of New York. 2 vols. 1838—1841. London: Wiley and Putman, Longman and Co., Whittaker and Co.
3. *The Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius; Translated from the Eleventh German Edition.* By T. J. Conant, Prof. of Hebrew in the Literary and Theological Institution at Hamilton, New York. *With a Course of Exercises, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy.* By the Translator. Reprinted from the American edition of 1839. London: Ward and Co.
4. *A Hebrew Grammar, containing a Copious and Systematic Development of the Etymology and Punctuation of that Language.* By Samuel Ransom, Classical and Hebrew Tutor in Hackney Theological Seminary, &c. &c. 1843. London: Snow, Paternoster-row.

THE difficulties which formerly obstructed the study of the Hebrew language in this country, have, of late years, been to a great extent removed, by the publication of elementary works of the highest character, in forms, and at a cost which have rendered them accessible to all. Simultaneously almost with this advantage, there arose also a much more general interest in the study than had ever previously existed; an interest which indeed preceded and probably occasioned the appearance of some of the publications just referred to, but was, in its turn, augmented and diffused by the works which it called forth. The rise and peculiar features of this interest may be fairly re-

garded as a sign of the times in which we live, and of the character of the British people. Its principle was not, like that which prevails in Germany, a scientific one; nor did it manifest itself, as among the more kindred population of the United States, first in academic bowers; but it sprang up, with something like the luxuriance of oriental vegetation, suddenly, yet vigorously and visibly, in a particular section of what is conventionally called 'the religious world.' We are speaking of the great and general impulse given to the study since the year 1825. Previously to that time, Hebrew literature had been cultivated, and, for the most part, according to the pointed system, by various distinguished scholars in the national universities, and it had been a prescribed branch of study in the theological academies of the protestant dissenters from their foundation; but, as copies of the Hebrew scriptures were then expensive, and the most available aids to the learner were the grammars of Buxtorf, Schroeder, Ashworth, and Yeates, Buxtorf's Lexicons, Bythner's *Lyra Davidis*, and the *Clavis Pentateuchi* of Robertson, and the best of these at prices which placed them beyond the reach of most students, it was but few who fairly struggled through the difficulties which beset the 'strait gate' of Hebrew learning, and made any great advances in what is still its 'narrow way,' though Schultens had long before professed to have opened the '*via regia Hebraizandi*.' Thus it was not as a graft upon the stock of learning, but rather as a sucker from the root of religious feeling, that this new interest appeared. Or it might, perhaps, be more justly likened to a new seedling, produced by an artificial mixture of fashion and pseudo-prophetic zeal, (the latter, however, often in combination with a deep reverence for the word of God,) and forced into rapid development in the heated temperature of an epidemic enthusiasm. Thus it began; and old and young, male and female, without reflection, without patience, without discipline, but too often with a strong appetite for the marvellous, and a most lofty contempt for all the received principles of hermeneutics, but those which had the imprimatur of some Jewish Rabbi, or of Joseph Mede, rushed headlong into the study of the original prophetic scriptures, usually under the guidance of some Jewish teacher. Hence the extravagant crudities of the '*Morning Watch*,' with many of the other literal longings and material imaginings and dreams of Irvingism, and subsequently of Plymouth Brethrenism: fruits which, if it were not an abuse of language to represent them as gathered from the tree of knowledge, must be regarded as its evil produce, not its good, like apples of Sodom, alluring to the eye, but turning expectation into shame. Yet good has eventually and providentially come out of this excite-

ment. Germany had, for the previous twenty years, been maturing, in a sober and scientific way, the results of persevering and industrious research into the principles and structure of the sacred tongues; which then (through the labours of one or two American scholars, whose services, in this respect, were made available, with those of some remarkably able, though self-educated, native Hebraists), were ready to be laid before the British public, just as the enthusiasm had reached its height. And thus, a good supply of really valuable elementary works keeping pace with the increased demand for them, a stimulus was given to Hebrew literature, such as it never had realised since the days of Lightfoot and Castell, which, happily, far from being extinguished, continues to the present time with unabated, and even increasing, vigour.

The characteristic merits of the great modern cultivators of Hebrew literature are now so generally understood and recognised, by those who have taken advantage of their labours, that little need be said in addition to that which has been well said already. It would be ungrateful, however, even in this brief notice, to pass over, without distinct mention, the names of Gesenius, Stuart, Hupfeld, Ewald, Winer, Lee, Robinson, and Nordheimer, all of whom, without exception, have rendered, though in different ways, the most important service to the Hebrew student. Among these Gesenius is foremost. The study of Hebrew, on sound and comprehensive philological principles, was very greatly advanced by the publication of his *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, in 1817. Notwithstanding the great names by which Hebrew literature had been previously distinguished, the grammar of the language had been left in a very imperfect state, and Gesenius's successive labours in this department were excellently adapted to lead the way, in reviving and otherwise promoting the study of the language. Both in the chair and from the press he was a prince of teachers. His mind was entirely free from that misty mysticism with which his countrymen are so generally affected, or which they so generally affect. He studied diligently, thought clearly, ascertained facts and seized principles with great precision, and had, what so many want, as great a faculty in imparting, as he had in acquiring, knowledge. His great grammatical work, which was published, after two or three editions of his smaller grammar, (the first edition of which appeared in 1813, as a mere pamphlet,) was itself succeeded by numerous enlargements of that work, until the thirteenth, incorporating the most valuable results of his own and others' subsequent studies, and comprising between two and three hundred well-filled pages, was issued from the press in 1842. His Hebrew-

German Lexicons, first published in two volumes, and afterwards repeatedly in one; and still more, his Hebrew-Latin Lexicon, with its Latin vocabulary, and his nearly finished Thesaurus, were also most important contributions to the cause of Hebrew learning. Of his valuable Commentary on Isaiah, though indirectly very influential in stimulating and assisting the study of the language, it is less necessary to speak. His history of the Hebrew language and writing, a volume of 230 pages, published in 1815, admitting that, when compared with the author's later labours, it must be regarded as an immature work, was, at the time of its appearance, a useful addition to the motives and means of advancement in this study. Thus all his labours, directly or indirectly, tended to the same result, and place him, all things considered, at the head of those who have improved the philological machinery with which we must unlock the precious stores of biblical knowledge.

It was under Gesenius that Hupfeld received his first insight into Hebrew learning. This able scholar and estimable man first distinguished himself by his '*Exercitationes Aethiopicae, sive observationum criticarum ad emendandam rationem Grammaticae semiticae, specimen primum*,' a treatise of forty-six pages in quarto, which he published in 1825, and dedicated to his former tutor: '*cujus auspiciis opus susceptum, subsidiis et consiliis elaboratum, interventu et cura editum est*,' as its grateful author says. This was followed in 1827, by his piece, '*De emendanda ratione lexicographiae semiticae commentatio*,' published on occasion of the jubilee-festival of Dr. Albert Jacob Arnoldi, who, in the preceding year, had concluded the fiftieth year of his academical labours as professor of the Oriental languages at Marburg. In the following year an essay of his on the '*Theory and History of Hebrew Grammar*' appeared in the '*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*' of Ullmann and Umbreit. This was followed in 1830 by three essays, published in the same periodical, on the history of the Old Testament text, in which the letters and vocalization of the Hebrew were discussed, and which were to have been succeeded, but have not been, by another on the accents and Methegh. Various occupations have since prevented him, till lately, from publishing his long promised and much looked-for Hebrew grammar, which, though at length out, we have not yet seen. The character of Hupfeld's mind and writings is deservedly high: accurate knowledge, freedom of inquiry, and singular penetration in the development of principles, distinguish all his labours, which are valued wherever they are known, and in proportion as they are understood.

In the year 1827 the learned world of Germany was electrified by the appearance of Ewald's '*Critical Grammar of the Hebrew*

Language.'—pp. iv. 684. The influence of this work has been greater than that of any other which has been written on the subject, excepting only the *Lehrgebäude*, of Gesenius; and it was far more immediate and remarkable than even that. Wanting the calm and patient investigation of Gesenius, Ewald at once laid hold of fame through the force and brilliancy of his inventive talent; and if too many of his new solutions rested upon bold and arbitrary conjecture, others, never realized before, were the acquisitions of a deep and subtle philosophy, aided by an enlarged familiarity with the Shemitic family of languages. In Germany, through the almost incalculable influence of the universities on the world of letters, and the very large number of professors and private teachers which the universities supply, no work exhibiting original views runs any risk of being long neglected. The Athenian thirst for novelty yet flourishes in the land of Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, and Schelling, as in its native seat. But when a mere repent in theology, attacked, without the least appearance of misgiving, the critical character and many of the philological conclusions of the man who for fifteen years had been regarded as the acknowledged head of Hebrew learning, the *facile princeps* of Hebrew scholars, and especially when it was perceived that in some at least of his positions he had more correctly stated the principles of Hebrew philology, the interest excited seemed really boundless. The influence of Ewald's system, as a philosophical rival to the more soberly inductive one of Gesenius, was soon afterwards powerfully confirmed in the eyes of students generally by the admiration with which it was received by the philologists of Winer's school, and particularly by the frequent references made to the 'Critical Grammar' in Winer's revised edition of Simonis's *Lexicon*. Göttingen cried up the bold innovator because he was her son by birth as well as education; Berlin because his authority and influence were expected to furnish a counterpoise to the rationalism of Gesenius*. For a time it seemed as if the influence of the latter was henceforward to be shut up within the precincts of Halle. The spell, however, dissolved after a season. Ewald's extraordinary abilities and services were still properly acknowledged, but scholars and students were not so dazzled by them as to be blind to the less showy but more uniformly trustworthy

* The prejudice against Gesenius at Berlin was truly pitiable, and seemed to pervade equally the church and the university. A clergyman there observed to us, in 1835, with obvious delight, 'once Gesenius was esteemed the greatest name, but now Ewald has shewn that he is by no means so clever.' A distinguished professor there also, said to a friend of ours, that now that Ewald stood so high, he should not mind acknowledging the merits of Gesenius, as a Hebraist and expositor.

investigations of Gesenius, whose successive works, until his recent death, were a succession of advances in the same method of philological study and illustration on which he had originally commenced his career.

It is the less necessary to enlarge upon the relative merits of the contending systems of Gesenius and Ewald, since most of our readers who feel a particular interest in the subject have probably perused what Professor Moses Stuart has written so judiciously upon it in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. viii. pp. 470—488. It has also been discussed by Dr. Robinson, more briefly but with his usual discrimination, in No. II. of his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 366—369. To give an adequate view of the differences of judgment, arrangement, and manner of discussion, exhibited in their grammars, would also be impossible within the limits to which we must confine ourselves; the more especially as Ewald, in the second edition of his smaller grammar, printed at Leipzig in 1835, filled up several deficiencies, and otherwise made very considerable improvements upon his former works. A few, however, may be selected for cursory notice. Gesenius's division of the vowels into three classes was discarded by Ewald, in his 'Critical Grammar,' as 'utterly false:' in the second edition of his smaller grammar, however, it is made the basis of his own representation of them. It is indeed in the elementary part of his system—the illustration of the sounds of the language, and of the signs which bear upon vocal expression—that his system is most developed and improved since its first immature exposition in the 'Critical Grammar.' Much of this is to be undoubtedly ascribed to the severe, but just and acute development of the deficiencies of the 'Critical Grammar' in this branch of its investigations by Hupfeld in his review of it, and to the views propounded by that writer in some of the essays which we just now mentioned as having been written by him for the 'Studien und Kritiken.' Ewald's representation of the forms and flexion of the Hebrew nouns also differed greatly from that of Gesenius. Instead of nine masculine and four feminine declensions, which the latter distinguishes in his paradigms, Ewald's system, as drawn out by Woche*, (for he himself rather discusses it, and leaves the results to be gathered by a careful consideration of scattered observations,) exhibits only three principal classes, but these are divided and subdivided. His classification is certainly more scientific in analysis, distinguishes the essential and accidental differences more exactly, and in its leading ideas is more

* Woche's work is intitled 'Die Hebräischen Normalformen, nach Dr. G. H. Ewald's System erläutert und ausführlich in Paradigmen dargestellt Von Maximilian Woche, der Theol. Lic. und Prof. Gymnasium zu Ehingen au der Donau. Tübingen, 1832.'—pp. 48.

simple than that of Gesenius: on the other hand, the subdivisions are not free from perplexity, especially where unusual formations occur, (as in class. I. form ii. 2 a, 2 b, 6 a, 6 b, form iii. 1, 2, and repeatedly in the other two classes,) and some of the distinctions are the mere freaks of an excessive and cloud-embracing subtlety. Another of Ewald's deviations from Gesenius and the rest of the grammarians was his treatment of the Hebrew tenses as moods: 'Critical Grammar,' p. 554.—These examples, to which it would be easy to add more, will convey a sufficient general idea of Ewald's unfettered treatment of his subject, and at the same time sufficiently prove that all his new methods were not improvements. Still, speculating, as he did even in his first grammatical production, on the enlarged principles of universal grammar, it was impossible that, with his penetrating intellect and familiarity with the Hebrew Scriptures, he should not have struck out some new light, and made some useful discoveries. That he did so, and that, with several tacit retractions, he added to the number of these in both editions of his smaller grammar*, is universally admitted. On the whole, the judgment expressed respecting him and Gesenius by a writer who reviewed his 'Critical Grammar' in the *New Critical Journal* of theological literature by Winer and Engelhardt, may be cited here as a fair judgment on the case. 'For directly practical purposes, that is to say, for the popular throng of learners who stick fast in a meagre elementary knowledge, Herr Ewald has certainly not done much, even if he did not intentionally exclude all 'easy instruction for beginners' from his plan. For the learner, Gesenius will always command the preference on account of his convenient arrangement; while the completeness of his matter, and the inductive solidity and self-possession which pervades his investigations, will equally decide the choice of instructors and those who are occupied with the exposition of the Bible, however superior his follower may be in depth, acuteness, and boldness of speculation. As respects the general progress of linguistic

* It would, probably, but that the literary ardour and habits of the Germans are better known in England than they formerly were, be hardly believed that, between the publication of his 'Critical Grammar,' in 1827, and that of the first edition of his smaller grammar in the following year, Ewald acquired the knowledge of the Sanscrit, and even published a pamphlet on some of the older Sanscrit metres; or that, in the interval between the preparation of the first and second editions of his smaller grammar, a period of about six years, he published his *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, 8vo., Gottingen, 1828; his *Grammatica Critica Linguae Arabicae, cum brevi Metrorum Doctrina*, 8vo. Lips. Vol. I., 1831, Vol. II., 1833; his *Abhandlungen zur Biblischen und Orientalisten-Literatur* [Essays on Biblical and Oriental Literature], 8vo. Gött., 1832; and commenced his *Translations and Commentary on the Psalms*, which was published in 1835.

and biblical science, however, Ewald's practically useless grammar holds out the prospect of an undeniable advance, since, putting out of consideration the new results which are already ascertained, it allures in almost every page to further investigation, and must put a happy end to all that 'floundering forwards under the credit of some great name,' (as Johann v. Muller calls it,) which, in this department of learning, has been too much in vogue even among the heroes of literature.'

The services of Winer, as an agent in this linguistic reformation, were directly rendered in his thorough and scientific revision of the Lexicon of Simonis, and indirectly, but at an earlier date, through the stimulus given to the scientific investigation of Hebrew grammar by his work on the Greek of the New Testament. Winer may, in this latter department, be regarded as the founder of a school to which some of the most distinguished philologists belong. To describe it, or its master, does not enter into our design. It is sufficient to say, that what Thiersch did for Homer, Winer did for the New Testament; and that was a service which, in such a land as Germany, was sure to create a demand for a corresponding movement in Old Testament philology.

The names of Stuart, Lee, and Robinson, are well known to the Hebrew student as those of men who, while they have carefully watched the progress of discovery in Germany, have not been wanting in their own researches, or failed to exercise their own independent judgment. To Professor Stuart, America and England are deeply indebted, not only for his early and unwearied exertions, when there was none to help him, to make the stores of German 'Semitismus' acceptable to those who use the English tongue, but also for the high public example of strenuous diligence in the cause of biblical knowledge which his course of life has furnished for the last twenty years. The second and following editions of his grammar, especially the last, have been much used in this country. Of Robinson let it suffice to say, that the English student is indebted to him, not only for much indirect benefit through the 'Biblical Repository' which he first planned and edited, and his New Testament Lexicon, (of his geographical work this is not the place to speak,) but for the best Hebrew-English lexicon which exists. Lee's grammar, with some arbitrary and fanciful statements, has much that is original. His knowledge of the cognate languages, though too obtrusive on the whole, occasionally throws valuable light on Hebrew idioms. In his treatment of the nouns, especially the verbal nouns, and in the syntax, there are some things deserving of attention, which are not, to our knowledge, brought forward in other grammars. If we pass rapidly over these three names, it is not because we think

lightly of them. They have laboured well in a precious cause. *Palmarum qui meruerunt ferant.*

The last name on our list is Nordheimer; of whom it is not too much to say, that his place is in the highest rank of Hebrew grammarians. Though he entered the field at a later period than those whom we have previously mentioned, he had already done good service, achieved distinguished honours, and, by a new course of effort, had drawn towards himself the eyes and expectations of all who desired the complete resuscitation of the language of Canaan, when his sun went down, while it was yet day, and his work dropped unfinished from his hands. We shall abstract a brief account of him from the tribute rendered to his memory by his colleague, Dr. Robinson, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

Isaac Nordheimer was born of Jewish parents, at Memelsdorf, a village near Erlangen, in Bavaria, in the year 1809. He received the rudiments of his education at the school belonging to the Jewish community of his native place, and was at the same time privately instructed by a learned Jew residing in the village. His progress in Hebrew was so rapid that, at the age of eleven, it was thought advisable to secure higher advantages for him; and he was sent to a learned rabbi at Burg-breppach, a small town about ten English miles distant. Here he remained two years; and his acquisitions in Hebrew learning were such as to excite surprise and admiration in his teacher and friends. Being now regarded as sufficiently prepared to be initiated into the profounder studies of modern Jewish learning, the means were supplied, principally by his maternal grandfather, a rich, but esteemed an avaricious man, for his support at the celebrated Jewish school at Presburg, in Hungary, then under the direction of Moses Szofar, the most renowned talmudist of his day, to which he accordingly proceeded, partly on foot, partly by public conveyance, when he was thirteen years of age. Here he spent five youthful years in almost entire seclusion from the world, and under the severest discipline of mind and body, loading his memory with the endless subtleties of rabbinical hermeneutics and philosophism, but uninstructed in any really scientific principles or even compendious rules of biblical or talmudical study. The expositions, interrogations, and occasional solutions of the interpreting rabbi were however aided and enlivened by discussions with his school-fellows; and in 1828 he left Presburg to return home, furnished with all the learning held to be necessary for a Jewish rabbi, but with a constitution undermined by excessive abstinence, wearisome night-watchings, and various forms of unnatural bodily mortification. In accordance with the law established in several of the larger German

states, requiring that public Jewish teachers should have some acquaintance with classical literature and the outlines of theology, belles-lettres, and philosophy, Nordheimer then entered himself at the gymnasium of Würzburg, and for two years devoted himself to the study of the classics and his native German, giving Hebrew lessons in exchange for instructions in the latter. 'At the end of two years he was transferred to the university of Würzburg, where he gave himself chiefly to philosophical studies. Here led on by lectures of distinguished professors to wider and nobler views, incited by intercourse with fellow-students in the different faculties, and introduced into the society of many intelligent families in the city, he began to lay off the shell of his former rabbinic discipline, and to let his heart expand in the enjoyments of social life and of higher and freer intellectual pursuits. His pecuniary means were still extremely limited; and although he found generous protection, yet he was led to practise, both from necessity and by system, the strictest economy.' At Munich, whither as the metropolitan university, Nordheimer proceeded in 1832 to complete his studies, he devoted himself to philosophy with fresh ardour, incited by the instructive lectures of such men as Schelling, Schubert, and Oken. Here 'he took part in founding a philosophic-theological society among the students,' which 'was opened with an appropriate address by himself.' In Munich, too, 'he first began the study of the oriental or Shemitic languages,' and pursued to some extent the study of the Sanscrit. 'In all these he was mainly his own guide; receiving, however, occasional aid from the academical lectures, and especially from one of the academic instructors, who had become his friend. These pursuits necessarily brought him in contact with modern oriental philology; and thus reacted upon his own mind with respect to the Hebrew. He now accordingly turned his attention to the scientific philology of that language, as developed in the works of Gesenius and Ewald. As a means of support, he likewise gave private instruction in Hebrew. His residence at Munich, in the uninterrupted pursuit of chosen studies, and in the delights of select social intercourse, he was accustomed to look back upon with great satisfaction; though, in after life, it was a matter of regret to him that he had not there devoted his attention more exclusively to oriental philology.' Towards the close of 1834 he took his degree of doctor of philosophy at Munich, and afterwards sustained *pro forma* the public examination required of Jewish theologians.

In May, 1835, Nordheimer, at the invitation of two American gentlemen who had been his pupils, and with the approbation of his family, left his home for the United States, and reached New York in the course of the summer. The remainder of his

history is soon told. Becoming gradually known and respected, he received in the winter of 1835-6 the nominal appointment of professor of the Arabic and other oriental languages, and acting professor of Hebrew in the university of that city, and took up his residence on the university premises. Here he laboured till he died, with growing reputation and encouragement. But now the unnatural discipline to which he had been subjected at Presburg began to tell upon his wasting frame. He made two or three journeys to Saratoga for the benefit of the waters, and tried various physicians, yet he was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse. At length a cough and hectic fever came upon him; and 'although he was cheerful and hoped for the best, his physician gave no encouragement to his friends. He entered upon his duties in the seminary in October with his usual zeal, but with the weakness of an expiring lamp. He last met his class on Friday, October 28, [1842,] and died on the Thursday morning following, November 3. On the next day his corpse was accompanied to the grave by a long line of mourning friends, comprising the professors and students of the seminary, the chancellor and some of the professors of the university, and many of the Hebrew community. He was buried according to the Hebrew rites; and after the corpse was lowered into the grave, the nearest relatives [three younger brothers, besides a sister, had followed him to the States] first threw earth upon the coffin, and then the rabbi and other near acquaintances. After the usual ablution, the burial service in Hebrew was read in the adjacent chapel.'

If we have occupied more room with personal recital in the case of Nordheimer than in those of his distinguished fellow-countrymen, let it be remembered that his is in many respects a peculiar history. His life is a bright example of unwearied devotion to the cause of learning, and an equally impressive warning against violating in the pursuit of it the dictates of nature. As Christians, we must regret that the more odorous lamp of faith was not enlightened where the torch of science blazed so brightly—on this point our information is only negative—but it would be unchristian in ourselves not to do justice to him as a man and as a scholar who has deserved well of his fellows. We unfeignedly deplore his loss; and as he did not live to wear, like Gesenius and Ewald, the honours which grow from year to year as transcendent merit is more diffusively recognised, let the earliest posthumous justice be rendered to his labours*.

* The reader will remember that the whole of the preceding information respecting Nordheimer is derived from Dr. Robinson's interesting account, though portions of it only are marked as his. The remaining passages, though in many places retaining his language, could not with propriety be

Besides his Hebrew Grammar in two large volumes octavo, Dr. Nordheimer published a Hebrew Chrestomathy in 1838, and made considerable preparation for a new Hebrew concordance, of which the first part was published in the spring of 1842. We agree with Dr. Robinson 'that there would be reason for great regret should the publication be broken off,' and rejoice to learn from him that the preparations for it were in so forward a state at Nordheimer's death, and that his associate, Mr. Turner, is so familiar with the work and so competent to complete and superintend the printing of it, that there seems little ground for apprehension.

To the student of language who might be ignorant of the remarkable revolution which has taken place in grammatology during the last quarter of a century, through the labour of those master-minds by whom the study of the Sanscrit was first made available to the elucidation of difficulties in the languages of the Græco-Latin and teutonic families, Nordheimer's introduction to his grammar would be a phenomenon. It speaks, indeed, in a tone of which the grammarians of the last century knew nothing, and did we not know that this tone is substantially justified by real and sober facts, we should imagine that it was romance. What else would the following extract appear, if Von Schlegel, Bopp, Grimm, Von Humboldt, Pott, and Kühner had never written?

'The period has now gone by when a grammar was regarded as complete which exhibited the etymological and syntactical forms of a language as phenomena peculiar to itself, and whose sole merit consisted in the degree of diligence employed in collecting these facts, and the clearness of the arrangement in which they were displayed. In the present age, when philology, by means of the philosophical mode of treatment to which it has been subjected, is raised to the rank of a science, that grammarian will not be considered as having duly executed his task who does not enter upon the resolution of the phenomena of the particular language he undertakes to discuss, with the conviction that they are all necessary results of immutable and constantly operating laws, and with the intention of discovering and exhibiting those laws, and of applying them to the illustration of the whole body of facts which the language presents; at the same time showing for what reason and in what manner certain forms are made to serve certain grammatical purposes, and how these forms have arrived at their existing state. By this method of proceeding, the grammar of an individual language, which must otherwise prove a dry collection of lifeless, arbitrary, and so marked, on account of the frequent omissions, the compression of detached statements into one sentence, and the verbal alterations thereby rendered necessary. That so much of Dr. Robinson's language was retained in these passages needs, however, no apology or vindication, for why should his well-weighed and well-selected expressions have been rejected merely to make room for others less suitable?

loosely connected facts, is reduced to a completely organized system, connected in the most intimate manner by internal and external bands to an entire science.

'The honour of creating this new and splendid era in philology has been reserved for the nineteenth century, the distinguishing characteristic of which is an impatience of the circumscribed limits within which our less enterprising forefathers were content to move, and an ardent desire to extend the moral, political, and literary horizon to its utmost stretch. In the general struggle of all classes of men for the advancement and elevation of their several pursuits, the philologist has not remained idle. For, as an aspiring youth, not satisfied with the one-sided view of men and things obtained by even the most intimate acquaintance with all that pertains to his own country, travels through divers and far distant regions, and, after contemplating the exhaustless variety of their institutions and productions with the comprehensive glance of a world-historian, returns with his knowledge increased, his views enlarged, and his powers of observation sharpened, to his native land, where he meets with a thousand sources of interest and instruction which before, from their very familiarity, escaped his attention: so the philologist, to whose elevated aims the study of a few favourite tongues no longer suffices, turns his attention to that cradle of history, arts, and languages, the East,—and, having reached the banks of the remote Indus, by investigating the venerable tongues there still existing, discovers the means and the manner of exchanging their ideas which men have employed from the birth of time; with the knowledge thus acquired, he applies himself anew to the examination of his native tongue and of those more nearly related to it, whose structure now presents to his delighted view a philosophical symmetry and beauty of which before he possessed not the slightest conception.

'The revolution thus produced within the last thirty years in the science of philology, is one which for magnitude and rapidity has not been surpassed in the history of the human mind. When the scholars of Europe directed their intellectual vision to that newly discovered star in the East, the Sanscrit, now so brightly illumining the horizon of philology,—and led on by its refulgent beams arrived at the classic soil of the ancient Hindu, where to their astonishment they recognized the scenery of their own familiar homes, and heard the well known accents of their native tongues,—they began to anticipate a discovery of no less importance, than the means of demonstrating the correctness of those views of the fundamental connexion existing between all languages, which had long pressed themselves on the attention of critical minds.'—*Vol. I., Introd. pp. iii., iv., v.*

We did not intend just now to revert in any way to the contested question of the comparative merits of Gesenius and Ewald; for it did not then occur to us, not having read the introduction to his grammar since it first appeared, that Nordheimer had expressed his mind upon it; but we are inclined to think that the account of that lamented scholar which has just been given may have attached such an interest to his opinion

that we should not be excused if we withheld it. It has a special value, as being the judgment of a man who must have looked at the question from a peculiar point of view; nay, of the only man in the world who can have looked upon it from such a point of view. For it is that of one brought up, as we have seen, to labour in the tread-mill of rabbinical scholasticism, but who had broken his fetters and made his way, on foot, if we may so speak, from the house of bondage, all through the wilderness of toil and expectation, till he took his stand upon a Pisgah-top, whence not Canaan only, but its contiguous confines, the emporia whence it fetched its imports, and the lands in which their various races were cradled, lay stretched out as on a map before him. If his judgment appear more favourable to Ewald and less so to Gesenius than that which we have previously offered, it is not essentially different. But this distinction may be suggested, that Nordheimer decides in the spirit of the pure grammarian, whose supreme law is the perfecting of his science: we have regarded it in its immediate bearings on the interpretation of those precious documents from which the language itself derives its pre-eminent and inexpressible importance. Viewed in this light, the matter stands thus: Ewald's method was, in theory, the more scientific, but his actual results were usually less free from dross. He seized, before Gesenius, the thought of the age, but he failed to realize it in his first attempt. And if Gesenius needed Ewald as a spur to his own progress and an instrument to his own proficiency, which is in a measure true, he attained in this way to a comprehensiveness of which Ewald still falls short, and to which it is probable he never will attain. The full light of day shone first on Ewald, but the faculty of walking in it is more perfect in Gesenius. However, let us hear Nordheimer:

' Ewald was the first who showed to any considerable degree that the modern improvements in philology have extended to the Hebrew—a language that has of late years attracted an increasing share of notice, particularly since its acquisition has been facilitated, and its importance to the philologist enhanced, by the learned labours of Gesenius. But the very attention thus drawn to the Hebrew caused it sooner to be perceived, that the illustration of its grammatical structure, even after the publication of the copious and well arranged *Lehrgebäude* of the latter scholar, was far from being complete. In fact the demand was for a grammar which, adopting as its basis the eternal laws of speech disclosed by a profound study of comparative philology, should investigate the manner in which the phenomena presented by the language are originated, and the means by which they are rendered capable of answering the ends of their production.

' When a work of this description is required, the execution of the *Kritisches Lehrgebäude* will neither justify its title, nor answer public

expectation. The chief merit of its author consists in extensive and accurate researches into the Hebrew and its cognate dialects, a careful collection and judicious arrangement of their grammatical phenomena, and an occasional indication of some point of mutual resemblance. Great as were the comparative merit and utility of this work at the time of its appearance, and which still in a good degree remain undiminished, it is by no means calculated to meet the requisitions of the present age, in which reason is made to triumph over memory. When called upon to state appearances which differ more or less from what the preconceived notions of the occidental grammarian would lead him to expect, its author seldom undertakes to explain the manner of their origin, but is content to adduce the existence of the same or of similar forms in the cognate Aramaic or Arabic. This characteristic feature of Gesenius, which in all probability arises from a peculiar bent of mind acquired from his long continued lexicographical labours, is exhibited even in the latest edition of his smaller Grammar, where, instead of the much desired explanation of some difficult point, the reader is presented with a similar appearance in various other languages. This mode of illustration is far better adapted to lexicography, in which Gesenius confessedly stands preëminent, than to grammar. Indeed in the latter branch of philology no essential progress can be considered as having been made, until the internal causes on which the genius of a language depends have been discovered and displayed, and its so called irregularities either reduced to an inconsiderable number, or entirely explained away.

These considerations appear to have presented themselves in all their force to the inquiring mind of Ewald, and to have excited in him that noble desire to bring about the required improvement which resulted in the production of the *Kritische Grammatik*. It is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the beneficial effects which this work has wrought upon the study of the Hebrew, since it is well known that from its appearance dated the commencement of a new and important era in Semitic philology. Ewald had the merit of proving by means of his ingenious work that the Hebrew both admits and deserves a philosophical investigation, and that its peculiarities, which were before regarded as inexplicably mysterious, may be analyzed and reduced to principles founded in nature. His bold and keen spirit of research has opened a rich mine of discovery, from which he has extracted many a brilliant elucidation of the deepest obscurities of Hebrew grammar.

Yet, notwithstanding the high praise to which this writer has so just a claim for the boldness and originality of his conceptions, it cannot be denied that his performance is marred with many and serious defects. Indeed it appears to have been executed under the erroneous impression, that since the *Lehrgebäude* did not fully answer the wants of the age, its statements must either be utterly disregarded, or consulted only to be refuted; a supposition that has had the inevitable effect of often leading its adopter into the most glaring absurdities. In consequence of his eager search after novelty, his rules have become so multiplied, and frequently so vague and arbitrary, as to render his work totally unfit for the use of beginners; while to the critical reader it is completely evident that many of the laws he lays down, instead of being founded in the

nature of the human mind or in the genius of the language which is its offspring, are, notwithstanding the dogmatic and self-sufficient style in which they are couched, the exuberant product of a creative imagination, which extracts general principles from a few isolated facts, and applies them to the illustration of a whole class of phenomena, without their having acquired any other authority than the mere *ipse dixit* of their promulgator. Harsh as such remarks may sound when applied to a scholar of Ewald's abilities and acquirements, we feel confident that the impartial examiner of his grammatical writings will meet with abundant proofs of their correctness. At the same time no animadversions of ourselves or others can lessen his real merit; and this we hold to consist rather in having been the first to subject the Hebrew to a philosophic mode of treatment, than in having brought its theory to perfection.'—*Nordheimer's Introduction*, pp. xviii.—xx.

These extracts pretty clearly indicate what we are to look for in the author's own work. Indeed his introduction states explicitly that he applied himself more particularly to effecting improvements in Hebrew grammar; that in forming his opinion he remained completely independent of both Gesenius and Ewald; that he did not shun the discussion of the most formidable topics that presented themselves, even to the minutest particulars; that he was never satisfied with the bare citation of parallel forms from the cognate dialects, but uniformly arrived at the establishment and application of the principle of the analogy; and that he believed that his inquiries had not unfrequently been rewarded by the discovery of new and important facts, which had enabled him to place matters that had been the subjects of much discussion in a clearer light. This is saying much, but the learned world has justified the high but not immoderate pretensions of the author. Dr. Robinson refers in his account to 'that method, and clearness and fulness of illustration which has since been generally acknowledged.' And we can assure the student who is in a condition to proceed to the study of the Hebrew on enlarged philosophical principles, or in other words, has studied the Greek classics in the light of Buttmann, Thiersch, or Kühner, and the Latin in that of Scheller, Ramshorn, or Grotefeud, that of all the grammars we have seen, Nordheimer's is the best adapted to his use. It is not, to allude to some expressions of the author, a grammar whose sole merit consists in the degree of diligence employed in collecting the etymological and syntactical forms peculiar to the language, and the clearness of the arrangement in which they are displayed. It is one in which those leading principles which are rooted in the human mind as the essential common bond of all who speak with tongues on earth, and which are variously exemplified in the genius of particular languages, are applied to the external

phenomena of the Hebrew in a natural and orderly development.

As parts of the work in which the author's method is particularly deserving of notice, we should specify, in the first book, the three chapters on the accents, the imperfect letters, and the vowel changes; in the second, the first chapter which treats of the formation of words, that part of chapter third where *waw* conversive is discussed; and chapter eight on the formation of nouns, especially that part which relates to nouns derived from imperfect verbs. These are in the first volume. We hope to have an opportunity of taking the second volume, which treats of the Hebrew syntax, into more particular consideration on an early day.

In sections 113—117 we have a brief, but clear and discriminating, statement respecting the roots of the language. We shall extract those sections which treat of the biliteral roots as a specimen of the author's manner. Nordheimer is indeed not so full in the statement of some classes of facts as Gesenius is, nor does he offer, as Gesenius does, any theory respecting the relative antiquity of different classes of roots, but, on the other hand, he presents, particularly in § 113, which we cannot quote, some probable considerations, omitted or overlooked by Gesenius, respecting the original form of the biliteral roots; and what follows is valuable to a learner, not merely for what it says, but for what it suggests.

The majority of Hebrew primitives, as we have stated above, consist of three consonants. Besides these there are a considerable number composed of only two, but which were afterwards formed into trilaterals, according to the analogy of the language, by the reduplication of one of the existing radicals, or the insertion or addition of a new one. Such roots, as far as regards their fundamental meaning, which is fully expressed by the two original letters, are *biliteral*; while, in a grammatical point of view, they are *trilateral*. (§ 112.) Thus the several cognate ideas to *bind*, *press together*, *heap up*, *restrain*, *guard*, (*besiege*.) are expressed by the verbs קָשַׁר , קָשַׁר , קָשַׁר , קָשַׁר , קָשַׁר , but the simple idea of *compression* which runs through them all is denoted by the two constant radicals ק ; the modifications of this idea being distinguished from one another by the different modes adopted in forming the original biliteral into trilateral words, viz. by repeating the last letter, inserting the semi-vowel ו , or prefixing one of the semi-vowels ו or the liquid ל . In like manner are formed the two closely related classes of verbs דָּחַק , דָּחַק , דָּחַק , *to push down*, דָּחַק , דָּחַק , דָּחַק , *to beat down*, from the cognate biliterals דח and דח . A remarkable example of this formation of trilaterals is found in the proper noun בָּבֶל , *Babel* and the verb בָּלַל , *to confound*, whose connexion (see Gen. 11 : 9.) cannot easily be accounted for on any other principle, than their derivation from a common biliteral root, בל , of which the first letter is reduplicated in the noun, and the second in the verb.

instead of Göttingen. This defect, and the errors of the press, occasioned by its being set up by a compositor who did not understand English, are very serious drawbacks to the usefulness of the work, which is, however, a monument of the translator's enthusiasm in the cause of Hebrew learning, and is prefaced by an excellent introduction on the progress of Hebrew learning, and some other kindred subjects connected with the universities of northern Germany.

Conant's translation of Gesenius, as reprinted by Mr. Ward, is entitled to the praise of being, without exception, the best, the cheapest, and the most perspicuous Hebrew grammar which can be put into the learner's hands. The publisher may make it greatly superior to what it is, by incorporating the improvements of the last edition of the original. We wish that he were also encouraged to publish Gesenius's *Chrestomathy* in the same form; or, supposing that it were thought unnecessary to go to the expense of reprinting passages which every learner will have in his Hebrew Bible, we think that a translation of Gesenius's remarks upon those passages, attached as an Appendix to the Grammar, would considerably increase its usefulness.

When we were first informed that Mr. Ransom intended to publish a new Hebrew Grammar, it seemed to us that he was about to perform a work of supererogation, and we feared that he would lose both oil and labour. We understood, however, from information entitled to our confidence, that it was a work deserving of encouragement. In some respects, it is so. Mr. Ransom tells us in his preface, that his chief object in preparing his work was to furnish a systematic treatise on the vowel points;—one which should exhibit, in a connected form, 'the diversified changes which the vowel points suffer in the various processes which they undergo, and develop the principles which operate in those changes.' This subject is accordingly handled in a separate part, and occupies fifty pages (from 113 to 163) of his volume. The chapter headed 'vowel changes,' in Nordheimer, occupies but seven pages, equivalent perhaps to twelve of Mr. Ransom's: and the particular exemplifications are scattered throughout the work. It is much the same in Gesenius, only that he is a little fuller than Nordheimer in the general treatment of the subject, see his §§ 24 to 28, inclusive. Mr. Ransom has therefore performed a useful work in the preparation of a systematic digest of these minute phenomena. We could have wished, indeed, that he had confined himself to it, and published the result as a separate treatise, which would have made a useful supplement to all other grammars. But he also intimates in his preface, that he considers them as being, without exception, either too exclusively elementary, or too exclusively

critical; and that a grammar was wanted which, while it met the inquiries of students somewhat advanced in the language, should be adapted to initiate learners into it. Speaking generally, we may say that the whole of Mr. Ransom's grammar, not excepting the part on the vowel changes, is of an elementary character. The author's usual method is to fill up a brief outline of heads and particulars. Thus, in § 4, the 'letters are classed—1., according to the organs by which they are enounced; 2., according to certain peculiarities belonging to them; 3., according to their relation in the words which they represent;' and each of these classes is subdivided and further illustrated under its own head. This method, which aids both the understanding and the memory, was that usually pursued by the older grammarians, who were uniformly very systematic. Erpenius, for instance, in his *Grammatica Arabica*, lib. i. cap. 2, 'de divisionibus literarum,' says: *Dividuntur hæ literæ multifariam, ratione scilicet pronunciationis, roboris, affinitatis, officii, et societatis*, and then proceeds to state particulars in order. Schroeder, also, in his Hebrew grammar, uses this same method very generally. Approving it, however, as Mr. Ransom does, we wonder that he has not carried it out more consistently, by arranging the twenty three chapters of his *accidence* under their appropriate headings. Instead of this, he proceeds from the 'elements of pronunciation (ch. ix.) to 'words—parts of speech in general,' (chap. x.) as if their connexion with each other was just as close as that of each to its other neighbour; and without making it apparent, by suitable headings, that the learner passed in chap. x. from the *Elements of Reading* to those of *Etymology*. For the same cause we are also surprised that he adopted the thirteen declensions of Gesenius, instead of a classification, which would have distinguished larger and lesser differences more perfectly, and so have aided the intellect as well as the memory. There are also a few other points on which either intentionally or through oversight, the author has not been so discriminating as we think he should have been. We miss, for instance, any notice, at least there is none in page 37 or 39, in one of which we expected to find it, of the rarer species of verbs. There is no adequate general statement concerning the roots of the language. Now this is quite as important to scientific clearness, as a combined view of the vowel changes, and would have thrown much light on the system of the language with very little trouble. There are, here and there, particular points inaccurately stated, apparently for want of a little deeper investigation: as chap. ix., where the author says, 'ג appears to have had two sounds among the ancient Hebrews. The harder sound is that of *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as גִּמְרָה *Gomorraḥ*;

its softer is like that of \aleph , \aleph *Eli*.' Now, we do not believe that the softer sound was like that of \aleph . It is true, that in the Septuagint the two sounds were so given; but *Eli* was not written, because γ had the power of \aleph , but because the Greek language did not possess the very peculiar sound which γ had in that word. We must say here as Gesenius says of the expression of \aleph by ὀδολλάμ in the Septuagint: 'whence, however, it by no means follows that this is the true pronunciation.' Did we look only to the Arabic, we should be drawn to the conclusion, that in the *Ain* and *Ghain* of that language we have the two powers of γ distinguished. The distinction is rendered indubitable, however, by a fact which Gesenius has noticed in his *Lehrgebäude*, on the authority of some Rabbinical writers. 'The sound of γ is peculiar to the languages of the Shemitic family, &c....Soon therefore after the language died out of constant use, we meet with complaints concerning its difficult and inaccurate pronunciation. The Talmud remarks, that whole families and provinces did not know how to distinguish it from \aleph and π , and would have such stammerers debarred from speaking the benediction in public.' (Lehrg. pp. 18, 19, where the Rabbinical authorities are given.) Still, Gesenius seems to think that the smooth sound of γ was even in ancient times probably weaker than that of the Arab *Ain*, because the modern Aramaean pronunciation is so. This point must remain doubtful. We possess proof that in matters of pronunciation, the Hebrew formed a kind of middle way between the Arabic and Aramaic, see Nordheimer, § 113. That in Aramaic this letter has many of the properties of the quiescible letters does not, however, necessarily imply that its distinct proper sound is to be disregarded, for the same is true in Arabic. De Sacy (*Grammaire Arabe* première édition, § 43,) says: 'Il y a beaucoup de rapport entre la prononciation du *Ain* et celle de l'*elîf* avec le *hamza* ou du *hamza* seul, si ce n'est que le *Ain*'s *article plus fortement*.' Yet this does not prevent his attempting to give an idea of its peculiar sound by comparing it to the effort made when we swallow with difficulty; while Golius, if we remember rightly, compares its pure vocal tone to that of a calf bleating after its mother, and Freytag, in his *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Hebr. Sprache*, says, it is 'like the bleating of an old sheep.'

The style of Mr. Ransom's grammar is susceptible of great improvement. Many statements want precision, and the meaning is equivocal. For instance, in § 39 he says, that *Raphe* 'occurs in Hebrew MSS., but except in a very few instances, is not found in printed copies of the Bible.' Now, a mere learner would be in doubt whether the author meant to say that *Raphe*, when it occurs in printed editions, occurs less frequently than in

MSS., or that it occurs in but a few editions only. In § 5, he says: 'the Hebrew alphabet consists wholly of consonants, the vowels being left to be supplied by the knowledge of the reader.' The continuation of the paragraph shews that he is here speaking of what was the case when Hebrew was a living language, but the fact he is describing should have been accurately stated in its proper place. Had he merely said, 'the vowels being originally left,' no misconception could occur. In § 433, we read: 'the vowels in the process of composition suffer various changes. What these changes are, together with the causes which produce them, are now to be exhibited.' How much better would it have been to have written, 'these changes, and the causes which produce them, are now to be exhibited.' In § 434, we read, 'FIRST. None but mutable vowels can suffer change.' Good! 'What vowels are mutable will appear from a description of those that are immutable. Immutable vowels, then, are,' &c., &c. How wordy and circuitous is this. And how was it that the distinction between mutable and immutable vowels is first stated in § 434, after the etymology has been treated in detail?

The two main points, however, which Mr. Ransom intended, he has creditably performed. The part upon the vowel changes is a very useful digest, and the thought of compiling it was a very happy one. To bring it to perfection, it is worthy of Mr. Ransom's unwearied diligence and care. He will do well to make it complete as a collection of phenomena, and to bring to its elucidation the spirit of Nordheimer's researches. The principal elementary and etymological facts are also presented in his *accidence*, unincumbered with controverted questions. This is well. At least it is well to have such a Hebrew *accidence*. But we doubt if its principal service is not restricted to its use by boys, or youths of undeveloped mind. In the case of educated youth, Gesenius or Nordheimer yield the more valuable aid. In their grammars, information goes hand in hand with the lessons and tasks of a higher discipline. Peculiar forms are accounted for as they occur, and nothing is proposed as a mere burden for the memory. Still for those whose memories need cultivation, Mr. Ransom's method is well adapted. One thing is there attended to at a time, and when the memory has mastered the leading facts, the intellect will be left at liberty to seize those principles which will facilitate the acquisition of the rest. Sometimes the combined study of the first and second parts, as recommended by the author in his preface, will answer well. No method is invariably advantageous. Perhaps one of the chief advantages of Mr. Ransom's arrangement is, that it allows of either method at the teacher's or the learner's choice.

In conclusion, we thank him very sincerely for his volume, which shows that the study of the Hebrew is alive in those institutions which are presumed to be the most directly practical in their preparation of students for the Christian ministry.

It has been stated that the study of Hebrew experienced a wide revival in this country, though in some quarters we presume but a temporary one, through the interest felt by many private Christians in unfulfilled prophecy. The number of private persons who, in this country, have paid some attention to the language, has probably always been considerable, since Lowth published his *Isaiah*, but the result has been by no means considerable. Parkhurst's *Lexicon* being in English, and promising the delusive facilities of the unpointed system, came into great request, especially among those who were attracted by the subtleties and mysteries of Hutchinson, whose views it expounded with ability. Parkhurst's day has gone down. Still the religious interest in Hebrew survives; and we shall conclude this article with some brief direction to those who may be anxious to acquire the language, but know not how to set about it. The first thing then which we should advise, is to get a tutor, if possible, were it only for the sake of learning to read without a painful loss of time and labour. The learner need not, in the first instance, be solicitous about a grammar. Let him begin with Keyworth's *Principia*, and with or without a tutor's aid, (but it will be far better with,) go through it by means of the key. If any interest in the grammar arises, Pinnock's catechism will answer every purpose till he can translate the Hebrew text of the *Principia* into English, and retranslate it into Hebrew. We attach great importance to the latter exercise of learning the Hebrew of a correct English translation. The various forms are more distinctly recognised when the Hebrew, rather than the English, is thus made the object of attention. When he has thus become familiar with Keyworth, he is ready to read the prose of the Old Testament. We would then recommend him to procure Conant's Gesenius, noticed in this article, and read the *Chrestomathy* through, carefully studying every reference in the grammar. When these are translated, and the student can give the Hebrew for the English, as well as the English for the Hebrew, he may get Hahn's small 8vo. Bible, or D'Allemand's edition of Vanderhooght, (if the type be not considered too small, the former is preferable, on account of the way in which the poetical portions are printed,) and Gesenius's *Lexicon*, by Robinson, or Gesenius's or Winer's *Hebrew-Latin Lexicon*, if he read Latin, and persevere in translating with a sedulous attention to the grammatical principles exemplified. Mr. Ransom's treatise on the vowel changes will also render

him good service when he goes to the Hebrew text itself, without the aid of a prepared analysis. In this way he cannot fail of attaining his end. He may even abridge this course if he please: he may go, if he prefer it, from Keyworth immediately to the Bible, and Mr. Ransom's grammar. But there is one point he must make up his mind to; he must work diligently and perseveringly, or he will fail. If he have a teacher who understands the language, his difficulties will be greatly diminished; but, provided he set out with a correct pronunciation, diligence in private study will achieve the rest. 'Prayer, pains, and patience,' as the indefatigable Eliot said long ago, 'with the blessing of God, will do anything.'

Art. II. *Diary of the Times of Charles II., by the Honorable Henry Sidney, (afterwards Earl of Romney,) including his Correspondence with the Countess of Sunderland, and other distinguished persons at the English Court; to which are added Letters illustrative of the Times of James II. and William III.* Edited with notes by R. W. Blencowe, Esq., A.M. In two volumes. London: Henry Colburn.

THE reign of Charles the Second constitutes the most disgraceful period of English history. Other epochs have been characterized by the absence of public virtue on the part of rulers, or by apathetic indifference to the securities of popular freedom, on the part of the people, but there have usually been some redeeming elements, some circumstances of greater or less prominence which have seemed to relieve the dreariness of the scene, and to betoken the better state of things which was in reserve. No such relief, however, is afforded in the period which intervened between the restoration of the Stuarts and the accession of the last member of that infatuated house. Commencing in perfidy, it deluged the land with licentiousness, intolerance, and cruelty, and gave birth to a race of pigmy statesmen whose intellectual stature was as dwarfish as their principles were low-minded and base. The infected atmosphere of the Court spread itself through all grades of society, corrupting female virtue, poisoning the spring-heads of patriotism, darkening the intellect of the nation, and rendering religion itself the mere tool of servile and ambitious priests. A pestilence far worse than the plagues of Egypt spread over the land, and impiety and every foul crime walked forth unmasked in open day. The nation had shown itself unworthy of its recent visitation, and it was as though the Supreme Being, in righteous displeasure, had given it over to the dominion of divers lusts and passions. The redemption wrought for it from civil tyranny had

been permitted to degenerate into military despotism, while its freedom from the galling shackles of priestly rule had given occasion to religious hypocrisy and formalism. The glory of the movement had passed away, even before Charles Stuart returned to pollute our soil. The substitution of military rule for popular representation prepared the way for the unreflecting and disgraceful loyalty which followed; and the mistaken attempt to suppress irreligion and to foster piety by acts of parliament, while it compelled a reluctant submission to outward forms, strengthened in the great mass of the people an aversion to religion itself. Extenuating circumstances may no doubt be alleged in vindication of the policy of Cromwell and of the religionists of his day. The necessities of his position and the confused views yet entertained of the spiritual nature and distinct province of religion are of this kind, yet, after all, their force is only partial, and cannot avail to justify the course which was pursued.

Throughout the period of the commonwealth and the protectorate, there was unquestionably an amount of religious principle in the nation far exceeding what had previously been known. The number of the sincerely religious was, however, even then comparatively small, and the religious profession of the day was in consequence in no inconsiderable measure mere formalism and hypocrisy. Restrained in an unnatural position, partly by the direct coercion of law, and partly by the force of government example and influence, the body of the people were prepared for the rebound which took place when impiety and licentiousness, in the shape of restored and episcopal monarchy, proclaimed their return to power. It was a fearful reaction which followed, for the personal character of the monarch and of his associates gave additional force to the deleterious influences which were in operation. Under any circumstances the result could scarcely have failed to be pernicious, but the licentiousness of the court gave a currency to vice which laughed morality to scorn, and the intolerant bigotry of state priests silenced—so far as human power and vigilance could silence—the only men by whose ministerial fidelity and diligence, an effectual check to the demoralizing influences afloat might have been interposed.

The volumes now before us, are confirmatory of the view given of this period by numerous other witnesses. The insight which they afford into the condition of the Court, and the principles of public men, is similar to that supplied by the pages of Evelyn and Pepys. The domination of female influence, and that too, of the worst kind; the sanction afforded to the licentiousness of the monarch, by the debased moral tone of all about him, the pecu-

niary corruption of his ministers, and the selfish and low-minded ambition which superseded all the nobler aspirations of patriotism, are conspicuous throughout the diary and letters. The European reputation of England was at its lowest ebb; and the French king, partly by bribes, and partly by insulting threats, was more potent in the English court than Charles himself. That degraded monarch, lost to every feeling of honour, and contemptuously regardless of the welfare of his people, was by turns cajoled and browbeaten by his ambitious and unscrupulous neighbour. Such was the condition of the nation at the time to which these volumes refer, and we proceed to put our readers in possession of some portion of their contents.

The Honourable Henry Sidney, the author of the Diary now published, and the person to whom most of the letters contained in these volumes were addressed, was the younger son of the Earl of Leicester, and brother of the celebrated Algernon Sidney. He was born at Paris, in 1640, and soon after the restoration was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber, in the household of the Duke of York. From this post, however, he was abruptly dismissed, in consequence of one of those disgraceful intrigues, then unhappily too common: and remained for some years estranged from the Court. After the death of the first Duchess of York he returned, and through the favour of the king obtained the office of Gentleman and Master of the Robes, with a handsome salary of £5,000, a year. In 1678, he had the command of a regiment conferred on him, and in the following year was appointed envoy to the States of Holland. In this situation he remained about two years, and was skilful enough at once to retain the favour of the English monarch, and to acquire that of the Prince of Orange. During his absence he was elected member for Bramber, in the parliament which met, October 20th, 1680, and according to the statement of Rapin,—though there is some difficulty in reconciling the alleged fact, with the dates of several letters contained in the second of these volumes,—took an active part in support of the Exclusion Bill. However this may have been, the part he afterwards acted in forwarding to the English government the memorial of the States, on the rejection of that bill by the House of Lords, was highly offensive to the court, and induced his recal. It was not probable that the course pursued on this occasion would be forgotten by so implacable a prince as James; and Sidney, therefore, soon after the accession of the duke, was, according to Bishop Burnett, ‘so apprehensive of the dangers that he might be cast into, that he travelled nearly a whole year in Italy.’ As the affairs of England approached their crisis, he moved nearer to the scene of action, and became the channel of com-

munication between the disaffected lords, and the Prince of Orange. He accompanied the expedition of that prince to England; and, immediately after the proclamation of William III., was invested with various offices, and speedily created Viscount Sidney and Baron Milton. The most interesting portions of the diary and correspondence here presented to the public, were written during his residence at the Hague.

In the early part of the journal, frequent allusions are made to the state of parties in the English court, and the opinions of the leading ministers on events of the greatest political importance, are briefly stated. The general feeling, save amongst the few who constituted the clique of the Duke of York, is represented as favourable to a visit from the Prince of Orange; while Sir William Temple is reported, June 17th, 1679, to have convinced the king that it was necessary to part with Lord Lauderdale. 'Afterwards,' says the Journalist, 'he proposed my Lord Danby getting away, as a thing necessary for his affairs. He seemed inclined to it, and I am to know how the Prince (of Orange) would receive him there.' The following, under date of June 26th, 1679, reveals the miserable state of thralldom in which the affairs of the nation, were at this period held.

'Lord Halifax told me he thought it would be a good thing if the prince would come over, and just upon the meeting of parliament, not knowing that it had ever been spoken of before. Lord Sunderland told me that the Duchess of Portsmouth was unsatisfied with the prince; and desired me to advise him to write to her, and make some application to her, for that she will be of great use to us, particularly against the Duke of Monmouth; and I am to let him know how instrumental she hath been in changing the council, and in several other things. In short, I am to tell him that she is one Lord Sunderland does make use of, and that he must do so too if he intends to do any good with the king. She hath more power over him than can be imagined. Nobody can excuse what she hath done, but I hope well from her for the future. He thinks it necessary for him to see the duke before he comes over; but it must be a good while before, or else it will give great suspicion here. When he does see him, he is to persuade him either to turn protestant himself, or else not to take it ill of him if he falls into that interest, which is the only thing that can support him and his daughter.' — vol. i., pp. 15, 16.

Lord Danby was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, under an impeachment of the Commons.

'I am to let the prince know,' Sidney subsequently remarks, 'that, the Lord Shaftesbury is not of our party, but, that he is a good tool to work with, and that there is nothing to be done in a parliament without him. He makes the finest promises

that can be, and confesses that there were faults committed in the last session, which he hopes will be repaired in the next.'

A design appears to have been entertained by some of the ministers, of investing the prince with an English dukedom, and of conferring on him, 'all the dignities and rights of the third son of England.' By this means it was hoped to counterpoise the influence of the Duke of York, and to retain nearer the throne a member of the royal family whose protestantism was beyond question. The scheme, however, failed of accomplishment, though afterwards revived—in part at least—with more probability of success.

Every reader of English history, is acquainted with the melancholy death of the Earl of Essex, who was imprisoned in the Tower, in 1683, on suspicion of being engaged with Lord Russel, and Algernon Sidney, in the Rye House Plot. These volumes furnish several illustrations of the constitutional melancholy which tinged his lordship's views, and thus serve to correct the influence which might otherwise be drawn from his tragical end. We refer to this nobleman now, only for the purpose of introducing a letter which he addressed to Charles II., July 21, 1679, and which does infinite honour to his fidelity as a counselor, and his firm attachment to constitutional liberty.

'Since my coming to town I have heard of many discourses here, concerning the new company of guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for this next session of Parliament; and that upon this occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. 'Tis commonly said this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head men which may suddenly be raised; that this is an illusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and soldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have, that any design is on foot of governing by an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose again that credit by forming this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise. Now if monies shall be saved all other ways, and force increased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when, in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being increased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses? I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath

on the Treasury, for we do clearly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there, but 'tis certain now they do it with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speak nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept what I have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aim of your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant.'—vol. i., pp. 36—39.

Public decency has recently been outraged by the wholesale corruption of large sections of the electoral body, and the disclosures made have impressed the sounder portion of the community, with the imminency of the danger which threatens us from this quarter. It is not, however, to be supposed that this evil is of modern growth. Recent events may have given it unwonted vigour, but it is unhappily traceable through most periods of our parliamentary history. The following letter to Mr. Sidney, from an electioneering agent, reveals the same course of cajolery and corruption as obtained for our present premier at the last election his boasted parliamentary majority. We quote it for the purpose of shewing that the evils in question are of long standing, and of awakening our readers—by the barefaced exhibition which the letter supplies—to a due sense of the enormity of the practices referred to. After informing Mr. Sidney that his brother Algernon had interested himself on behalf of another candidate, but that by 'the powerful charms of feasting and drinking' so great interest was obtained, that Mr. Peirce Goring consented to desist, if he might have his charge reimbursed, which was readily consented to,' the letter-writer continues :

'The charge he was at, he says, was £80, which I have engaged to pay this week ; 'twas more than we thought it could have been, but it is not to be imagined what those fellows, their wives, and children will devour in a day and night, and what extraordinary reckonings the taverns and alehouses make, who, being burgers, are not to be disputed with on that point. And now, Sir, I am coming to tell you we have spent you almost £200 more, and have been no ill husbands neither ; but, if we had not met with the difficulties aforesaid, half this expense would have served. And, if ever there should be the like occasion, you are sure of Bramber ; for Peirce, I reckon, has passed over his interest for ever : they long very much to see you, when you come over (which I begin to hope to hear of) ; Mr. Pelham and I have engaged they shall have that satisfaction ; Mr. Pelham was so kind as to go over with me, and came again the day of election, though very wet. Sir Jo. sent over half a buck, with which we treated bravely. I made it an article that the gentleman should declare amongst the Burgers that he did desist, and that he would take it as well if they were for you as for him ; and, to do

him right, he owned a great respect for your family, and in particular for yourself; and, if they would choose a stranger, he knew none more worthy; but this could not be brought into example to leave the neighbours and gentlemen of the country; but he having his residence at Maidstone, we thought him as much a stranger as you, Sir.

'I have now given you an account of all the most serious parts of this affair; there are many things I might add, which are too long and impertinent, and therefore I shall say no more of that matter, unless I beg leave to tell you that you would have laughed to see how pleased I seemed to be in kissing of old women, and drinking wine with handfulls of sugar, and great glasses of burnt brandy, three things much against the stomach, yet with a very good will, because, to serve him I most honoured.'—vol. i., pp. 117—119.

The inherent wickedness of the bribery system might suffice, one would imagine, to render it an object of abhorrence to every virtuous mind; and yet there is reason to fear lest its extensive prevalence may serve to diminish this feeling. What is generally, and for a long period practised, comes to be regarded as innocuous, or at least as inevitable, while the temporary triumph which bribery sometimes secures, causes many to connive at its employment who would not openly justify its use. We have known and could specify instances of this kind, but we forbear. Suffice it to remark, that the employment of bribery by the friends of liberty is a suicidal act for which nothing can atone, and on which posterity will pronounce its severest curse. The strength of the liberal cause is found in the enlightened and virtuous sentiments of the community, and whatever serves to weaken these, which bribery most obviously does, is unfriendly to human liberty, whatever temporary purpose it may serve. We have been led into these remarks from an apprehension lest the example of our opponents should prove contagious. Should it do so, an irreparable injury will be inflicted on the popular cause, for which a few party triumphs will afford but a paltry compensation.

Considerable light is thrown by the Journalist on the relations of the Duke of York, both to his brother and to the Prince of Orange, as also on the position of the Duke of Monmouth, and the views of the English ministers generally. From the numerous references made to these parties, most of which are very brief, it is obvious that there was an utter want of that confidence which springs from mutual esteem. Innumerable antagonistic influences were perpetually at work, the unsteady mind of the king keeping true only to one point, the indulgence of his pleasures and the gratification, so far as was consistent therewith, of the wishes and policy of his brother. Returning from the Hague to London, in the autumn of 1679, Mr. Sidney

records his waiting upon the king, who complained of the Prince of Orange, 'that he would not be persuaded.'

'At night,' he adds, 'I was with my Lord Sunderland; he told me the whole story of the Duke; how the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings and the Earl of Shaftesbury were not to be endured; that if the King had died, he would have made great troubles, either setting up for himself, or for a commonwealth. That the parliament was to be prorogued; Lords Essex and Halifax discontented. He thinks matters do not go so ill as we think. The Duchess of Portsmouth I find is not well with the Prince, but extremely well with the Duke. The King kinder to him than ever; he is to come back out of Scotland, and never to go again; he thinks to quiet everything by his going. The Duke of Monmouth will come back when the Duke does.'—vol. i., p. 176.

Writing to the prince, November 10th, he gives a dismal view of the state of affairs; the king unwilling to convene a parliament, Lord Essex intending to quit office, Lord Halifax 'sick and out of humour,' and Sir William Temple never coming to 'councils or into any company.' It required only, to consummate the disorder, that we should be informed, as is done immediately afterwards, 'the duchess of Portsmouth has more power than ever.' On the 16th, we have the following entry:—

'At night I was with the King: he told me I should inform the prince of the measures he intended to take, but that it was plain he could not let the Parliament sit above a week; that it was better not meeting than parting angrily; that he knew they would impeach the duke, and fall upon all that he considered right; that they would be glad to mutiny, and only wanted a head, which the Parliament would be; that he hoped this violence would wear off, and then he should be glad to meet his Parliament: in the mean time, he said, he intended to live upon his revenues, and do all he can to satisfy his people. In the evening, my Lord of Essex told the King of his intentions to quit. He said little to him, but was horribly vexed.'—vol. i., pp. 188, 189.

The return of the duke to London, though regarded with dread by the English ministers on account of his unpopularity, was productive of an apparent improvement in the state of affairs, which concealed from the notice of most observers the volcano that was beneath. 'The duke,' writes the Earl of Sunderland to Mr. Sidney, 'falls into all our measures, so much beyond what we could expect, both at home and abroad, that I will venture to say the king's affairs are in a better condition than they have been these seven years. For we apprehended only that he would have disordered them, but we find on the contrary. Take this upon my word, for I do positively affirm it to you.'

He therefore requests the English envoy to advise the prince to 'write kindly and submissively to the king and the duke;

that he depends upon them, and that they may dispose of him.'

Whatever may have been the real state of the prince's feelings towards his father-in-law, he does not seem at this period to have formed any project to supersede him on the English throne. Many proposals were made, many projects were suggested, and the possibility of such an issue must therefore have occurred to his mind. However this may have been, he scrupulously avoided giving countenance to the views of his more zealous friends, at the same time that he refused to concur in those schemes of the English Court which he deemed incompatible with the liberty of Europe. Mr. Sidney was on the best, and so far as their positions allowed, the most confidential terms with the prince. He was known to be attached to his party as distinct from that of the duke; and the following record, under date of November 3d, 1680, is therefore of importance on this point:—

'At seven I was with the prince. I told him all our affairs, and endeavoured to persuade him to come over, but I could not prevail. He told me he saw plainly that he was very likely to be deprived of his right in England, and at the same time to be undone here; but if the stake that he hath in this world were ten times greater, it should all go, rather than that he would save it by doing an ill thing. He thinks excluding the duke an injustice, and he would not advise the king to do it for all the world; he believes he shall be the first that will be undone, but he hopes God will give him patience, and have a care of him in all conditions. He spoke admirably, and it would have charmed any body to have heard him; in fine, he is convinced he may be a great prince if he does what he is advised to, and that he shall be undone if he does it not; but that he will rather choose that than do a thing against his conscience.'—vol. ii. p. 120.

It is well known to every reader of English history, that the project of excluding the Duke of York from the throne was in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. the turning point of political partizanship and action. In the parliament which met in October, 1680, a bill for the accomplishment of this object was introduced and carried rapidly through the Lower House, and many of the letters contained in the present collection refer to this all-engrossing theme. In the Upper House its reception was different. Lord Halifax led the opposition with more than his usual ability, and at the close of the debate, which extended to the then unusual hour of eleven o'clock, the measure was rejected by a majority of 63 to 30. How different this result was from the expectations, even of the best informed, may be gathered from a letter to Mr. Sidney, dated November 8, writ-

ten by the Countess of Sunderland his niece, and the wife of one of the king's ministers :—

'Every moment shows us plainly that what you were *desired to press is more necessary, and that, if the Prince will not come, he must never think of any thing here*, and he may as reasonably on a point of conscience resolve to *refuse any right that belongs to him*; for he can no more think himself accessory to this exclusion of the Duke, nor charge himself with it, than I can. The thing is already done, *and his part is only to come*, and prevent the confusion which otherwise we must of necessity fall into; and, to strengthen you with arguments, I must not omit letting you know one thing, that the City is resolved, the moment *the Bill has passed the House of Commons*, to come down and *petition the King*; when it is judged what must follow! If there be nothing to fix on, 'tis certain *the Duke of Monmouth must be the King*; and if the *Prince thinks it not worth going over a threshold for a kingdom*, I know not why he should expect any body should for him. The case is much changed since you were here; and a day's loss of his being here, for aught I know, may make it for ever *useless to the Prince*: therefore as he pleases. I will admit of no more ifs and ands. I would willingly go further than Holland to tell you my whole mind on this matter, because I wish you mighty well, and fancy if you could but see all that is to be seen, *the Prince would not be such an ass*; and so farewell.'—Vol. ii., pp. 122—124.

Six days afterwards, the same fair correspondent informs the English envoy of the bill having been cast out, and an extract from her letter is too characteristic to be omitted. The Earl of Sunderland, it must be borne in mind, had voted for the bill, and was in consequence under the displeasure of the King.

'*The King acts as if he were mad.*' The Bill was yesterday cast out of the Lords' House, and our friend is in great disgrace for giving his vote for the Bill. All things are coming to the last confusion, in all appearance; but yet the Commons are the patientest, prudentest persons ever was. By the next post 'tis probable I may tell you more particularly, but at present Lord Halifax is *the King's favourite*, and *hated more than ever the Lord Treasurer* was, and has really deserved it. For he has *undone all*, and now *the Prince* may do as he pleases; for I believe his game has been, by his prudence and whatever you'll call it, lost—and he'll wish too late *his conscience had not been so tender*; but all this keep to yourself till you hear again. My Lord bids me tell you, and 'tis true, that his head aches so he could not write: as for news, 'tis most of it printed.

'The Bill for Exclusion was yesterday flung out of the Lords' House, for which the House of Commons have to-day adjourned, and will not move. What they'll do to-morrow, I know not; but yesterday they had resolved to take Tangier into their care, but I believe they'll think of other matters to-morrow. My Lord Halifax, who is the man has had the great share in this noble deed of flinging out the bill, did to-day offer an expedient for the House, which was banishing the Duke for five

years, in case the King lived so long. My Lord Shaftesbury offered another, which was divorcing the King. My Lord of Essex a third, which was for all the nobility to associate themselves in defence against popery. These with other heads are given to a committee to frame together to see what can be made of it.

'I have no more to say but that Lord Sunderland has gained immortal fame, which is better than any thing he can lose—and so farewell. Every day is like to furnish news enough.'—Vol. ii., pp. 125, 126.

The proceedings of the English Parliament were fully reported to the Prince, who, in a letter to one of the ministers, previously printed by Dalrymple, but wisely included in the present collection, remarks—'I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him! and grant that the King and his Parliament may agree, without which I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe.'

Lord Halifax was unquestionably the principal agent of the Court in accomplishing the rejection of the Exclusion Bill; and upon him, therefore, the indignation of the popular party was expended with no common violence. An address was voted to the King, praying for his removal from the royal councils, and some apprehensions were entertained lest, in the phrenzy of the moment, an attempt might be made to inflict a yet severer penalty. Halifax's views on this occasion appear to have been of a somewhat complex order. He was probably not unwilling to improve an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the King, at the same time that he was an advocate for a permanent abridgment of the royal prerogatives, rather than for an exclusion of the next heir to the crown. Indignant at the rejection of their measure, the Commons surrendered their judgment to the impulse of passion, and thereby afforded an opportunity to the Court, of which it was not slow to take advantage. A pretext for its dissolution was thus afforded, and the result was notified to Mr. Sidney, January 18th, by the Countess of Sunderland, in the following terms:—

'The Parliament is this day dissolved, and a new one is to be called to meet on the 21st of March, at Oxford. This I suppose will amaze you, as it does most here. I pray God send it may be for the best. So much for public news. Now as to our private concerns. In the first place, I must tell you *that all things here have a most dismal appearance*, as you will easily imagine, and *all lies upon Lord Halifax*, and, upon my conscience, *he deserves it*. A few days will, I believe, *show us that this day's Council is as desperate as possible*, and the effects as fatal to the King. Don't mistake me, *to him alone, for be sure England will save itself, and nothing be undone but the King, who will be so. As for our friend, he is as ill with the King as it is possible*, and I really believe he

is under a promise to Lord Halifax and Mr. Semor, who are the great and I think only Councillors in this plan to clear the Court of all the factions, for, so may it please you, are we and all of our minds called. But after all, I dare say the King will never be brought up to it, for you and I know what a spark he is at going through with anything; but he treateth us and my Lord at such a rate, that he has asked leave to sell his place; that is, the Duchess of Portsmouth has done it for him. To which there was not one, no, not one syllable returned, either Yes or No. But as to this part, pray speak not of it to the Prince or any one.

'The post is fast going, and I can't either advise you in your own affairs or tell you all; but, please God, I'll write at large next post of all our concerns. My Lord Salisbury to-day has quitted the Council. The town says, Lord Halifax means to expiate his faults by going away, and if he does, 'tis like the tale of the maid, who set her master's house on fire, and ran away by the light of it.'—Vol. ii., pp. 158—160.

Various schemes were at this time agitated, amongst which was the plan of a regency. Halifax was understood to be favourable to such an arrangement; and the following extract from a letter of Sir William Temple's shows that the King was supposed to incline to the same:—

'For what you say of some great matters being preparing here for the Prince, but that he cannot guess what it is, I cannot pretend to tell any thing, after having been here alone the last fortnight, but I suppose 'tis what the King and my Lord Chancellor tell every body since the dissolution of Parliament, that the King had resolved to propose something that should satisfy every body, and that I believe but the rest of an expedient that was thought of before that Parliament broke, and which, for aught I know, might have done then, but I doubt will not now. 'Tis, in short, for the Duke to have the name of King after the King's death, but the kingdom to be governed by a Protector and Council, and the Prince of Orange to be the Protector. If this or any thing does, 'tis well; but if it fails, after having been proposed by the Court, it will have one effect, which some of the Prince's good friends will be glad of, which is to make it believed that the Prince is as perfectly in the Duke's interest as they would have it thought and give out upon all occasions.'—Vol. ii., pp. 177, 178.

In June, 1681, Mr. Sidney was recalled from the Hague, and our last extract shall be taken from his letter, addressed to the Prince, on the 28th of that month. From its whole complexion, it is obvious that the English Ministers were becoming increasingly solicitous to secure their interest with the Prince. Though the court party had triumphed for a season, it could scarcely fail to be perceived that the course of events was doubtful in the extreme. The elements of change were clearly at work, and what might be the issue no human sagacity could predict.

'It is very plain that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is

most against him ; that you have a constant correspondence with those (they call) his enemies ; that you drive a contrary interest ; in short, I believe there are some in the Cabinet Council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of this opinion ; they answered that they could not imagine there was such a villain, and such a fool too, amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe.

' I am apt to believe that these two Lords would not be so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially my Lord Halifax ; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said you were the only foundation one could build upon. That what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your Highness considerable service if he would ; upon which he solemnly promised to do his best.

' I will now make your Highness a short description of our Court and the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the King ; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day. They make him believe by their addresses that the affairs of the kingdom are in a very good posture, which is all wrong, for, now I understand them, I find they signify nothing, and they grow every day more ridiculous ; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is greatly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the Court (for he hath not a friend anywhere else), and is therefore obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination. My Lord Hide is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent ; despairs of being well with the King, if he is well with his people ; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counsels to make the breach more irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out.

' All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who, I am confident, are as much yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion your coming over will be of great advantage to you ; they differ something in the manner, but all agree that, there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it may do you any harm ; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax, I believe, would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming might be of use. I took no notice of it, and quickly passed it over ; it may be he will never think more of it ; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against

it, if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Duchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people.

'My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body. Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in.'—Vol. ii., pp. 212—219.

Before dismissing these volumes, it is due to Mr. Blencowe to say that the editorial department is executed in a style highly creditable to his diligence and impartiality. A large body of notes illustrative of the text is introduced, in the selection of which sound judgment and historical fidelity are equally apparent. The work itself is of considerable value, and must be referred to in all cases wherein a minute knowledge of the period in question is desired. Upon the character of many of the leading statesmen of the day, and on the leading events with which they were connected, it casts much incidental light, of which the future historical student will gladly avail himself.

Art. III. *Jamaica: its Past and Present State.* By J. M. Phillippo, of Spanish Town, Jamaica. Twenty years a Baptist Missionary in that Island. 12mo, pp. 487. London: J. Snow.

How few of the great objects of human enterprise are rich with intrinsic worth; their merits are usually so dubious or obscure, as to render it unsafe to leave their reputation to depend on their own quiet pretensions. Therefore the resources of argument, of eloquence, of casuistry, of sophistry, and not unfrequently of far less deserving helps than the worst of these, are put in requisition to serve them; even then, too many of them are left without the least title to confidence or respect. There are a few, however, which need no laboured introduction, which awaken at their first appearance just admiration, and commend themselves without comment to the judgment and the heart. Among these stand pre-eminently Christian Missions. No reflective mind, imbued with reverence for revealed religion and with a generous interest in the welfare of the world, can fail to contemplate them with deep and sober delight. There is a defect somewhere in that man who, making pretensions to Christianity, can look in the full broad face of missionary enterprise, bright with its own glory, without something approaching to a sublime emotion.

The greatness of the Christian religion was most unequivocally asserted in the spirit and conduct of its first messengers, as well as in the meek triumph with which it emerged from the blazing fires of Roman persecution, and has more recently been seen in the inviolable life by which it survived the corruptions of the middle ages, but it never has been so appropriately expressed or so freely developed as in the breaking forth of the missionary design. There is a grandeur in the very idea of subduing the world, which reflects infinite honour on that system of truth out of which it could legitimately arise. It is an indication of innate and resident might, not common to theories of belief, and to schemes of improvement. It is an outward symbol of a presence more majestic than usually dwells amidst those themes which are the subjects of human thought and research. The rise of Christian missions constitutes a proud era in the moral history of Christianity itself; it is an event on which successive ages will look back, as to the date when evangelical truth put on its earliest signs of adult life, and gave manifest tokens of manly strength: when it first boldly but modestly asserted, to any great practical result, its sublime origin, by setting itself to a work beautifully appropriate to its nature and pretensions,—when it commenced a career of glory in keeping with its ineffable dignity and worth.

It is not pretended, at least by us, that the spirit of enterprise, of fine and noble daring, is the offspring of the Christian faith. This has existed and does exist perfectly independently of it. The purpose towards which it is directed may be more or less deserving, or may be altogether worthless, but the thing itself cannot, unless with those who talk before they think, be confounded with the end at which it aims. This quality is natural to some men, and is excellent in itself, irrespectively of the cause in which it embarks. It were as wise to decry the reasoning faculty, or to abuse the art of logic, because both the one and the other may be unsuitably employed, as to suspend a claim to magnanimity on the nature of the service done. The traveller who scales all but inaccessible heights, and traverses trackless wilds, that he may add to the common stock of knowledge—the mariner who plunges into the deep to rescue his companion from an untimely death, or otherwise to die with him—the poor honest artisan who is bowed down beneath the pressure of want and the frown of heartless tyranny, and yet who pines in silence and disdains to cringe at the feet of his oppressor, surely have some claim on our admiration for the magnanimity they evince. But any of these cases may occur in connexion with a total ignorance of true religion. Are there none among the professors of Christian truth who are mean,

selfish, calculating, whose greatness is relative rather than positive, lying in the truths they believe, but not at all in the parties believing them? Is it not often seen on the other hand, that men are better than their creed, greater than the errors, speculative or ethical, they theoretically entertain? The Christian faith is not to be promoted by demanding more for it than it asks, nor by building up its pretensions on the ruins of good, which may be quite extrinsic of it. All it proposes is, not to impart the spirit of magnanimity, but to draw it forth, and open for it a field incomparably more noble and wide than can invite it elsewhere. The greatness of missions is not, then, to be traced in the self-sacrifice, the enterprize, the untiring zeal they may require, since these are not peculiar to them, but may be demanded in equal and even still higher measure, at the hands of the daring sons of commerce, the earnest and honoured disciples of science, the bold and enlightened politician, or even by the bloodstained warrior himself; their greatness is rather to be sought in the vastness of the plan they meditate, in the nature of the motives they recognise, in the character of the work they attempt, and in the awfulness of the interests they involve. When, therefore, we have heard from the platform, or elsewhere, highly wrought descriptions of the sacrifices involved in consecration to missionary work, and tender appeals made to the passions, while the auditory has been requested to attend the devoted man through all the scenes of separation, we have trembled for the great cause such dramatic exhibitions have been intended to serve, and have longed for a more masculine and dignified carriage on the part of the advocates of so divine a design, lest they should provoke from sensible men the smile of ridicule, or nerve the finger of scorn.

This glorious adventure, daring as it may seem, is in deep sympathy with the broadest principles of the most enlightened reason. If the great system of doctrine which it is its object to commend be not only attended by the light of expediency, but be based upon immutable truth, and missions be but the legitimate result of this system, the nearer we approach and the closer we examine them, the more will they be found to command the ready concessions of the judgment. The quiet manner in which they began and the impressive silence with which they move, is in strict accordance with the kind of work they contemplate. They are not designed to interfere with the secular interests of men. Passing through these, however important they may be, they advance to their less visible but inconceivably more substantial concerns. They have chosen, as the scene of their labours and of their triumphs, the theatre of

mind. Thoughts, propensities, prejudices, habits, affections, tastes, are the realities with which they have to do. These stir and move behind the vulgar veil of sensible life, and need to be addressed and combatted by powers emerging from a region as impalpable as their own. Missions have taken their rise in the recesses of deep thought and solemn councils, and are pursuing their course, heedless of the din of minor interests, with a noiselessness which exquisitely comports with the character of their design. They spring, too, with admirable propriety, out of the moral constitution of things. They are not undertaken so much in obedience to the precept, as in conformity with the spirit of religion, not from a mere conviction of duty, but from a genial sense of obligation; and this is the only principle mighty enough to gender such a scheme, or to sustain it when adopted. Talent and learning, or proselyting zeal, may embark in the great cause and may for a season seem to secure success; policy, power, or wealth, may ply their best resources and produce their temporary results, but the cause of sacred truth depends for its promotion on those who love it, who are used to commune with it, and who, from an inward consciousness of its value, are sincerely anxious to impart it. The early foundations of Christian truth were laid by men, who, in answer to hostile powers could say, 'we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard;' and they but faintly represented one greater than themselves, who wept over Jerusalem, and whose meat and whose drink it was to 'do the will of his Father who was in heaven.' In the same temper, and by obedience to the same great and beautiful laws, must the progress of Christian truth be advanced on the earth; and whenever the missionary enterprise, taken up in this spirit, shall exchange for it the calculations of a frigid philosophy, its brightness will fade, its strength decay, and its claims to the consent of enlightened reason disappear. For what more consistent with the highest rules of propriety, than that those who are the recipients of inestimable blessings should long for their diffusion, and what is that measure of holy solicitude which, in the great instance before us, can be regarded as excessive.

The simplicity of the means by which the grand purpose of modern missions is pursued, commends them to every sound understanding. The preaching of the Gospel—the diffusion of corresponding knowledge—the use of reasoning, persuasion, kind remonstrance, the employment of those agents only who are morally qualified for the work, are among the kind of means which are strictly in keeping with their end. The adoption in this cause, of the ordinary methods which suggest themselves to ambitious, interested, secularly-minded men, is perfectly unphilosophic;

there is no relation between them, and any truly spiritual aim. The principle on which religious establishments rest, would sanction means in sympathy with the principle itself, but utterly at variance with sound reason, and with the genius of the Christian religion, and utterly impotent to its promotion. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive of a more humiliating spectacle to the vaunting hierarchy of England, than that which is presented in the history of missions. The sublime design, taking its rise without the pale of the endowed church, and pushed into motion by an impulse derived from the piety of those whom it affects to despise, has steadily proceeded till its fruits are gathered by almost every people under heaven, and its light invests the earth, and streams from the northern to the southern pole. These great results, which spread themselves before the eyes of all men, are the consequences of a principle directly contrasted with that which the advocates of a parliamentary church approve, and of means which they, if they act consistently with their professions, must condemn. Had that church been left to itself, the final judgment would have set before, from its constitution, or from its lordly patrons, the scheme of evangelizing a dying world would have sprung. It may carry the forms of its ritual and the curse of its monopoly where it is preceded by the arms of England, or anticipated by a legislative act, but left to the promptings of moral power, the unstimulated tendencies of its constitution, it could never become the harbinger of the kingdom of the great Son of God. While missions, wielded by voluntary societies, by episcopalians among others, have been raising their monuments in every land, and transforming the face of the nations, what has the English church, with all its pomp, patronage and wealth, been doing? Where are its corresponding trophies? Are they to be found in Ireland, in India, in the Western Islands? If haughty prelates, stately buildings, large revenues, and worldly policy, be the signs of Christian progress, the friends of the coercive system may possibly take courage; but if a large influx of men to their fold who fear God and hate iniquity be among the tokens of prosperity, never was a church left more destitute and forlorn. Surely thoughtful men, whether churchmen or dissenters, cannot but derive lessons of wise import from an honest study of the course of missions; a course which shews that the simplest means, under the guidance of a right principle, employed by appropriate hands, can effect more, in all that relates to the highest and dearest interests of the human family, than the united influence of crowns and mitres, or than the profoundest machinations of ecclesiastical politicians.

The foundations of Christian missions are yet more firmly laid

in the reason of things, by the dependence their advocates avow on the blessing of the Spirit of God. To venture on such a design as the restoration of a world to the favour and image of its Creator, a world too infested with every evil and steeped in selfishness and vice, were as absurd as to attempt to change the great laws of nature themselves. The man of science, the disciple of unaided reason, or the mere moralist, may exhaust his praiseworthy efforts, but he must leave mankind, however benefited, still estranged from God, and nothing but a divine energy will ever reclaim them. If the messengers of truth went forth in their own name, relying on their own arm, to grapple with the prodigious mischiefs which obstruct them and to accomplish the mighty work which is proposed by them, they might deserve the charge of folly and provoke the smile of contempt; but, let these silent operations, sustained by holy zeal, be carried out in the use of seemly means, in humble reliance on the Lord of Hosts, and they may challenge any rational objection, and steadily advance, exclaiming 'Where is the wise, where is the scribe, where is the disputer of this world.'*

It cannot fail to have attracted universal notice, that the missionary design has grown out of orthodox opinions: a fact, the philosophy of which is well worthy the thoughtful inquiry of those by whom they are denied. It would seem to be reserved as a standing reflection on a lax theology and a faltering faith, that they should have no part in the origination of those great schemes which contemplate the highest happiness of men; that their utter impotency to the grand work of moral renovation should be written, as with a sunbeam, before the eyes of the nations. It is passing strange, that those views of divine truth, which are held to be violative of all reason, to gender uncharitableness and bigotry, to feed in the breasts of those who cherish them the spirit of wild enthusiasm, and to kindle a spurious

* However a rooted aversion to the distinguishing truths of that religion, of which he professes to be a minister, might have induced the celebrated Sidney Smith to sneer, some fifty years since, through the 'Edinburgh Review,' at Christian missions, and to hold up to ridicule as far as he could, men whose learning and virtues he might well have imitated, it was scarcely to be expected that even he would have had the effrontery, in the face of facts now notorious throughout the world, to repeat his foolish predictions, and undignified allusions in a recent edition of his works. Surely this gentleman must be aware that, notwithstanding the empty vaunts and the coarse witticisms of the reviewer, missionaries in India as well as elsewhere have, by the results of their labours, answered the cavils of all objectors, and effectually put to silence 'the ignorance of foolish men.' We have no favour to ask on behalf of the great cause of missions, it is destined to survive the fame of its opponents, but we recommend the Reverend Sidney Smith if he have any regard for his own reputation, to expunge his falsified and very ridiculous prophecies from the next edition of his works.

and even idolatrous devotion, should suggest and sustain the most noble and generous purpose that ever occupied the mind of man. That, from amidst the disciples of this school, a spirit should arise and a mechanism be set up, whose presence and power are felt in remotest lands; that vast treasures should be raised—the scriptures of truth circulated and the breath of prayer constantly ascend—that to them should be committed the glorious work, and to them, under God, belong the unspeakable honour of diffusing the knowledge of Christ and him crucified through the world. When the advocates of that system of theology, if system it may be called, which is in such strict accordance with reason, which is so free from the taint of bigotry, which has such a morbid dread of enthusiasm, and which so carefully guards against an excess of devotion, have been moved to some design sympathetic with the grave intentions of revelation and with the wide spread spiritual miseries of men, they will be attended with a species of evidence in favour of the meagre divinity of their school, far more valuable and convincing than the eloquent sophistries of their purest and ablest writers.

This cause is not *accidentally*, but inseparably identified with specific views of inspired truth, and with that tone of heart which these views can alone induce. Its first projectors, were men eminent for their firm attachment to the great doctrines of the cross, and for the spirit of simple and fervent devotion. Among such characters, it has ever found its wisest, warmest, fastest friends; by such it was ushered into life, and, by such it has been nourished and sustained. If the genuine piety of the followers of Christ should increase, the interests of modern missions will advance; but, if that were to diminish, these would decline. It is not the least interesting feature in them, that they are at once the growth and the gage of the spirituality of the church.

The capabilities of Christian missions as engines of human improvement, are distinctly and brilliantly asserted, in the incidental benefits they confer. There have not been wanting in all times and in all states, men who, though negligent of the higher aspect of human interests, have lamented the heavy evils that afflict society and the fearful impediments which lie in the way of its improvement. Some have ventured, in the strength of their philosophy, in their more sanguine moments, to picture to their imaginations the arrival of the day, when ignorance and folly and crime would disappear, when reason would preside in the councils of states and the precepts of a purer morality regulate the conduct of men. Religion with such persons is a remote mysterious affair, which has exclusively to do with another life, but which is very slenderly connected with the present. But

the sources of human defection lie vastly deeper than these sages dream ; and are not to be dried up, or even effectually controlled, by the superficial though excellent schemes they approve. Those very corruptions in human nature, which unfit it for its future and higher destiny, and which call for the correctives and the discipline of revealed religion, are the fruitful causes of those mischiefs, of which on all sides we complain ; and that system of truth which teaches and inspires whatever is requisite to fit the erring pupil for the mightier and weightier interests, necessarily adapts him to the claims of the inferior and the lighter. A scheme of instruction which requires new and correct modes of thought, of feeling, and of action towards God, includes the cultivation of these towards men. It is the defect of all other systems that they aim too low, that they leave out of account the true cause of all the evil ; that they present no object of adequate importance to fill the mind ; that they offer no motives sufficiently pungent to animate and sustain the heart ; that they supply no element which has power to consume the great cardinal vices of our nature. But missions consulting in the first place the religious and eternal concerns of men, have effected without direct design, what other agencies, however good, have failed to do by the utmost concentration of effort. Those wide spread plagues which avarice, ambition, and lust, have inflicted on the world, which will yield to no ordinary influence, which have resisted alike, the power of reason and of legislation, have retired at the approach of missions. The hideous rites, and savage tastes of uncultivated hordes, have been exchanged for the spirit of the lamb. The fearful and mystic spell of bewildering superstitions, has been broken by their gentle stroke. It has been their honour, wherever they have been established, to advance the general well-being of man ; to teach the arts, and inspire the spirit of peace ; to commend habits of frugality and industry ; to impart the love of freedom ; and, at the same time, to instil the sentiment of obedience ; to fit men for domestic, social, and civil life. It seems as though it were the intention of providence, to exhibit the feebleness of all human contrivances and common appliances, to effect any permanent moral good. It is reserved for Christianity, even in the limited application of the phrase, to renew the world. It is for it, not in its nominal, but its unfeigned pretensions, to secure the true progress of society, to achieve the good which civilization is failing to secure, to breathe health into the universal mind, and give a tone and a worth to the morals of mankind ; it is for it to herald onward the great cause of liberty, to shed peace on the nations, and impart stability to thrones.

The progress of missions, is the death blow to infidelity. As

they advance they accumulate a mass of evidence on the side of Christianity, that unbelief cannot surmount; evidence too, of such a kind as the wildest scepticism cannot resist, and with which malignity itself knows not how to deal. It is difficult to overrate the able and elaborate works which have been written by distinguished men, in defence of revealed truth. Powerful thought, acute reasoning, deep learning and commanding eloquence, have been embarked against the subtleties, the sophistries, and the impieties of the enemies of the cross. The theorist had thrown his high and mighty bulwarks round the church, and raised his defence upon every line of attack. The resources of the ordinary mode of warfare, seemed exhausted. No new arguments could be adduced against, and little fresh evidence supplied in favour of, the disputed ground. The methods of assault adopted by the aggressor, and the fortresses built by the assailed, stood out before the spectators, and are now identified with the literature of the world. As this great contest was drawing to its close, and men were forming their opinions alike of the combatants and of the subject of their strife, a movement set in, whose efforts gradually developing themselves, were destined to be sympathetic with the great intellectual exertions of the advocates of the Christian faith, but which was to supply a class of evidence, in some sort, more valuable and effective than theirs. The arguments of the Christian schoolmen were, of necessity, for the most part addressed to the understanding; this was to appeal alike to it, and to the heart. The reasonings of the former, were adapted to one class only, the more intelligent and erudite; the appeals of the latter were to be universal, and to be made to a listening world. In the one case, the proof attempted was designed to lay bare the fallacies and undermine the reasonings of unbelief; in the other, the evidence adduced shows its deformity and discloses its malignity. The arguments of the theorist admit of no additional force, they are limited in their range and power; those of the experimentalist are capable of indefinite increase and are daily augmenting in strength. The one, is as a voice from the wisest oracles of earth; the other, is as an attestation from the great Master in heaven. Let but the work of missions quietly proceed, and the evidence in favour of Christianity derived from prophecy, from miracles, from history, from intrinsic beauty, sustained by that supplied from moral tendency, will throw disgrace on whatever resists it, and render it as impossible for unbelievers to subvert its foundations, as for them to unbuild the material universe,—the very attempt will become ridiculous.

It might be a curious, but not altogether useless essay, to endeavour to conceive the feelings with which an honest philosophic mind, which moves in an orbit far away from the region

of evangelical religion, would contemplate the progress of missions. It is easy to form an idea of the manner in which the superficial thinker, the idle jester, or the rancorous enemy of truth might dispose of the matter, and as easy to pity or despise their behaviour; but, it is far more difficult to realize that state of mind which would happen to the character supposed. Accustomed to look at things through his own clear but cold medium, and having not the least notion of those views and feelings, out of which such enterprises spring, they must present to his mind phenomena for which no rules with which he is acquainted can by any possibility account. He has, aided by the rays of history, traced the footsteps of the great Mahomedan imposture, has observed the delegate of heaven enforcing his commission by fire and sword. He is not ignorant of the *glorious* crusades. He has stood amazed at the once prodigious, but now declining, communion of the papal see. He has seen, in the light of sober fact, religion made the stepping stone to place and to fame, and used as an engine of mere political power. But, there is nothing in all this, however strange, that baffles him. He can see principles at work elsewhere, which, when applied in such relations, will account for these monstrous sights. He discerns in human nature the rudiments of those mischiefs, which time and circumstances have thus gigantically developed. But, when he turns to modern missions, it is in vain he attempts to resolve them into ignorance, selfishness, ambition, or besotted superstition. The man of feeble mind and rotten heart may do so if he please, but the truly philosophic observer cannot. His principles, his aptitude at sifting the laws of evidence, his integrity, will not let him. He can descry no point of resemblance between them and the mighty systems, which, like great dark clouds have risen above the horizon of time, changed their huge forms, spread their mists over all the hemisphere, or sunk in the bosom of the west. The temper in which Christian missions were begun, the characters by whom they are sustained, the weapons they invariably use, the catholicity of the mighty end they pursue, the voluntary support on which they lean, the union of all orders of mind embarked in their support, as well as the undeniable and benign influence they have exerted, present him with features peculiar to this grand service, and leave him at fault for a cause within the compass of his knowledge, sufficient to the production of the admitted effects. Let him pursue his inquiries with faithfulness and be determined to connect these great phenomena with sources adequate to their production and he will be led to conclusions to which the premises with which he was previously familiar could never conduct him, and into the midst of elements of thought more inspiring than any that the purest schemes of

human wisdom could suggest. He will be carried beyond the narrow limits which ordinarily bound him; and, turning aside, like the man of Midian, to see this great sight, will hear a supernatural voice, 'Take thy shoes from off thy feet, the place whereon thou standest, is holy ground.' Let some men attribute, if they dare, the results that have followed from the diffusion of the gospel in heathen lands, to anything other than the solemn, but animating fact, of the approbation and special sanction of the blessed God; to the devout mind, the proofs of that presence are as distinct, and yet more glorious than when it was indicated by the lightnings and thunders of Sinai, the pillar of cloud and of fire, or by the alighting messengers of heaven. And surely it must be an occasion of reverent and of tranquil delight, to all but the frivolous and the debased, that the symbols of the divine habitation, among his erring creatures who dwell at his feet, with whom there is so much to invoke his displeasure, are serenely, but indubitably, spreading themselves abroad. With these he identifies the hopes of the world. In them he finds firm ground on which to raise his most enlarged expectations. Through them he descries the beaming face of a 'mighty angel, descending from heaven on a cloud, having a rainbow about his head.'

Besides the direct and specific good which has resulted from Christian missions, questions of the mightiest interest to universal society have been set at rest by them, and problems have been worked out, the solution of which will extend their influence to the remotest times. In no part of the world have these more comprehensive effects been so apparent as in the island of Jamaica. There, as on a well selected theatre, a great drama has been played, a most imposing spectacle exhibited to the observation of a world, and conclusions fairly and openly traced out, which cannot fail to exert a definite and permanent influence on the councils of states, the theories of sages, and on the destinies of the church of God. Great antagonistic principles have been brought, by the voice of missions, into sublime collision. Deep and unyielding prejudices—which, like the strong roots of some pernicious tree, struck into the soil—had seized the minds of men, have been exposed and cut away. The haughty crest of the vain philosopher who talked learnedly and gravely about the natural degradation of his fellow-creature has been brought low. The hateful guile of the pseudo Christian, who, either from self interest or in a fawning spirit, sought to palliate rather than to destroy a system which he was ashamed boldly to support, has been laid bare. The malignity of oppression and the enormity of its guilt has been brought into the light of day. A den of infamy, over which the great evil spirit

must have gloated with dark and horrible delight, has been broken up. The gentle but mighty power of the gospel of Christ has been illustrated to the utter confusion of envy itself. Virtues have been elicited, and deeds done, which for beauty, nobility, and exemplary charm, are not to be eclipsed by the acts of men ostentatiously emblazoned on the records of fame. It is to this most interesting sphere of evangelical exertion that the fascinating book now before us refers.

Its author must be held to be a competent witness of the matters concerning which he writes. Having been in Jamaica upwards of twenty years, and resided during that long period in Spanish Town, the seat of Government, he must have had ample opportunity of acquainting himself at once with the country and its inhabitants. Superintending, as a minister, a large district, and having had thousands of persons under his pastoral care, his testimony respecting the religious character and habits of the people claims the utmost respect and confidence. Few men in the great department of missionary labour have been more devoted to their work, or honoured with greater success, or have more effectively conciliated the esteem and attachment of all classes amidst whom they have laboured. Mr. Phillippo has directed his attention from his earliest entrance on his work to the wants of the rising population, and has succeeded with great and untiring exertion in establishing large and efficient schools, as well for general as for religious instruction. He has been the means of building several commodious chapels, which have cost upwards of twenty thousand pounds, raised almost exclusively by himself and the poor but numerous people of his charge, and which have been legally secured to that society to which he belongs. He has for many years derived his support from the voluntary contributions of his flock, and so has annually relieved the funds of the committee at home. Since the date of negro emancipation, he has been the instrument of establishing free townships*, in which the people of colour are living in the enjoyment of social and domestic life. Such a man must be regarded as a benefactor of his species, and cannot fail to command the esteem of all who can appreciate noble and disinterested deeds†.

* The pages of the work before us contain an authentic and most animating history of the progress and triumph of the cause of negro freedom, as well as of the settling of the free towns in which many of these people now reside, which must be read with the deepest interest. These and other features in the book are illustrated by appropriate engravings.

† There is no class of men who have a stronger claim to the respect and admiration of society than devoted missionaries, and yet none who, frequently, are treated with so much distance and coldness. Those who have spent their health and their lives in the foreign service of the church, who have mastered

The work which bears his name under the title of 'Jamaica; its Past and Present State,' is divided into eighteen chapters, embracing a brief outline of 'the history of the island, its physical aspects, vegetable and animal productions, divisions, population, government, commerce, white inhabitants, people of colour and free blacks, their political, intellectual, social, and moral aspects, an animated and interesting survey of the rise, progress, and consummation of freedom, the triumphs of christianity in the Island, with the chief instrumental cause by which these great changes have been effected.' These several subjects, with a powerful enforcement of the claims of the people on the increased and zealous exertions of the Christian church, are treated in a manner that reflects the highest credit on the writer, and which cannot fail to inspire his readers with the spirit of his theme.

The style of Mr. Phillippo's book is simple and lucid, and entirely free from those glaring defects which deface too many of our modern productions. There is no affectation of finery, none of that pomposity and false splendour which can only serve to captivate coarse and vulgar minds. The book abounds in beautiful narrative and eloquent facts, clothed in chaste and appropriate language, suited to charm and beguile, rather than to clog and repel the reader. You lose sight of the writer in the subject, and have the scenes, through which he conducts you, and not the mere flourishing of the artist, vividly placed before the imagination. The information to be gleaned from more voluminous writers is ably compressed, and the best authorities, obviously, have been accurately and carefully consulted. We could have wished the excellent author had made somewhat sparer use of poetic quotations, and had consulted his own judgment rather than what appears to us to be the questionable taste of some of his advisers, to whom he alludes in his preface, in the somewhat too free introduction of the peculiar dialect of the negro population. These features might, for aught we know, gratify a certain class of his readers, but cannot commend his very useful production to the more educated sections of society, among whom such a work deserves to be widely circulated. The style of volumes intended to commend the great cause of Christianity, by recording its sacred triumphs either at home or abroad, should be moulded after the highest and the purest models.

difficult languages, laboured amidst the mightiest discouragements, observed the strictest economy, devoted thousands, when they have been able to create them, to the extension of the cause of their Master, have a claim to the warmest attachment of their professed friends, and on their return to us at any time, ought not to be treated as though they were strangers and interlopers, but should dwell among us as in the bosom of a home.

The book abounds with beautiful description, and furnishes abundant proof of the power of the author in the fascinating art of delineation. He is evidently endowed with a mind exquisitely susceptible to the beauties of nature, and to events suited to captivate the fancy and the heart. He seizes with much felicity on the prominent features of scenes and subjects that pass under his view, and invests them with colours which imprint them indelibly on minds of kindred sympathies and tastes. He thus describes his first approach to the shores of Jamaica :

' Never will the writer forget the feelings of wonder and admiration with which he first beheld Jamaica, the most beautiful of the group. He was standing on the deck of the vessel as she entered the harbour of Port Morant, at its eastern extremity. It was at an early hour of the morning, the land wind had died away, and not a breath swept the glassy surface of the dark blue sea. Before him stood the Blue Mountains, rising by an almost abrupt acclivity from the water's edge, their tops enveloped in clouds, and covered from their base to their highest elevation with huge forest-trees and shrubs of novel appearance and beauty, partially obscured by the dense fog that crept along their sides. On either hand, as far as the eye could distinguish, the margin of the sea was fringed with the mangrove tree, interspersed with occasional clumps of the cocoa-nut and mountain-palm ; far along the enchanting panorama were dwellings that now caught and reflected the first rays of the sun ; while ever and anon, the full tide played in white breakers or in silver crescents on the shore,'—pp. 34, 35.

And—

' In the interior of the island the splendour and beauty of the prospect is, if possible, increased. At every successive step the traveller seems to breathe a purer air, and to survey a brighter scene. Here the barren, the fertile, the level and the inaccessible, are commingled. On the one side is seen a fine valley or glade, fertile and irrigated, stretching along the foot of craggy and desolate mountains covered with immense rocks, slightly intermixed with a dry, arid, and unfruitful soil ; on the other, a narrow and precipitous defile, or deep and gloomy cavern, where the sun's rays never penetrate ; both enclosed by abrupt precipices, overhanging rocks, and impervious woods. In this direction the country is varied with ridges of low forest hills, rising gradually from the horizon, flat, level, and standing detached like islands. Yonder an extensive valley presents itself, as if enclosed by a lofty amphitheatre of wood, along which a river flows, meandering until lost between two parallel lines of mountains, as though from the bosom of a vast lake, it had forced its passage through them to the sea. In the more cultivated districts, as viewed from an eminence, the scene is lively and animating beyond description. The negroes, in gangs, are employed in the fields cutting canes or weeding pastures, numerous herds of oxen, with other domestic animals, graze on the shorn fields, or browse on the verdant slopes ; an endless diversity of hill, valley, mountain, and defile, interspersed with clusters of the bamboo cane and towering cocoa palms, which gracefully

wave their feathery plumes in the breeze, copses of underwood, pastures shaded with lofty trees, plantain-walks, ruins and extensive fields of sugar-cane, of fresh and variegated foliage, chequer and adorn the entire landscape. At a greater distance, the extensive and beautiful valley, rich in the products of the soil, opens to the eye. The morning mists, which still partially hang over it, have the illusive appearance of a vast lake, resting on its bosom, or a beautiful bay, with its islands floating on the surface of the quiet waters. Behind are the majestic heights, losing themselves by degrees in the clouds, distributing light and shade in endless contrast, and presenting to the ravished eye a picture every moment glowing with new attractions. At a still greater distance appears the ocean with the shipping, its waters calm and unruffled, or tossed into fury by the winds. The high mountainous district, in general, presents to the beholder the sylvan beauties of coffee and pimento plantations, with groves of orange and other fruit trees, which at some seasons of the year breathe the perfumes of Arabia. Along the coast to the N.E., N.W., and S., as viewed from the sea, broken and irregular mountains rising from the midst of lesser elevations, their summits crowned with perpendicular rocks of every variety of shape and form which the wildest imagination can conceive, are contrasted with the beautiful and verdant clothing of the open glade, round topped hills, smiling villages, numerous cascades, mountain streams, and roaring cataracts. The unimaginable luxuriance of the herbage, the singular exotic appearance of all around, the green-house-like feel and temperature of the atmosphere, and the fresh flush of vegetable fragrance wafted from the shore, are all calculated to regale the senses, exhilarate the spirits, and diffuse through the soul a strange delirium of buoyant hope and joy. Jamaica, in a word, may be reckoned among the most romantic and highly-diversified countries in the world, uniting the rich magnificent scenery which waving forests, never-failing streams, and constant verdure can present, heightened by the pure atmosphere, and the glowing tints of a tropical sun.'—pp. 35—38.

In alluding to one of those fearful visitations, so frequent in tropical climates, of which he was an eye-witness, our Author says :—

' It began its desolating course in the middle of the night, and, with the exception of a few short intervals, during which it seemed to be gathering fresh energy in order to renew its assaults with greater violence, continued until nearly the middle of the following day.

' It was preceded by an awful stillness, occasionally broken by an indistinct sound resembling the roaring of a cataract, or the blowing of winds through a forest, by an intermission of the diurnal breeze,—by an almost insupportable heat, the thermometer standing at between 95° and 100° of Fah.,—by vast accumulations of vapour moving in the direction of the mountains,—by flocks of sea-gulls,—by a deep portentous gloom gradually increasing and overspreading the hemisphere,—by all the omens, indeed, which are said to be their precursors. From three o'clock until nearly the break of day, the lightning was terrific beyond description ; illuminating the whole concave of heaven, and darting apparently

in ten thousand fantastic forms, whilst the reverberations of the thunder, echoed back by the distant mountains, seemed to shake the pillars of the earth, as if commissioned to seal the doom of the world. The rain descended in torrents, and an awful, deep, and compact gloom overshadowed the face of nature. The morning of the deluge could scarcely have presented an aspect more dismal. It was a period of fearful suspense and terror. The wind began to blow from the north, but on attaining the acme of its violence, it blew from all parts of the compass, and carried ruin on its wings. In every direction were dismantled houses, shattered fences, uprooted trees, and the ground strewn with shingles, splinters, branches of trees, fruit, and leaves. The writer's garden was a wilderness, and his dwelling-house shook to its foundation. Every habitation around was closed, every crevice filled up, and every tenant in total darkness. All business was of course suspended, and not an individual to be seen but at intervals, when one cautiously appeared to acquaint himself with his situation, and to view the desolation around. Nothing was to be seen or heard but the pelting of the storm and the continued sighs of elemental tumult.

'Venti vis

Interdum rapido percurrens turbini compos

Arboribus magno sternit montesque supremo,

Silvefragis vetat flabris.—*Lucretius, lib. i., 1272.*—pp. 81, 82.

We shall indulge in another quotation, which reflects as much honour on the memory of the excellent Governor whose removal it relates, as on the heart and the pen which thus describe the occurrence:—

'Although Sir Lionel was to leave the vice-regal residence at the hour of day-break in the morning, some hundreds of persons had collected full two hours previously; and at half-past five o'clock, when he stepped into his carriage, there could not have been less than 2,000 present. They were collected principally at the entrance of the road along which his Excellency had to pass from the square.

'At the head of this immense mass was a large banner, stretched across the street, bearing the inscription, 'Sir Lionel Smith, the Poor Man's Friend and Protector,' whilst others, on which was inscribed, 'We Mourn the Departure of our Governor,' and similar devices, were variously distributed throughout the line.

'The feelings of regret and veneration universally expressed on the approach of his Excellency were overpowering, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he and his attendants resisted the general determination to convey him back again, all being apparently resolved that he should not leave them. For a considerable distance the whole mass hung upon the carriage, or ran beside it, until ready to faint with fatigue, uttering lamentations and invoking blessings on his head. Mothers in almost every instance exhibited their infants as trophies—trophies of the blessings and advantages of freedom. Exclusively of the multitude thus congregated in the town, the road leading to the place of embarkation, which extended a distance of six miles, was thronged with people.

‘Interesting and affecting, however, as was the scene already beheld, that exhibited on the arrival of the procession at Port Henderson was doubly so. Added to the number of people of all ranks and colours pouring into the village along the roads, as far as the eye could reach, an immense number, nearly all of whom were in deep mourning, or wore black riband in some conspicuous part of their dress, had drawn themselves up in two parallel lines at the entrance, and as Sir Lionel and his *cortège* had proceeded to the middle of the lines, the whole mass surrounded them, and declaring that their ‘Governor and friend’ should not leave them, began to effect their purpose, by taking the horses from the carriage to draw him back again to the seat of government. This determination being at length overruled, they then insisted on drawing him to the beach, as the last act of kindness they could show him. To avoid this, probably from the excitement it might occasion, the veteran alighted from his carriage, intending to walk the remainder of the way.

‘He was in a moment surrounded by the multitude, whose lamentations and other expressions of sorrow at his departure so completely overcame him and several of his attendants, that they seemed scarcely able to proceed. As an evidence, indeed, if any were wanting, that the hero of a hundred battles had still a heart alive to sympathy, his deep emotion at length vented itself by a torrent of tears. The effect of this was, as may be supposed, irresistible—(a veteran warrior in tears!)—and the whole mass seemed to catch the contagion. At the same time the assembled multitude, now greatly augmented, had formed themselves around him as an impenetrable barrier, as though determined he should not advance. After some expostulation and entreaty, the mass gave way, and all moved on together to the beach, with all the solemnity and sorrow of a funeral procession, in which some great benefactor was the object of regret. Arriving at the water’s edge, the scene became affecting beyond all description. The sobs of the multitude, hitherto half-stifled, now burst forth like a torrent; and from the noble-minded object of all this affection downwards, throughout the whole mass, which included several officers and civilians of the highest distinction in the colony, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen. As the boat receded from the shore, Sir Lionel rallied sufficiently to bow to the assembled crowd, and cries and lamentations, intermingled with invocations, followed him until he was out of hearing.

‘Seldom has the eye witnessed a more affecting scene, and certainly never did a more popular Governor quit the shores of Jamaica.’—pp. 254—256.

It is impossible too highly to commend the truly catholic spirit which pervades every part of the work now under review. Mr. Phillippo takes not the slightest notice of the noisy attacks that have been made on that mission to which he is attached in Jamaica, but treats the matter with the silent contempt that it deserves. This is all the more praiseworthy, inasmuch as he has been the subject of personal reflection and reproach. Many, we have reason to believe, when his work was announced, expected it was designed as a defence of one section of Christians

against the accusations of another! In this they will be disappointed. The writer has had a higher object in view. There is nothing polemical or denominational in his volume; it is neither adapted nor designed to serve the interests of a party, but it belongs to the whole Christian world. It is full of generous sentiments, and breathes a spirit of universal charity. It is refreshing to see such genuine catholicity of temper, as though in dignified rebuke of the petty, exclusive, disreputable feelings, which, under one pretext or another, are so blightinglly prevalent in these times.

A great collateral advantage of missions is, the occasional contributions they make and the gradual tinge they impart to the literature of the country. Much valuable information has been collected concerning climes and tribes of men about whom nothing was known before; every department of knowledge has been more or less enriched; customs, laws, principles have been put to the test, and their value or their worthlessness, in connexion with social happiness, decided; and above all, the meliorative influence of the Christian religion has been abundantly and triumphantly settled. The republic of letters is laid under the deepest obligations to the cause of missions. The amount of this obligation, due to honored names, recorded in the missionary roll, is considerably increased by Mr. Phillippo's admirable book. But it would be impossible to calculate the wholesome influence which such a production must have on Christianity itself. It is one more solemn attestation to its divine and elevating power. It adduces and presents before all men the most splendid proof of the moral glory of the doctrines of the cross, as traced in their mighty results, that the annals of the church can supply. It presents a fund of evidence in favour of evangelical truth that must paralyze the arm of unbelief. It will be referred to as an authentic text book in future times, touching all the great interests of the entire population of Jamaica, but especially their moral and religious history. It will inspire men with gratitude, with courage, with hope amidst the labours of coming ages, and hold an appropriate place amidst the treasures of the church. Let its devoted author console himself with the thought, that though withheld by weakness from those active services, it would have been his pleasure to render to the cause he loves during a transient residence in England, he has done incomparably greater good by his pen, than he could have hoped to effect by his voice.

One of the most effectual hindrances to the progress of missions lies in a low estimate of man. Some under the flimsy guise of a false philosophy, others from a slavish subserviency to conventional distinctions, and too many from the mere pride of

their nature, despise the less favoured of their fellow-creatures, and habitually think of them as an inferior race, appointed rather to minister to the gratification of their superiors than to be the recipients in common with others of the best blessings of heaven. This feeling prevents the growth of the very soil from which the missionary temper springs. It is destructive of the nobler and more generous sentiments, freezes the sympathies at their very fountain, and dissolves those natural ties which are designed to unite the human race in social and indissoluble bonds. Like every other master mischief which disturbs and defaces society, it exists in various degrees, and assumes a multiplicity of forms. It may be seen rising to its most disgusting height in the guilty oppressor who holds his neighbour in degrading personal bondage, while it descends in loathsome gradations till it is observed exuding in the conceited airs of some ignorant or purse-proud mortal, who looks with supercilious contempt from his petty eminence on the labourer who toils for his bread. This exclusive and offensive spirit is in direct hostility to the laws of God and to the gospel of Christ, and disappears wherever these are understood and revered. Love for man as man, irrespective of all that is local or accidental; a sincere and beneficent interest in his welfare; a readiness to make any sacrifice for his good, and an earnest desire for his salvation, are the beautiful fruits of the Christian religion, while its progress among the nations is made to depend instrumentally on these high virtues and benevolent impulses which it is its province to induce. Happily more enlarged views and more charitable sentiments are gradually supplanting in society the mean and contracted feelings which have so long disgraced it, and the more widely they are spread, the greater the extent of surface over which to sow with rational hopes of success the seeds which germinate in missionary intentions and designs. The day is approaching, it is hoped, in which the tone of morality will be raised so high, that any people who shall refuse to recognise the great doctrine of the natural equality and social dignity of all classes of men will be regarded as a disgrace to the civilized world.

A most effectual blow would be struck at this loathsome policy by the institution of a college for the use of the coloured population in the West, a project urged by Mr. Phillippo, and which we should rejoice to see carried into execution. This bold and generous conception only needs time and energy to mature it. If some able and persevering man, a staunch friend of the oppressed, would put the scheme in motion, there are hundreds in England, we would hope, who would readily sympathise with him, and we should soon see the neglected and

persecuted African outstripping his haughty persecutors in the race of mind. We earnestly wish our author may live to witness his wise and benevolent design fulfilled, the very suggestion of which is most honourable to him; but whether or not, his name will long be cherished as one of the most zealous, enlightened, and disinterested friends of the children of Ham.

But where no such impediments exist, a familiarity with the greatness of the design of missions may damp the ardour with which they should be pursued. There is nothing more difficult in Christian discipline than to keep the heart suitably alive to the loftiest claims—so to regulate the affections as that they shall be susceptible to the influences of truth and respond to its numerous appeals with a moral correctness somewhat in keeping with the relative importance of the subjects it proposes, or the duties to which it invites. A sensitiveness to the force of reasoning, and a tendency to yield to persuasive eloquence, or to vivid or touching delineation, are not to be underrated. But though these may nerve the resolutions and kindle the passions, their effect however pleasing will be but temporary, and will subside with the cause which produces them. It may be worthy of a moment's consideration how far the means of sustaining the public interest in the philanthropic institutions of the Christian Church, which at present are so generally adopted, are capable of improvement—whether they do not make the great cause they are intended to promote somewhat too dependent on external and superficial stimulants, rather than on more solid and substantial material. However this may be, it is certain that the healthy expression of the heart towards the sacred objects which ask its sympathy and deserve its best affections, is to be fed only by habits of deep reflection and of quiet thought. That it must not be primarily dependent on any outward agencies, but derive the interest which pervades it from a profounder and more sacred source—from a well of feeling, deep and tranquil, seated in its own consciousness; which efforts from without can neither occasion nor exhaust. Where this richer and more latent sympathy with the mighty enterprise is but partially cherished, the frequent recurrence of missionary topics will weaken their power over the conscience and the heart, so as to render such minds unduly and even entirely dependent on the provocatives which accidental circumstances may supply. Their dependence on representations from the platform, or on the more solemn injunctions of the pulpit, will degenerate into a sort of servility, equally disreputable to themselves and injurious to the cause they espouse. In the habit of looking at the subject itself only through the medium of public arrangements and seasons, the influence it will exert over them

will come to be determined by the detail of these arrangements themselves. Unless there be some novel feature, some unusually exciting element, something to quicken the inferior faculties and tastes, the mission meeting, and in a great degree the mission itself, will be divested of its interest. The temporary machinery will absorb the attention which exclusively belongs to the vast design it is constructed to advance; as though the mere scaffolding of some magnificent edifice should evoke those eulogies which admiring intelligence would reserve for the building itself.

It is the great excellence of Christian missions that they grow out of true evangelical religion, and that they are the produce of that religion in its best state and at its maturer age. Neither speculative professors of the Christian faith, nor men but slightly imbued with the grace of the gospel, could have originated so divine a scheme. And as they have sprung from so opulent a source, so are they dependent on it, and must be nourished by it. Just in that proportion in which inviolable principles, comprehensive views, deep experimental godliness, and unfeigned vital devotion distinguish the Church of Christ, is their groundwork firmly and broadly laid, and their gradual and extended triumphs secured. Enlightened evangelical feeling in the churches at home must constitute the voice which must continue to go forth with cheerful accent and invincible strength, crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' The destiny of missionary enterprise is committed by the Head of the Church to men who admire it for its own and for its great Master's sake, and whose attachment to it is independent of petty interests, and is such as time may strengthen but can never destroy.

'*Jamaica, its Past and Present State,*' is eminently suited to sustain the devotion of the Church in the missionary service, and to stimulate to yet more enlarged endeavours. It abounds in pungent appeals, affectionate exhortations, and heart-stirring inducements, and cannot be read without the best results. No book that has fallen under our notice has afforded us greater pleasure, and we earnestly recommend our readers to the perusal of its enchanting pages.

ART. IV. *Suppression of the Opium Trade. The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Ashley, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, April 4, 1843. Published by permission, and corrected by his Lordship.* London: Houlston and Stoneman.

2. *Corrected Report of the Speech of Sir George Staunton, on Lord Ashley's Motion, on the Opium Trade, in the House of Commons, April 4, 1843. With Introductory Remarks, and an Appendix.* London: Lloyd and Co.

3. *A View of the Opium Trade, Historical, Moral, and Commercial.* By Leitch Ritchie, Esq., Editor of 'The Indian News.' London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

FOUR years have elapsed since we first brought before our readers the subject to which these pamphlets refer, and expressed a conviction that if there were any virtue or sense of shame left in our people or rulers, the opium trade in China would be speedily suppressed. The progress made towards this consummation, though not equal to our wishes, has been perhaps as rapid as it was reasonable to expect, considering the ignorance of the subject that pervaded the community, the slowness with which unpalatable truths gain admission to the mind, and the powerful interests engaged in the traffic. Events also occurred, at that juncture, tending to indispose the public for calm and deliberate attention to the subject. A crisis had arrived in China. Twenty thousand chests of opium were seized by the Chinese commissioner, and destroyed. Our national dignity was thought to be insulted. An instinctive desire to avenge the honour of the British name was aroused. It was supposed that no amicable relations could be established till the haughty and exclusive spirit of the Chinese Government was chastised. Men, from whom we should not have expected the sentiment, contended that it was only by a demonstration of our power that the Chinese would be taught reason, and that cannon balls must be used to open the way for commerce and Christianity. A fleet was promptly equipped, and despatched; and now, it was said, we are actually at war: we must conquer first, and make pacific arrangements afterwards. In the House of Commons, an attempt was immediately made by Sir James Graham to turn the whole to party purposes. The philanthropic and upright portion of the community was disgusted; and then ensued a general indisposition to meddle with a question whose practical advantages seemed to be remote, but which, under the circumstances of the nation, was likely to be perverted to the production of present evil.

Some enlightened and persevering men, however, took care that the subject should not be forgotten, and, in a quiet but

effectual manner, brought it before the attention of successive Ministries. The pernicious tendencies of the opium traffic, in respect to British trade and manufactures, were developed. A memorial was presented to Sir Robert Peel, about this time last year, bearing the signatures of the most influential firms in Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Leeds, and other manufacturing towns, declaring their opinion, that commerce with China could not be conducted on a permanently safe and satisfactory basis, so long as the contraband trade in opium was permitted. This document, which was closely argued, and sustained throughout by references to parliamentary papers and other authorities, being afterwards printed, made a powerful impression on several influential persons; among others, on Lord Ashley, who took up the business with characteristic ardour. After he had given notice that he should bring it before the House of Commons on the 4th of April, he was furnished, by the Committees of the London, the Wesleyan, and the Baptist Missionary Societies, with appropriate petitions, which he presented on that evening, making them the introduction to his speech, and then moving the following resolution:—‘That it is the opinion of this House, that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country, by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken, as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil.’

Lord Ashley had prepared himself diligently for the occasion, and his address produced a corresponding effect. It is well known that his lordship possesses the ear of the House in a greater degree than most of its members; and on this evening its aspect was remarkable. A large number of the gentlemen whose business it is to vote, not to hear or deliberate, withdrew as soon as he began; leaving behind them a small audience, composed of the thinking men, including the leaders of different parties. Few even of these were possessed of much knowledge of the subject, and they listened intently, wondering apparently what was the object of the noble lord, what Sir Robert would do, and what they must do themselves. The silence was as perfect as that of a well-behaved congregation when hearing a sermon. An hour elapsed, we believe, before the noble lord elicited a cheer; but, as he proceeded, the sympathies of a part of his audience were awakened, and, when he sat down, the expression of general approbation was decisive. The speech was throughout an appeal to the judgment of his hearers: he had

furnished himself with numerous documents, which he quoted freely, and he argued the case with simplicity and calmness, making no attempt to display eloquence or move the passions. The gravity of the speaker corresponded well with the importance of the theme, and with its bearings on morality and religion, which were prominently brought out and enforced with evident sincerity. As a well-digested epitome of information on the subject, we earnestly recommend the perusal of this speech.

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Bingham Baring rose, and delivered the most confused and feeble oration to which we ever had the misfortune to listen. If any one were anxious to see how possible it is for an official personage to go on speaking for a respectable length of time without communicating definite ideas of any sort, he might do so by collating the London papers of the following morning, and observing how absolutely void of similarity the reports are which occupy the space allotted to the harangue of Mr. Bingham Baring. His duty, as Secretary of the Board of Control, required him on this occasion to endeavour to get rid of a troublesome business, by moving the previous question, and this brought up Sir George Staunton.

Though not an attractive speaker, Sir George Staunton was heard with the respect which his reputation, as the highest authority in this country on all subjects connected with China, would naturally inspire. He told the House that it had been his fortune to have travelled twice through the interior of that great empire, having, from his official position, opportunities of communicating freely with the natives of all ranks; that he could not conceive of any people with whom an extensive commercial connexion would be more likely to prove advantageous to this country; that these advantages were lost for the sake of propping up a monopoly in the growth and export of opium, disgraceful in itself, discreditable to us as a nation, and which it was impossible long to retain; that if the opium traffic had not received an extraordinary impulse from the measures taken by the East India Company to promote its growth, which almost suddenly quadrupled the supply, it never would have excited that alarm in the Chinese authorities which betrayed them into the adoption of a sort of *coup d'état* for its suppression; that it was well known that the Chinese authorities had stopped the traffic for four months previous to the seizure of the opium, so effectually that for the whole of that time not a single chest was sold; that he believed that this traffic never had been, and never would be, legalized in China; and that even if it were galized he should not be shaken in his confidence, either in

the policy or wisdom of the noble lord's motion. He concluded by saying, 'I trust my noble friend will not be discouraged by any want of success his motion may be destined to meet this night; and that he will remember that his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Wilberforce, when he first advocated the abolition of the Slave Trade, met, in the outset, a still more determined opposition, and yet persevered, and lived to see, as he hoped his noble friend would do, the complete triumph of his principles.'

Captain Layard, Lord Sandon, and Sir R. H. Inglis, spoke subsequently in favour of the motion, and Lord Jocelyn, Mr. Hogg, Sir E. Colebrook, and Mr. Lindsay against it. The debate was brought to a close by the Premier, the substance of whose speech was nearly three thousand years before concentrated into one short sentence, when Ahaziah replied to the prophet, 'But what shall we do for the hundred talents?' The Right Hon. Baronet expatiated on the delicacy of the subject as affecting a revenue of more than 1,200,000*l.* a-year, and the difficulty of raising the amount in India from any other source. He talked of negotiations for legalizing the trade, now pending, with which the passing of this resolution might interfere. He stated that instructions had been sent out, that those who follow the present discreditable traffic must receive no support, but must be told that they will have to take the consequences of their own conduct; and that, in any case, it must not be permitted that the port of Hong Kong should be made a place of deposit by the opium traders. He animadverted on the terms of the resolution, in which certainly were some expressions open to criticism, and concluded by saying, 'I do not ask you to reject the motion of my noble friend; but, in the present state of our relations with China, to postpone the subject, and leave for the present the matter in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.'

When Lord Ashley gave notice of his motion, he was not so thoroughly master of the subject as when he brought it forward and in consequence his resolution contained a phrase not strictly appropriate. It spoke of the *monopoly* as destructive, whereas it is the working of the monopoly, not the monopoly itself that does the mischief. It is not the prohibition of private enterprise in reference to opium that is baneful, but the cultivation which the company carries on, the produce of which it monopolizes. This inaccuracy gave his lordship's opponents an advantage, which they did not fail to observe. What! said they, would you withdraw the prohibition, and suffer everybody to produce the drug and sell it? An odd way, truly, of suppressing a production, and putting an end to a traffic! Of this oversight the premier condescended to avail himself; and he

brought forward with great solemnity the opinions of Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Mills, and Mr. Fleming, to convince the House that if the monopoly were abolished, and free trade in opium established in its place, the production would probably be augmented. But if those who hold the monopoly, that is the East India Company, were to cease to cultivate the poppy, and the restrictions on others were continued, which the noble mover's speech showed was what he meant, then it would require ingenuity yet greater than that of the premier to lead to the belief that augmentation would ensue. He rendered it impossible, however, according to parliamentary etiquette, that the sense of the House should be taken on the question; and Lord Ashley, in his brief reply stated, that when he heard from the first minister of the crown that, by a motion of his, negotiations now pending relating to India and China would be prejudiced, he would be the last man to press such motion to a division. Sir George Staunton, who belongs to the other side of the House, has expressed his acquiescence in this course, and his opinion of the general effect of the debate, in the Introductory Remarks prefixed to his published speech: he says—

‘The result of the debate must be highly gratifying to all the friends of the cause. Lord Ashley has had the opportunity, in his very able and eloquent speech, to bring the subject fully and fairly before the house and the country; and there can be no doubt of his statements on the subject, sustained as they are by such various and high authorities, producing a deep and lasting impression.

‘The motion was very properly withdrawn, upon the statement of Sir Robert Peel, that negotiations were actually pending with the Chinese authorities on the subject of the legalization of the opium trade, and that it would be obviously inconvenient to pledge the House to any specific course till the result was known. It would have been impossible for Lord Ashley, after such a declaration, to have obtained a vote upon the real merits of the case; but the moment intelligence arrives from China of the conclusion of the commercial treaty, in which Sir Henry Pottenger is at present engaged, and of the unshaken adherence, as is most probable, of the Chinese government, to its former principles respecting the absolute prohibition of an importation of opium, it is open, and I should say, almost incumbent on his lordship to renew his motion, subject, of course, to any verbal or other modifications which a further consideration of the subject may suggest.’

The session of 1843 having terminated before the arrival of the anticipated information, parliamentary action is for the present suspended; but the interests of mankind require that unremitting attention should be given to this matter, by the thinking part of the community. The maintenance of peace, the progress of civilization, the advancement of commerce, the

relief of our suffering manufacturers, and, above all, the promulgation of that gospel, with the reception of which the everlasting welfare of oriental myriads is connected,—all require that Britain should now determine to deal honourably and virtuously in reference to this opium trade. Every mail from the East, while the matter is unsettled, must be opened with anxiety; it is liable to contain the most disastrous intelligence. Yet, with a prevalent belief that the trade, as at present conducted, is indefensible and dangerous, there is in the minds of many honourable men much hesitation as to the propriety of adopting the decided measures requisite for its suppression. One has a difficulty, another has an objection; one cannot see how it can be accomplished, another fears that if it be put down some unoffending parties would be injured. That a *prima facie* case has been made out is generally admitted; but it is asked, Is there not much to be said on the other side? Meanwhile, the adherents of the existing system who derive from it emolument, appear to think that silence is their truest policy. There is no disposition on their part to come to the light themselves, or to communicate light to others. In vain do we look for any official defence of the trade. Not one of the members of parliament who resisted Lord Ashley's proposition has published his speech. Though the prime minister deems the revenue it yields of sufficient importance to counterbalance the moral and religious arguments against it; though the East India Company is said to have cleared from it this year, already, more than a million sterling; though it has been assailed so openly, and by such influential persons, our inquiries have not enabled us to discover that it has been defended from the press by more than one solitary pamphlet. The only publication we have met with on that side of the question is that of Mr. Leitch Ritchie, whose title appears at the head of this article. This gentleman being the editor of a periodical established as the organ of the Indian body in England, the copyright of which the original proprietors transferred to him in token of approbation and confidence, and now carried on, as he tells us, without any deviation from the original plan, we shall examine his arguments. If, in doing so, we seem to be giving a disproportionate number of pages to a small work, let it be remembered that it is the only work that has appeared of late in defence of this traffic, and that the connexions and engagements of the writer indicate that he is competent to do justice to the cause he has espoused.

It is pleasing to find in these pages the admission of many facts, which on other occasions we have deemed it requisite to establish. This facilitates our present duty, and enables us to confine our attention to the points really at issue. Mr. Ritchie

acknowledges, that 'The history of the opium trade shews that the importation of the Indian article into China has increased in the course of about forty years from one thousand to forty thousand chests;' that in 1796, as soon as the Emperor Kea-king mounted the throne, 'opium smoking was declared to be an offence punishable by the pillory and the bamboo. In the fourth year of his reign, (1799) the sale was interdicted; and the punishment annexed to a contravention of the law increased gradually to transportation and death by strangling. In the following year its importation was utterly forbidden, and heavy penalties denounced against offenders;' that, 'in 1809 the Hong merchants were required by edict, when petitioning for a ship to discharge her cargo at Whampoa, to give bond that she had no opium on board; and, in case of disobedience, these security merchants were to be brought to trial for the misdemeanour, and the offending ship expelled from the port;' that, 'in 1820, the same edict was promulgated in a still more stringent form, 'lest remissness might have crept in by length of time;' that, 'the daily papers are filled with accounts, taken from various authors, of the murders and other deeds of violence to which opium gives rise;' that 'the opium drunkard destroys himself;' that, 'should the conclusion be come to, that it was the duty of foreign merchants to have obeyed orders habitually disregarded by the native officers to whom their execution was entrusted, and with whom alone they were permitted to have any communication, then were the British parliament, who sanctioned the opium monopoly of the East India Company, well knowing the destination of the drug, and the East India Company, who realized a splendid revenue by this illegal traffic, the greatest criminals;' that, 'the influence exercised by the monopoly consisted, of course, in the greater encouragement held out to the cultivation;' that 'the advances made by the government (without which nothing can be done in India) are on a liberal scale;' that 'the profit realized by the Company is supposed to amount to about a million sterling per annum, or something more than 300 per cent on the cost of the article; but if we include the duty on the produce of Malwa, it may be stated collectively, in round numbers, at a million and a quarter;' that 'the principal gainers by opium have been the East India Company, for although in one respect the most certain trade in China, the money being paid before the delivery of the goods, it has always been subject to great fluctuations;' that 'more fortunes, it is stated, have been lost than made, which is proved by the fact that the personnel of the trade has been continually changing, consisting at one time of baboos, at another of Portuguese, and again of English houses.' These numerous and

important admissions, greatly narrow the discussion: on these points, Mr. Ritchie it seems has no dispute with us, and certainly we have none with him.

But let us now ascertain the character of those positions on which Mr. Ritchie relies, as forming together a justification of the trade, or rendering its continuance expedient. The chief, or at least one of the chief, appears to be this:—

I. That though the emperor, the nominal governor, opposes the opium trade, it is patronized by the provincial functionaries, who are the real governors, and by the nation.

The long exordium respecting the theory of the Chinese government is evidently intended to prepare the reader for this. We are told expressly, that the peculiarity of the government of China 'leaves us in absolute doubt as to which is *the* government, the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates.' Opium is introduced to the reader as 'an article of commerce which for many years has been more specially denounced by the emperor, and patronized by the provincial functionaries and the nation.' Towards the close we are asked, 'What, then, was the law of China?—the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates?'

Now, we do not deny that the Chinese government is weak, or that its provincial functionaries are corrupt; but we maintain that the inability of the government to enforce its enactments does not make disobedience to them legal, and that the corruptibility of the bribed does not render bribery innocent. It is by bribery principally, as Mr. Ritchie admits, that the officers have been induced to connive at the importation of the drug; nay, since the first appearance of the English they have never relaxed, he tells us, 'either in traffic or in bribery.' So, first we corrupt the man's servants, and then we plead their defection from duty as a justification of our conduct towards him! There are on our own coast preventive-service men of very easy virtue. Instances might be adduced of officers looking diligently the other way while the contraband spirits were landed. In Sussex, a considerable part of the population has been found ready to purchase, to drink, and to eulogize the foreign brandy; and the technical phrase by which they have described persons engaged in the traffic has been, *fair traders*. It has often been alleged among them too, with what truth is not important for our present purpose, that persons very high in rank and office have participated in the practice. But what would be thought of the Frenchman's logic, who should argue that it was difficult to determine which was the law of England—the theory of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the practice of his delegates? Who would be satisfied by the plea that the

traffic was 'patronized by the provincial functionaries and the nation?'

The emperor, however, has shown that he possesses a power which demands that foreigners should acknowledge him as the possessor of supreme authority. He has shown that he had power enough to inflict capital punishment, as well as to threaten it, for the violation of his edicts respecting the trade in opium. Not only in February, 1839, was a native executed for this, in the factory square at Canton, but, as Mr. Ritchie expresses it, 'on various former occasions an obscure victim had in like manner suffered in vindication of the dignity of the government.' He has shown that he had power to send commissioners to supersede the provincial functionaries, and exercise the most arbitrary authority in their districts; and power to raise armies, and carry on a protracted though unsuccessful warfare. But now, a treaty having been made with him, and signed by our own sovereign, are her subjects at liberty to plead that he is not the real governor? Will she admit the plea, on his part, that his decrees are 'printed, read, laughed at, and forgotten?' What equity will there be in holding him to his engagements as emperor, and at the same time pleading, as a justification for the violation of his edicts, that we are 'in absolute doubt as to which is *the* government, the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates?'

II. The second principle on which Mr. Ritchie rests his defence of the opium trade is, that the prohibition of the sale is *not* owing to the unwholsomeness of the article. 'On this point,' he says, 'we are at issue.'

Well: suppose it is not for that reason, but for some other, which he deems weighty, that the emperor proscribes the drug; suppose it is for financial reasons, as Mr. Ritchie contends; has not the supreme government of China a right to act on its own system of finance? Suppose the emperor's system of political economy is erroneous, has he not a right to try it? Are we so certain that we know what is best for his people, and for him, that we are bound to counteract his financial policy? Is it not just and wise that the government of this country should say to its subjects who cultivate opium or traffic in it—Whether the article is good or bad, and whether the emperor's views respecting it are accurate or not, by carrying it to China you interfere with prohibitions which he has a right to issue; you endanger the good understanding which it is desirable to establish between the two nations; you impede the extension of British commerce, and therefore it is our duty to restrain you.

But where is the evidence in favour of Mr. Ritchie's opinion, that the prohibition is *not* owing to the unwholsomeness of the

article? He finds it in the extent to which it is cultivated in China itself. He believes that several thousand chests are produced annually in Yunnan, and calculates that five times several thousand chests may be produced in five other specified provinces, and then justly observes that these are only six provinces out of eighteen. Two or three pages on this subject are of so extraordinary a character, that one might almost imagine that the writer, when he penned them, had been making an experiment with the opium-pipe, the effect of which is, as he says, 'to abstract us from the world, and wrap our spirits in dreams and illusions.'

If this extensive cultivation of Opium in China be anything more than a vision, it is very extraordinary that Indian opium should be imported into China at all. 'Something more than 800 per cent.' being realized by the East India Company, how strange it is that after being conveyed to China, and brought in by the connivance of bribed mandarins, 40,000 chests should be able, in one year, to compete in the Chinese market with the native-grown opium which pays no duty, either to the East India Company or the emperor! If 'nearly the entire country is fit for the growth of the plant,' and it is 'at this moment cultivated and prepared within the empire to an extent much greater than its consumption had attained some time after it was first denounced as destructive of the public health of body and mind,' it is unaccountable that the demand for foreign opium, instead of ceasing, should have so increased, that at length the Chinese should have parted with more than three millions and a half sterling in one year in exchange for it. And if, in the estimation of the emperor, 'the grand evil of opium smoking lay in its puffing away the solid silver of the country,' how strange that he should have overlooked the direct remedy for this, which the encouragement of the home cultivation afforded! The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Canton had formally suggested this in their Report of 1836—'To shut out the importation of it by foreigners,' say they, 'there is no better plan than to sanction the cultivation and preparation of it in the empire. It would seem right, therefore, to relax, in some measure, the existing severe prohibitions, and to dispense with the close scrutiny now called for to hinder its cultivation.*' Had Mr. Ritchie's object been to show that the emperor's objection to the consumption of opium was *not* derived from the loss of sycee silver it occasioned, but from the moral and physical evils arising from the practice, we could have understood the pertinence of his citation of edicts forbidding its cultivation

* Correspondence relating to China—p. 167.

in his own dominions : we could have felt the force of the appeal;—See he cares not for the exportation of the silver; he prohibits the drug equally whether grown abroad or at home, 'the petty traffickers' who go from place to place to sell the native opium are denounced as 'openly and knowingly violating the laws.' But that edicts and memorials against the home cultivation should be cited to show that the true cause of the prohibition of the foreign trade is not dislike of the article, but of the exportation of the silver given in exchange for it, is astounding.

Should Mr. Ritchie say that his argument is not that the cultivation is forbidden by the emperor, but that it is not prevented; that it is still carried on from year to year, and that it is therefore evident that the opposition of the supreme authorities is not sincere, we reply, that he gives us no proof of this. He assumes, indeed, that 'the noxious article is at *this moment* cultivated and prepared within the empire,' but we know of nothing to justify the assumption. *Since the year 1836* neither public document nor private letter which has come to our knowledge has mentioned it at all; and *in 1836* the documents referring to it represent it as illegal. Surely the memorials of the censors and other officers requesting that prohibitions should be enforced, presented seven years ago, are not to be taken as evidence that it is cultivated and prepared 'at this moment!' It is indeed remarkable that our knowledge of the internal cultivation is derived exclusively from our knowledge of the orders given for its suppression. Even Mr. Jardine, before the Committee of the House of Commons, professed no other knowledge of the fact than that which was derived from edicts against it, which the local authorities were obliged to issue, because they came from the emperor. Being asked whether he knew that opium was extensively grown in China, before reading the discussions at Peking, he replied, 'Yes, in consequence of having seen it in the *'Pekin Gazette,'* when it used to be translated for the Company, that *authorities had been sent out to destroy the poppy in the provinces in which it is grown.*'*

The assumption, then, that the prohibition of the sale is *not* on account of the deleterious nature of the article is altogether unsupported; and is far less reasonable than the giving credit for veracity to the emperor and his councillors. Mr. Thelwall, in his 'Iniquities of the Opium Trade,' has adduced proofs so numerous and so strong, of the physical and moral wretchedness of those who have addicted themselves to opium smoking, that it can scarcely be necessary to add more to show, that any ruler possessing an average degree of humanity and intelligence, must

* Report.—Trade with China. 1840.—p. 96.

desire to discountenance the practice. Were any further testimony desirable, it might be found in the impressive statement of the late Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States, Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, who, in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, says—'This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these it heightens his vices, giving his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecillity. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time, but the reaction is not less certain: and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug, which alike debases mind and body.'* Mr. Ritchie himself acknowledges that the effect of opium is to madden the mind; that 'the opium drunkard destroys himself;' and that it is 'an article that ought not to be easily come at, or largely consumed.' Why should the Emperor of China be discredited when he professes similar opinions? Mr. Ritchie would think himself aggrieved if we were to allege that *he* does not believe opium to possess pernicious qualities, after he has written thus respecting it, though we might show that he vindicates the production of the drug. How unreasonable is it then to deny that the Emperor of China believes this when he denounces it, punishes those who use it, refuses to derive a revenue from it, and has, in some instances, taken active measures for its wholesale destruction! When, in opposition to the counsels of Heu-Naetse, he adopted the course recommended by Choo Tsun, how unreasonable is it to disbelieve that he admitted the principles on which that advice was enforced! In the memorial on which the emperor's determination was founded, Choo Tsun speaks thus:—'To sum up the matter, the wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration; for in the people lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.'† He argues, that it was in this way the ruin of Formosa had been effected; that some of the natives had been seduced into the habit of smoking opium, and that 'from these the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation; so that, in process of time, the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated.' He

* Vol. I.—p. 643.

† Correspondence relating to China.—p. 170.

adds, 'If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step towards ruin.'*

III. Mr. Ritchie's third chapter is on the Commercial Question; and in this he endeavours to show that the cultivation and sale of opium are commercially advantageous.

That the opium trade is productive of gain to some parties we have never thought of disputing: it is for the sake of gain that it is carried on. This may be said of every traffic, however infamous; and none but the most degraded of mankind would maintain that pecuniary considerations alone can justify what is in itself criminal and base. We will, however, examine Mr. Ritchie's commercial argument in detail.

We are not sure that Mr. Ritchie intended to produce an impression that benefit accrues to the peasantry engaged in the cultivation; but his language may have that effect on the minds of the uninformed. He says—'The increase in the cultivation has not taken place, as some have supposed, from compulsion, for the ryot is at liberty to plant his land with opium or not as he pleases; but he is in many respects better off, as will have been perceived, than other cultivators in India, and so is always glad to carry out the wishes, in this respect, of the Government.' Now, when men are in such a state of dependence on superiors as are the ryots of India, it is hard to say where free agency ends, and compulsion begins. An offer may be made which it is impossible to refuse. A request is, in some circumstances, equivalent to a command. These ryots are poor; their livelihood is derived from the cultivation of the land. Without advances made by the Government, Mr. Ritchie himself tells us, 'nothing can be done in India;' and, 'the advances for the cultivation of the opium are on a liberal scale.' The advances are offered, and the wishes of the Government are signified. As the starving pauper at home goes voluntarily, not by compulsion, into the union workhouse; as the dependent farmer votes voluntarily, not by compulsion, for the candidate who has been recommended to him by an intolerant landlord,—so the ryot cultivates the poppy, not by compulsion, but of his own free will. But no native capitalist offers his land for the cultivation of the poppy, because the crop is precarious, and the price given by the Government does not sufficiently remunerate. And, in a Committee of the House of Lords, a gentleman who had resided many years in India, and who at one time had charge of an opium district, being asked, Do the natives feel any objection to the cultivation of sugar? replied, 'No: they like sugar, but they do not like indigo much, or poppy, though they bring them

* Correspondence relating to China.—p. 171.

good returns.* And truly they have reason to dislike it; not merely because wherever opium is cultivated, men yield to its fascinations, and the health and morals of the district suffer, but also because it subjects them to annoyances and oppressions, which far outweigh any pecuniary advantages that it affords. The surveillance of the police, the authoritative intrusions of the searchers, the extortions of the dishonest native custom-house officers, combine to render the cultivation of the poppy, in the estimation of men who have a practical acquaintance with the subject, a heavy, nay, an intolerable grievance.

That it is not a profitable trade to the British merchants who have engaged in it, is conceded by some of its principal apologists. Mr. Inglis, after having resided in Canton sixteen years, and engaged in the traffic very largely, assured a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1840, that though the profits were sometimes very high; at other times they were very low; that he had known people totally ruined by it, and that it was in its very nature a gambling trade. 'I should say,' he observes, 'that there have been more losses than gains, while I have been in the trade, decidedly; and I think I can say, almost from my own experience of it, that there has been more money lost than made in China, in the opium trade, until lately. Within the last year or two there has been undoubtedly a good deal of money made; but prior to that time I hardly know three people that ever left China with fortunes made in the opium trade. On the contrary, it was most notorious that all those who touched the opium trade lost by it, except those three.†'

Who, then, are the real gainers? We reply, the East India Company. Mr. Ritchie says, 'Upon the whole, the principal gainers by opium have been the East India Company.' They are, in truth, the only habitual gainers. Individual speculators have gained by it, but they have been exceptions to a general rule. It is to the East India Company alone that the traffic is valuable; it is through their interest in it alone that it exists. One million and a quarter of their revenue is confessedly derived from it; and therefore they stimulate both the growth and the sale. They stimulate the growth: Mr. Inglis, before the Committee already mentioned, having spoken of the East India Company as increasing the quantity of opium almost every year, *without reference to the demand*, added, in explanation, 'I say the East India Company, because I conceive that nothing but a monopoly could have forced the opium in the way in which it was done.' 'I think it is nothing but the circumstance of the Company making so large a profit upon opium, that could

* Report.—East India Company, 1840.—p. 76.

† Report.—Trade with China, 1840.—p. 39.

induce them for so long a series of years to go on increasing the quantity upon lower prices.*

And be it observed, this opinion referred not merely to the opium produced in their own dominions, but to that produced beyond them; to 'all the opium grown in India.' The desire to increase the quantity of opium has indeed been formally acknowledged. In a letter to the Court of Directors, in 1830, the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, say, 'We are taking measures for extending the cultivation of the poppy, with a view to a large increase in the supply of opium to be offered for sale at this presidency.'† And as they have stimulated the growth of the drug, so also have they stimulated its transmission to China. When heavy losses have been sustained by those who had carried it thither, in consequence of its selling badly, the Government has granted a remuneration for those losses.‡ 'They made a distinction,' said the late Mr. Jardine, 'between China and Singapore; they gave a larger remuneration to those who had purchased at a certain period for China than they did for any one else.'§ It is not the Chinese consumer then who stimulates the trade: the supply has been increased without reference to the demand in China. It is not the merchant who purchases the drug for sale that gives the cultivation its chief impulse: he asks remuneration for his losses of those who have a greater interest in the business than himself, and remuneration is granted. It is not the husbandman by whose industry it is produced; he, in cultivating it, complies with the wishes of his governors, who make advances to him for the purpose, demand from him every bale that he obtains, sell it at a profit of 300 per cent., and in cases of emergency interpose for the preservation of the traffic.

Whether it can be sound policy in the East India Company to cherish a trade with which is connected so much that is mean and pernicious, so much that is injurious to its reputation, and baneful to its subjects, is, however, a question which the directors would do well to consider. Gold may be purchased at too dear a rate; and if they could trace the whole of the influences and concomitants of this traffic, it is probable that they would conclude, that to renounce it, with all its gains, would be true wisdom. It was felt ten years ago to be of so doubtful a character that it was officially declared, that 'it would be highly imprudent to rely upon it as a permanent source of revenue.'|| Since that time, though the quantity exported from India has been increasing, the revenue derived from it by the Company

* Report.—Trade with China, 1840.—p. 35. † Ibid, p. 165. ‡ Ibid, p. 170. § Ibid, p. 118. || Report.—Trade with China. Appendix, p. 166.

has gradually diminished. Meanwhile their subjects who are employed in its production sustain moral and physical injury, from the temptation to conceal a part, and defraud the monopolists on the one hand; and on the other, from the temptation to partake, which is in general too powerful to be resisted, and which threatens to enfeeble that portion of the Company's dominions in which it is carried on, as it has already enfeebled Assam, where it has depopulated the country, and 'turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralized race in India.* While the diminution of the Company's moral influence, from its known connexion with practices that are clandestine, and sometimes even piratical, must in many ways injure its interests among the native princes of Asia. It is not all clear gain that is derived from this monopoly.

But whatever may be the views of the East India Company respecting this source of revenue, the British Parliament, taking a larger view of the subject, and regarding as it ought to do the general interests of the empire, will find evidence that to the nation at large this commerce in opium is an evil. Mr. Ritchie, indeed, says, 'It signifies little, however, to the nation, who are the gainers or losers. The trade we have thus slightly sketched is a most important medium of remittance, and at this moment the eyes of the mercantile world are turned towards it with intense interest.' What he means by this sentence is not quite clear. Is it the opium that he deems an important medium of remittance *to* China, or the silver obtained for it that is an important medium of remittance *from* China. For the latter purpose it is not required; for were it not for the opium trade, there would, at the present rate of importations, be no balance to remit. The articles we receive from China exceed in value by far our present exports to it, independently of opium. Does he mean, then, that opium is an important medium of remittance *to* China? If so, we reply, it would be far more profitable to our manufacturers and shipowners to remit broad cloths, cottons, twist, and other articles of home produce, than that the remittances should be made in opium. Oh! cries Mr. Ritchie, this amusing hallucination may be left to itself. 'Give up opium, say the British manufacturers; withdraw this pernicious drug, and our innocent goods will instantaneously take its place in the market. When the Chinese come to you, craving for the poison, and with horse-shoes of silver in their hands to pay for it, offer them a blanket instead, and they will never know the

* Report of C. A. Bruce, Esq., East India Company's Superintendent of Tea Plantations in Assam.

difference!' Indeed, we believe that they *will* know the difference. They will know that instead of poison we have brought them an article of utility; instead of a contraband drug, an article they may carry home openly; and, though a momentary disappointment may be felt by individuals, it will issue in permanent satisfaction. In addition to other testimony, we have that of the Councillor Choo-Tsun, in his memorial to the Emperor, that 'the broadcloths, and camlets, and cotton goods of the barbarians from beyond the pale of the empire, are in constant request.'*

But Mr. Ritchie says, 'The manufacturers, however, ought to know that since the trade was thrown open, other articles of export have increased, in at least the same ratio as opium.' Now this is true, literally true, with regard to certain articles,—articles of *trivial* amount, or the introduction of which to the Chinese market is recent; but it is very far from being true with regard to articles of export generally. On the contrary, as the traffic in opium has increased, the traffic in British manufactures has declined. How should it be otherwise, when the quantity of opium imported into China, exceeds in value all the tea, and all the silk, that we receive from it? A striking illustration of the manner in which the opium trade affects the interests of our own manufactures, is given in the Memorial, as having occurred at Chusan, whither the 'Scotland' went laden with British goods, which found a ready sale till two opium clippers arrived; after which, not a bale could be disposed of, the remaining Chinese dollars being given in exchange for the drug.

This assertion Mr. Ritchie follows up by an exhibition of, what he calls, the state of trade; into which, however, we do not propose to follow him, partly because of the confusedness of his figures, and partly because it has no really important bearing on the question before us. Suffice it to say, that having given the *exports* from China in dollars, which he reduces to pounds sterling, he places under them the *imports*, not in dollars but in pounds sterling; that the item of British 'manufactures,' which he sets down as 'cottons,' is in fact raw Indian cotton; and, that he makes no mention of the gold, bar silver, and dollars, returned into China in exchange for native produce. There are other items in his statement, the meaning of which we cannot divine.

IV. Mr. Ritchie now proceeds to develop a fourth principle:—That it being impossible to prevent the introduction of opium into China, the profits now accruing from the trade would be lost by its suppression, without any compensating advantage.

* Correspondence, p. 170.

He alleges, that 'although the Company have it in their power to increase at pleasure their charge on what is shipped by way of Bombay, they can never do this to such an extent as to discourage the transit trade, without giving it away altogether to the Portuguese;'—that, 'our retiring from the business, would have no other effect than that of stimulating the production, in Malwa, Turkey, Persia, and China, and eventually bringing into the field, Java, Luzon, and other islands of the Indian Archipelago;'—that, 'the East India Company may give up the cultivation of opium if they please, and thus hand over their profits on the article to the Malwarrees, Turks, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards;'—and, that 'even if the trade were given up by the British, it is clear that this would have no more than a partial and momentary effect in withholding the indulgence from the Chinese.'

Withholding the indulgence from the Chinese! This is not our object. We have never deemed it our duty to prevent their cultivating it, or buying it, or smoking it. All that we contend for is, that we should refrain from furnishing them with the article. If they obtain it from others, we are not responsible for that; but if we prepare it for them and carry it to their markets we are accessories to the injury it inflicts. That others may probably provide it for their consumption if we do not, is no alleviation of our guilt. There is scarcely any species of crime, in favour of the commission of which such a plea might not be set up. The thief might often plead this in extenuation of his offence:—'The property was exposed, I was needy, other depredators would most certainly have taken it, if I had not.' The hired assassin might plead this in extenuation of murder;—'I knew that there were others willing to undertake the business; it would not have saved his life had I refused; I should only have given away the profit to a less scrupulous bravo.' In many cases this would accord with fact; but the actual perpetrator would still be held guilty in every court, whether human or divine.

But, to look at the subject commercially,—suppose the trade were carried on by Turks, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, or Spaniards; would the stain upon our mercantile reputation, or the injury to our other traffic be the same as though it were carried on by Englishmen? If our commerce had been exempt from the interruptions and embarrassments occasioned by the opium trade, during the last quarter of a century, would not this have conduced to its interests? If it had been known to the emperor and all his officers, that opium was an article with which the subjects of the British crown never meddled, would it not have afforded to us facilities for extending our intercourse

with the Chinese millions? If we could have asserted with truth — ‘this contraband traffic belongs to Turks, Persians, Dutch, and Spaniards, but as you well know not to us Britons,’—should we have stood on the same footing as that on which we have actually stood? Would the history of the last few years have read as it now reads? Is it probable that then the importation of British manufactures would have declined, as it has done in proportion as the opium trade has increased?

But the supposition is itself futile. That no measures will be effectual to suppress the trade, while the East India Company pursues its present course, we are perfectly aware. While that powerful body employs its capital in advances to the cultivators, purchases all that they can produce, sells it expressly for the Chinese market, and evinces in substantial forms its sympathy with those purchasers who make unfortunate speculations, it is quite vain to suppose that the trade will be prevented by any proclamations or laws. But if the East India Government were to give up the cultivation, and prohibit the transmission of the drug through its territories, which it must do if the British parliament were to enjoin it; then, we maintain, the traffic would be so curtailed and enfeebled that it could only be in opposition to great difficulties, and after the lapse of many years, that its vigour could be restored.

Whence, in that case, would the supply be furnished. Behar and Benares, the only provinces in the Company’s dominions in which its growth is now permitted, would cease to yield it, at the Company’s mandate. This will be universally admitted. But Malwa, it will be said, Malwa now furnishes thousands of chests annually, and in that case it will furnish thousands more. But how is it to be transmitted to China, situated as that province is, if the Company forbids its transit? It was formerly smuggled to the Portuguese port of Damaun, and thence shipped to China; but this was always a difficult process, and we believe it would now be impracticable. An English gentleman residing in that part of India, who has taken pains to inform himself on the subject, writes thus:—

‘Before the Bombay government reduced their fee for passing the Malwa through their territories to Bombay, to one hundred and twenty-five rupees per chest, a very considerable portion of the produce of Malwa was shipped from Damaun, a Portuguese settlement about one hundred miles north of Bombay. The route by which it reached Damaun was as follows. If you refer to a chart, you will observe that they kept clear of our territories by passing through probably a part of Mewar, to the northward of Deessa and Cutch, to Kerutchee, a sea port near the mouth of the Indus, then belonging either to the Ameers of Scinde, or some independent Rajah; and from Kuratchee it was taken by native boats to

Damaun, not above two days sail in the North East Monsoon. Thus it never was in our territories at all. But when the Company reduced the duty to one hundred and twenty-five rupees, people preferred paying the tribute to the Company, as thereby they had an opportunity of inspecting the drug for themselves here; and this is a very material point, as it is a very easy matter to adulterate it.

'Kurutchee, with many other places in Scinde, the Company, by the right of might only, seized, about December, 1838; so that we, having the command of all the sea ports of Scinde, it is not in the power of the opium dealers to get it to Damaun any longer, except by smuggling it through the Company's territories, which might be done, to a very small extent only, as it could not be passed through our territories in any quantity. A few cakes might be concealed, and carried by people through bye-paths and jungles, but not by the regular roads, which are few and carefully guarded.

'The sea ports at Beloochistan, further to the westward than Kurutchee, opium never could be taken to: so that, if the East India Company were determined to prevent its exit from Malwa through their territories, it could only be so small a quantity as could never be of any material consequence as an export to China.'

This was written before the recent conquests were made; and, in fact, the ascendancy of the East India Company over these native provinces was such, even then, that they were quite able, had they pleased, to restrict the cultivation of the drug. This was attested by their own political agent in these very states, Lieut. Col. Tod, who, writing on the spot, in 1820, advises that this course should be adopted. After giving an historical account, as far as he had been able to obtain it, of the manner in which opium had been cultivated, he says:

'Such is the history, and, I believe, a pretty correct one, of the growth and extension of this execrable and demoralizing plant for the last forty years. If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its culture to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy. It is no less our interest than our duty to do so, and to call forth genuine industry, for the improvement of cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and other products, which would enrich instead of demoralizing, and thereby impoverishing the country*.

And again he says:

'But our monopoly acted as an encouragement of this vice; for no sooner was it promulgated that the *Compani Sahib* was contractor general for opium, than prince and peasant, nay the very scavengers, dabbled in the speculation. All Malwa was thrown into a ferment, like the Dutch tulip-bubble; the most fraudulent purchases and transfers were effected by men who had not a seer of opium in their possession. The

* Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, vol. ii., p. 634.

extent to which this must have gone may be imagined, when, according to the return, the sales, in the first year of our monopoly, exceeded one million sterling, in which I rather think we gained a loss of some £40,000. It is to be hoped the subject is now better understood, and that the legislature at home will perceive that a perseverance in this pernicious traffic is consistent neither with our honour, our interest, nor with humanity.'

The East India Company, then, what with its influence with the native rajahs, and what with its ability to control the ports to which alone Malwese opium could be conveyed, would be quite able to cut off effectually any supply from that province. Then as to other places where it is supposed the cultivation might be commenced, there are formidable obstacles in the way, or the attempt, it may fairly be presumed, would be made now. To gain a share in the traffic as now carried on, would not be deemed a trifling gain: were it as easy as some seem to suppose, these competitors would not wait for the withdrawal of the East India Company. But let the East India Company abandon it, and it must be evident to others that their success in the enterprise must be slow and doubtful. It requires the very best soil; the climate must be of a certain temperature, much of India is too hot for it. It needs the advance of large capital; and great care and attention on the part of the cultivator. The crop is precarious; and the market, a market so uncertain and inconvenient, that it is understood that even the potent British East India Company has withdrawn from it, and that the empires of China and Britain are united in endeavours to discountenance the traffic in every possible way. To commence the cultivation in such circumstances would not be a very safe or enticing speculation.

V. On one more principle which Mr. Ritchie avows, we will bestow a few sentences. It is in his opinion unbecoming that Great Britain should assist in enforcing the revenue laws of China. To present temptations to the most worthless part of the Chinese community to break the laws of their country, may comport better, it seems, with the dignity of the British Government, than to assist in maintaining laws which are merely of Chinese origin. He speaks of 'the extravagance of the plan advocated by others for making Great Britain assist the Chinese in enforcing their own revenue laws;' and again he says: 'As for Government punishing its own subjects for smuggling into other countries, or even forbidding them to do so, it is a thing altogether unknown in the intercourse of nations, and quite out of the question.'

Popular as this argument is among some advocates of the trade, the facts already adduced explode it. It is futile for him

who is throwing about fire-brands to plead that he is only in sport, that he has a right to amuse himself in his own way, and that he is not answerable for the consequences that ensue after they have left his premises. It is equally futile for him who cultivates a drug expressly for the Chinese market, preparing it carefully in accordance with the Chinese taste, to plead that he is not implicated in the evils it causes, inasmuch as he abstains from carrying it to China himself. The government is a party to the proceeding: it is the head of a firm in which each partner has his own sphere of operation. The Chinese Government is bound, when at peace with Britain, to restrain its subjects from assailing and burning the British factory. The British Government is bound, when at peace with China, to restrain its subjects from bombarding Canton. On the same principle it is bound to restrain its subjects from pursuing a course which is, in the estimation of the Chinese rulers, as injurious to their provinces as fire or the sword. But is it not, at least, the duty of the British Government to take care of the interests of its own subjects? If the smuggling trade is injurious to our legal commerce, is not the Government bound to protect our legal commerce against the smugglers? If not for the sake of the Chinese, yet for the sake of the men of Yorkshire and Lancashire is it not bound to interpose? If this smuggling trade has interrupted again and again that commerce which is valuable to our own citizens; if it causes habitual jealousy, irritation, and dislike among a people with whom it would be advantageous to us to cultivate a good understanding; if it was, as Mr. Ritchie says, 'the proximate cause of the war declared in 1840,' and if it is adapted to produce local collisions, and eventually renewed hostilities, disastrous to the peaceful interests of this manufacturing and trading nation, are not our governors bound for these reasons to put it down? Are they, our appointed guardians, to stand by and see the injuries inflicted upon our own people in Hindoosthan and in Britain, and refrain from redressing them, lest in so doing they should be affording protection also to Chinese interests, and co-operating with the fiscal measures of an ally?

Nothing short of the energetic interference of the British Government will be effectual; and this only by suppressing the cultivation of the poppy. Of Mr. Ritchie's conviction of this we have strong evidence. His zeal for the continuance of the culture shows his opinion that were it cultivated, it would find its way to the market, so as to produce a continued revenue to the cultivator. Leave the dealers in the article to Chinese opposition, is the spirit of his counsel; do not touch them yourselves, and the advantages derived from the opium trade will

still be realized. In this we entirely agree with him. Without the interposition of the British Government, nothing can be effectual for the removal of the evil : the Chinese will still be seduced and debilitated ; the cause of irritation between the two nations will remain ; and Christianity will still be impeded and dishonoured in the sight of all Asia, by its professed adherents.

Art. V. *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, by James Backhouse. Illustrated by Three Maps, Fifteen Etchings, and several Woodcuts*, 8vo. pp. 704. Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1843.

THE writer of this Narrative is a respectable member and minister of the Society of Friends, whose mind was deeply impressed for a long time with the belief 'that he was called to visit, in the love of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the inhabitants of the British colonies and settlements in New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and South Africa.' In the prosecution of this conviction the voyages and visits recorded in the work before us were made. The narrative has been prepared, we are informed, from a journal kept by the author, 'in which, having been trained to habits of observation, records were made, not only on religious subjects, but also on such as regarded the productions of the countries visited, the state of the aborigines, and of the emigrant and prisoner population, &c.' There can be but one opinion as to the motives which actuated our author to engage in his missionary enterprise. We only wish that such examples of self-denying labour among men of wealth and leisure were not so rare. The mode in which Christian laymen (we hate the word, and only use it for want of a better) may promote missions abroad by *personal service*, and the duty of them to do so, are subjects that have yet to be brought prominently before the churches. It would be a most delightful and a most fruitful thing if some of the rich members of our churches who have nothing else to do would just betake themselves to a scene of foreign labour, where their character and influence might produce their fullest effect in favour of the gospel ; where they might encourage and assist some zealous but desponding brother, gladden his heart by intercourse, lessen his cares by sympathy, and help the execution of his plans, now imperfectly and feebly carried out, by money, by labour, and by prayer.

Our author, and his companion, George Washington Walker, bearing certificates from the meetings for discipline to which

they respectively belonged, sailed for Van Dieman's Land, September 3rd, 1831, on board the 'Science.' They had for fellow-passengers forty-six Chelsea pensioners who had commuted their pensions for an advance of four years' payment. Indeed their selection of the 'Science' in which to make the voyage was the result of an anxiety to benefit these people, whose conduct seems to have abundantly evinced the need of benevolent efforts for their welfare, as the following extract will show :—

' We sailed from the Downs on the 9th, and from that time till we reached the Cape of Good Hope few days passed without some of the pensioners being intoxicated and quarrelling : sometimes but few were sober ; and, occasionally, the women were as bad as the men. Three times the captain was seized by different men, who threatened to throw him overboard. One man was nearly murdered by one of his fellows, and all kinds of sin prevailed among them. A fruitful source of this disorder was a daily allowance to each person of about five liquid ounces of spirits. Some saved it for a few days, and then got drunk with it ; some purchased it from others, and so long as their money lasted, or they could sell their clothes, were constantly intoxicated. The general excitement produced by this quantity of spirits made them irritable in temper, and seemed to arouse every corrupt passion of the human mind. To all expostulation, the constant reply was : ' We are free men, and it is our own : we have paid for it, and have a right to do as we please with it.' '—p. 2.

Of these pensioners a melancholy account is given in 1837 :—

' A few of the pensioners who came to the colony with us, in the Science, were still in this neighbourhood, but several had been removed by death, chiefly from drinking intoxicating liquors. A very small number of the remnant maintained themselves above poverty.—4th mo, 14th. One of the pensioners called upon us, presenting a forlorn specimen of the effects of instability and inebriety. According to his own statement, he gave up a little farm in England, on which he was doing well, to follow a vicious woman, who forsook him upon the voyage, after having wasted all that he had. Since he came to this land his propensity for strong drink had been a constant hindrance to his prosperity. About two years ago a tree fell upon him, on Bruny Island, from the effects of which he still suffers. Thus, ' a stranger in a strange land,' and half a cripple, he is a burden to the public and to himself.'—p. 472.

Nothing worse occurred during the voyage than a severe squall, the going to sleep of the mate on watch, and the seeing a vessel which looked like a pirate ; and so, having touched at the Cape, the ship reached without loss or damage Van Dieman's Land, sailing up the Derwent to Hobart Town. The two Friends appear to have used every means available for the im-

provement of the pensioners, and during the voyage the ship's company, maintaining religious worship, and seeking interviews for religious conversation, with what effect cannot be known perhaps in this world.

Van Dieman's Land, or Tasmania, was discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman in 1642, who named it after Anthony Van Dieman, Governor-General of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. It lies between $40^{\circ} 42'$ and $43^{\circ} 48'$ S. lat., and between $144^{\circ} 40'$ and $148^{\circ} 20'$ E. long., and is supposed to contain about 15,000,000 acres. Until 1798 it was looked upon as part of Australia, but in that year Dr. Bass discovered it to be an island, and five years later the English, true to their vocation, took possession of it. It is mountainous, and is covered with forest, but has many fertile plains, and a delicious climate; thus presenting temptations stronger than any that have been known to be resisted by its new possessors. The aborigines were of the Negro race, moderate in stature, dark in colour, with black woolly hair, without clothes, and for the most part without houses. With true barbarian taste they polished themselves from head to foot with red ochre and grease, which was however useful as well as ornamental, enabling them the better to bear the changes of the weather. They consisted of a few small tribes, the population of the country being extremely thin. These poor creatures were destined to experience the usual kindness of European treatment. Aggression prompted to self-defence. They were shot, and their ground taken from them, and they naturally sought to expel their robbers and assailants, whom, however, though they could injure and annoy, they could not extirpate. This system of retaliation was terminated, not by force but kindness, the natives consenting to 'give themselves up to the protection of the Government, on condition of being well provided for on an island in Bass's Straits.' They were accordingly removed, by degrees, to Flinder's, or Great Island, where they are now. Our author thus describes what took place on his visiting them there:—

'A considerable number of the aborigines were upon the beach when we landed, close by the settlement, but they took no notice of us until requested to do so by W. J. Darling; they then shook hands with us very affably. It does not accord with their ideas of proper manners to appear to notice strangers, or to be surprised at any novelty. On learning that plenty of provisions had arrived by the cutter, they shouted for joy. After sunset they had a 'corrobery,' or dance around a fire, which they kept up till after midnight, in testimony of their pleasure.

'In these dances the aborigines represented certain events, or the manners of different animals: they had a horse dance, an emu dance, a thunder and lightning dance, and many others. In their horse dance

they formed a string, moving in a circle, in a half stooping posture, holding by each other's loins, one man at the same time going along as if reining in the others, and a woman as driver striking them gently as they passed. Sometimes their motions were extremely rapid, but they carefully avoided treading one upon another. In the emu dance, they placed one hand behind them, and alternately put the other to the ground and raised it above their heads, as they passed slowly round the fire, imitating the motion of the head of the emu when feeding. In the thunder and lightning dance they moved their feet rapidly, bringing them to the ground with great force, so as to produce a loud noise, and make such a dust as rendered it necessary for spectators to keep to windward of the group. Each dance ended with a loud shout, like a last effort of exhausted breath. The exertion used made them very warm, and occasionally one or other plunged into the adjacent lagoon. One of the chiefs stood by to direct them, and now and then turned to the bystanders and said, 'Narra, coopa corrobory,'—'very good dance'—evidently courting applause.—pp. 81, 82.

The capital of Van Dieman's Land is Hobart Town, which lies on the side of the Derwent. Its situation is beautiful. In 1837 the population was 14,461, and as it was then rapidly increasing, and had nearly doubled during the six preceding years, it must be very much more now. Our travellers had a letter of introduction from Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Colonel Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor, whose character and conduct are highly commended. 'Our first interview,' says our author, 'gave us a favourable impression of his character as a governor and as a Christian, which further acquaintance with him strongly confirmed. He took great interest in the temporal and spiritual prosperity of the colonists, and in the reformation of the prisoner population, as well as in the welfare of the surviving remnant of the native black inhabitants; and he assured us that every facility should be granted us in attempts to further any of these objects'—a pledge which he seems to have abundantly fulfilled. Hobart Town was the head quarters of our travellers, who made several excursions to different parts of the colony and to the neighbouring islands. We cannot, of course, trace them in their voyages and journeyings, but shall give two or three interesting extracts respecting very different classes of persons. Our first regards some convicts who came out in the *Elizabeth*, in February 1832. They—

'Belonged to a society of thieves in London, who limited their number to forty members, admitted by their captain, at any age, but preferring the young. They were distinguished by marks, which had occasionally been changed because others had imitated them. They met at certain times to be trained to expertness in pocket-picking, and to

divide their booty, which was expended in dissipation and profligacy, unless any of their number were in prison ; in which case a portion was devoted to paying counsel for them on their trial. Several other such societies are said to exist in the metropolis of England. Some of the juvenile prisoners had been confined on board a hulk before being sent to Van Dieman's Land. In this situation they appeared to have corrupted each other greatly. There is much ground to apprehend that the juvenile hulks are nurseries of vice and crime.'—p. 20.

Our readers will perceive from the following description some of the blessings that await them if they contemplate becoming settlers in Tasmania. We presume the case is essentially similar to that of settlers everywhere.

' When a place is first occupied by a settler, a hut of the simplest kind is formed, often like a mere roof resting on the ground ; and, when other needful things have been effected, one of upright logs is built, and covered with shingles. This is usually divided into two rooms ; one of which is fitted up with broad rough shelves, for sleeping berths ; and the other, which has a square recess for a fire-place, built of stones at the outer end, and continued into a rude chimney, a little higher than the roof, is used for a cooking and sitting room. The crevices between the logs either remain open, or are filled with wool or some other material. A square opening, closing with a shutter, admits light into each room ; and short logs of wood or rude benches, serve for seats. Many families that have been brought up in England in respectable circumstances, live for several years in a hut of this description, until they can find time and means to build themselves a better habitation ; and a hut of this kind is generally to be seen contiguous to a better house, and is occupied by the male servants, who are mostly prisoners.'—p. 29.

This, however, is only one view of the case. Hardship and self-denial may be the lot of settlers, but they precede and prepare for comfort and competency. The fruitfulness of summer follows the severity of winter. The exercise of wisdom, and patience, and diligence, secures its reward. Many illustrations of this are furnished in the volume before us, as well as many evidences, that with indolence and intemperance there can be little hope of advancement and success. After all, it is melancholy to reflect on the privations that are endured in a distant land, by those who have been born and nursed in all the comforts of our beloved island ; and, when we consider, (as who can fail to do it ?) that in but too many cases this hard compulsion arises from partial and unjust legislation, indignation is added to our sorrow.

We cannot refrain from giving part of a dismal picture of the penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour, since removed to Port Arthur.

' Notwithstanding the fine scenery of Macquarie Harbour, it was a

gloomy place in the eyes of a prisoner, from the privations he suffered there, in being shut out from the rest of the world, and restricted to a limited quantity of food, which did not include fresh meat; from being kept under a military guard; from the hardships he endured, in toiling almost constantly in the wet, at felling timber and rolling it to the water, and from other severe labour; without wages, as well as from the liability to be flogged or subjected to solitary confinement, for small offences.

'Out of eighty-five deaths that occurred here in eleven years, commencing with 1822, only thirty-five were from natural causes; of the remainder, twenty-seven were drowned and killed accidentally, chiefly by the falling of trees; three were shot by the military, and twelve murdered by their comrades. There is reason to believe, that some of these murders were committed for the purpose of obtaining for the murderers, and those who might be called upon as witnesses on their trials, a removal from this place; though, at the ultimate cost of the life of the murderers, and without a prospect of liberation on the part of the others! Some of the prisoners who returned with us in the 'Tamar,' had been witnesses in such a case; but they had had the privilege of the change, for a time, to the Penitentiary at Hobart Town! These circumstances, with the fact, that within the eleven years, one hundred and twelve prisoners had eloped from this settlement, proved also that its privations were felt to be very great.

'Escape from Macquarie Harbour was well known to be a difficult, and very hazardous undertaking; and very few who attempted it reached the settled parts of the colony. Out of the one hundred and twelve who eloped, sixty-two were supposed to have perished in the bush; and nine were murdered by their comrades on their journey, for a supply of food. For this purpose, the party proposing to attempt traversing the formidable forest, selected a weak-minded man, and persuaded him to accompany them; and, when the slender stock of provisions which they had contrived to save from their scanty rations, was exhausted, they laid violent hands on their victim. One party, when lately apprehended near the settled districts, had in their possession, along with the flesh of a kangaroo, a portion of that of one of their comrades! An appalling evidence of how easily man, in a depraved state, may descend even to cannibalism.

'Of the small number who reached the settled part of the country, some were immediately apprehended; a few became formidable marauders, and were ultimately shot or executed; others escaped to New South Wales, but, continuing their evil practices, were transported to Norfolk Island; and of the remainder, who were an inconsiderable number, the circumstances remain doubtful.'—pp. 49, 50.

We must give one more glance at the aborigines on Flinders Island, for whom we have conceived great respect, and whom we would commend to the attention and imitation of our readers, not excepting the fair portion of them.

'The aborigines, having noticed that the few soldiers at this station, who were placed as a guard against the sealers, were mustered on First-day mornings, to see that they had made themselves properly clean,

voluntarily commenced mustering in a similar way; they also brought out the wares with which they had been entrusted, to have them inspected. The commandant took advantage of this, and encouraged them to do so weekly. This morning they presented their tin pots and plates, knives and spoons, bright and clean; and, except three men, were clean in their apparel. These men complained, that the women had not washed their clothes, and threatened to wash them themselves, if they should again be so neglected! The men were dressed in duck frocks and trousers, and had handkerchiefs about their necks. The women had on stuff under-garments, and checked bed-gowns, and had hankkerchiefs on their heads, and around their shoulders. Many of their countenances were fine and expressive. It was surprising to see how much improved some of the most unsightly of the women had become by being decently clad; they scarcely looked like the same race of beings. They afterwards assembled in a very orderly manner, with the white people, in the rude shelter of boughs, used as a chapel.'—p. 174.

'These people have received a few faint ideas of the existence and superintending providence of God; but they still attribute the strong emotions of their minds to the devil, who, they say, tells them this or that, and to whom they attribute the power of prophetic communication. It is not clear that by the devil, they mean anything more than a spirit, but they say, he lives in their breath, on which account they shrink from having the breast touched. One of their names for a white man signifies, a white devil or spirit; this has probably arisen from their mistaking white men at first for spiritual beings. They have also some vague ideas of a future existence, as may be inferred from their remarks respecting the deceased woman on the Hunter's Islands, before mentioned. They also say they suppose that when they die, they shall go to some of the islands in the straits, and jump up white men; but the latter notion may be of modern date.'—pp. 181, 182.

In December, 1834, having spent nearly three years in Tasmania our travellers sailed for Sydney, New South Wales, of which place the following description is given.

'In point of building, Sydney strikes us as being more like a large English town, than Hobart Town. Many of the houses are in contact, the shops are quite English. In general appearance, the buildings are like those of towns within thirty miles of London. In the court-yards, and the gardens of the more retired streets, peach, orange, and loquat trees, grape vines, and many singular and beautiful shrubs are growing luxuriantly; here and there, towering Norfolk Island pines also mark the difference from the climate of England. White mulberry forms a common screen round the gardens, and a small tree, called here white cedar, *melia azederach*, is often planted between the houses and the outer fence of the premises.'—p. 232.

Australia was the scene of the residence and labours of the missionary friends for more than three years. During this period, they visited the different penal and other settlements.

We shall not follow them in their various movements, but prefer presenting our readers with a few general views, and observations on subjects of great interest, illustrated in their volume.

Respecting the convict population, we have much information furnished us. To benefit them, Messrs. Backhouse and Walker laboured hard, and, in several instances, not in vain. There may be different opinions on the subject of transportation at all, and many more as to the wisdom and benevolence of the methods of treatment to which transported convicts have been subjected, upon which topics we say nothing now. But as to the severity of the punishments, there can be little doubt in the mind of any one perusing this volume. The language of our travellers is fully justified by the facts which they record, when they say—

'The more we have seen of the state of the prisoners in these colonies, the more fully we are satisfied, that transportation is a severe punishment. The state of the prisoner is, in most instances, one of privation, and to him, of painful restraint, as well as of separation from his connexions and country. And if he be a disorderly man, and in consequence be sentenced to an ironed-gang, we can scarcely conceive a situation more miserable. To be locked up from sunset to sunrise, in the caravans or boxes used for this description of prisoners, which hold from twenty to twenty-eight men; but in which the whole number can neither stand upright, nor sit down at the same time, (except with their legs at a right angle with their bodies,) and which, in some instances, do not afford more than eighteen inches in width for each individual to lie down in on the bare boards, and to be marked out, and kept to a monotonous employment, under a strict military guard during the day, and to be liable to suffer flagellation for even a trifling offence, such as an exhibition of obstinacy, that may be excited by the capricious conduct of an overseer, is truly a miserable state, and one to which death itself would be greatly preferable, were it not for the eternal consequences that await the unprepared.'

The perusal of this narrative has greatly strengthened a feeling of the wrong and injury which the aborigines of the lands referred to have experienced at the hands of British people,—professors though they be of the Christian religion. Alas! the story is the same for all lands. The history of English colonization is, with very few exceptions, the history of injustice, treachery, and blood. Natural rights have been violated, and moral obligations sacrificed, with a prodigality of vice. Innumerable illustrations of the deep injury suffered by the blacks of Tasmania and Australia occur in this volume. In every variety of form the dismal fact is brought before us. They are made the objects of injustice and of calumny at once. The order of iniquity is this: first, to treat the natives as if not men, and then to justify this by saying that

they are not men—depriving them of the rank of humanity, to vindicate the destruction of their human rights and the laceration of their human feelings. 'They were a people,' said one who spoke the sentiments of very many, 'who deserved no consideration, but whom it would be best to destroy whenever they were troublesome.' They have accordingly received every kind of injury; and moral vitiation has been added to oppression and cruelty. While they have been treated as if not men, they have been made worse than beasts—crimes the most disgusting, being now rife amongst them from the example and influence of Europeans. We cannot furnish long confirmations of these remarks. Let this be a specimen of one evil: 'It is greatly to be regretted that these rights' (of the blacks at Adelaide) 'were not secured by the act of the British legislature for the settlement of this province; but instead of this being done, the country is described in the act 'as certain waste and unoccupied lands;' and it has been disputed by men of the law, whether, from the tenor of the words used, these aboriginal inhabitants could legally possess land in this country, which was their own by birthright, and which they have done nothing to forfeit.' As to another and a worse class of injuries, because moral ones, the following scene may suggest much: 'Several groups of blacks are now in town,' (Sydney,) 'from districts of the coast to the southward. As is too commonly the case, they are much intoxicated. When walking this morning, I saw several parties of them by little fires, around which they had been sleeping. One of them, who had his hand in a sling, said he cut it when drunk yesterday. I asked another, whose shirt was besmeared with blood, what made him in that condition. He replied, 'Drink, sir.' Thus, these poor creatures are injured by the profligacy of the white population, who give them drink, till their tribes are fast perishing from the face of the earth.* Instead of the destruction of life and property so often

* 'The blacks even pretend to be intoxicated when they are not, from the force of example. They 'reel after drinking the infusion of sugar-bags, and put on the appearance of intoxication so well, that it has generally been supposed that the liquor really made them drunk. The following circumstances satisfied an acquaintance of ours that this appearance of intoxication was feigned, and our own observation has confirmed this view. The son of this person was, on a certain occasion, boiling down brine, to make salt, when a black man came in, and asked if the liquor were rum. The young man, instead of answering the question, asked the black if he would have some: he answered in the affirmative, and took a tin-pot full, which he drank off. He then began to throw about his arms, and to stagger. The young man derided him, saying he surely did not mean to pretend to be drunk. The man replied, 'Me murry (very) drunk, like a gentleman.' This circumstance induced our informant to remonstrate with some blacks, who were making the same pretence in Sydney, and they made similar replies.'

quoted as a reason for extermination, affording any proof of the peculiar moral degradation of the blacks, the patience with which they have borne their insults and injuries is remarkable. We accept the testimony of the colonial chaplain given at the table of the governor, in the presence of our travellers, as simply just and true, 'that in almost every case where any of the white people had been destroyed by the blacks, the whites were the faulty party.' It is impossible for those who believe in the moral government of God, and whose principles have been corrected and refined by the ethics of the gospel, to contemplate our colonial aggressions and iniquities without the most distressing apprehensions. When inquisition is made for blood, when God arises for the oppressed, the lot of Britain will indeed be sad, if she repent not. May she know the day of her visitation, and put away her sins that they may not be her ruin!

Intoxication seems to be a prevalent and desolating vice in these regions. All classes are more or less affected by it. Whites and blacks, settlers and prisoners, are all 'given to strong drink.' One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement and prosperity of the colony is the amazing consumption of ardent spirit. It is the root of all evil. It is destructive to all the habits necessary to success, and promotive of all the vices that secure failure. Of the convict population, it is said in a report to the governor, that—

'The measure of reformation among them, evinced by the adoption of better principles, is exceedingly small. This need not excite surprise, when the paucity of the means employed for their reformation is considered, in connexion with the facilities for obtaining strong drink, that are placed in their way, notwithstanding the regulations prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to prisoners. The opportunities open to them, from the vast number of licensed public-houses, and of places where spirits are sold covertly, are available to a large proportion of the prisoners, who are constantly committing petty thefts to enable them to gratify their propensity for strong drink.'

The account given of the Swan River Settlement, Western Australia, in connexion with this subject, is very distressing.

'It is difficult to estimate the ruin that has been brought upon this colony by the consumption of spirits. The whole revenue of the Government, amounting to about £7,000 a year, is derived from spirits, in the form of duty on the imports; so that the amount of capital annually paid for them must be much more considerable. The colony is so poor as to be unable to support sheep in sufficient quantity to stock its lands, so that the holders of grants of from 5,000 to 100,000 acres, have little stock of any kind upon them. Such grants are consequently of so little value as to occasion land to be sold as low as from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per acre! Had the money expended in spirits, since the foundation of the

colony, been occupied in the importation of sheep, it is not improbable that land might now have been ten times its present value; and had no grants originally exceeded 5,000 acres, many more persons would have had the means of maintaining flocks of about 1,000 sheep each. The wealth of the colony would probably have been thus increased, so as to have rendered grants of this size, by this time, as valuable as those of 50,000 acres each now are. Spirit drinking, and avarice in obtaining grants of large extent, have paralyzed the country, which, beyond a doubt, is naturally very inferior to what was originally represented. The exports of oil and wool are yet very inconsiderable, perhaps not amounting to £4,000 in any one year, and almost the only other sources of income to the colony are, the payments of government salaries, the supply of provision to the few ships that put in here, and a little arising from private property. The persons who have improved their circumstances by emigration to this country are labourers, store-keepers, and a few others, into whose hands much of the capital that was originally in the possession of other colonists, has passed; but by this transition, the capital of the colony is not increased. Its population is said to be now only about 2,000, or one-third of what it was three years after the colony was first settled. Death, frequently the result of drinking, and emigration to Australia and Tasmania have been the chief causes of this reduction.'

In parting with our friends, we beg to repeat the expression of our respect for the zeal which they displayed, and the wisdom with which that display was marked. That their mission has not been unfruitful to any class among whom they have laboured, settlers, convicts, or natives, we rejoice. The record of the scenes and services of their missionary ministry is interesting, as such a record by an intelligent and well-informed man could scarcely fail to be. It will, doubtless, meet with great acceptance among the Friends, for whose special edification it is intended. Containing a great deal of denominational matter, a plentiful supply of the sentiments and phrases which obtain in that respectable society, it will not have the same chance of acceptance among other readers. The author is of the 'straitest sect' of his 'religion,' and loses no fitting opportunity of expounding and defending the principles and peculiarities of that religion. With all our reverence for conscientious convictions, and all our approval of pure motives, we have not been able to perceive, in some of the scenes recorded in this volume, the peculiar adaptation of the sentiments and customs of the Friends for missionary purposes.

There is, however, much that is free from a sectarian complexion—much statistical and scientific information, especially botanical—many interesting anecdotes—descriptions of scenery—besides, what is the main substance of the work, a minute account of the missionary labours of our author and his friend. One great objection we feel, and so will most of those who read

the volume. It is much too large. If, instead of 700 pages, the choicest and most important things had been compressed within 200 or 300, more discretion would have been exercised. We only add, that there are many wood-cuts and etchings, with three large and good maps of the World, Tasmania, and New South Wales.

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- Art. VI. 1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1844.* By the Author of 'The Women of England.'
2. *The Juvenile Scrap Book.* 1844.
3. *China, in a Series of Views displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that Ancient Empire. Drawn from Original and Authentic Sources,* By Thomas Allom, Esq. *With Historical and Descriptive Notices.* By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. I. London: Fisher and Co.

FISHER'S DRAWING ROOM SCRAP BOOK wears the aspect of an old and familiar friend, and as such is always welcome. It needs no introduction, but is sure of a hearty greeting, whatever changes may have taken place in our intimacies and tastes since its last appearance. The tasteful beauty of its exterior, the number, variety, and richness of its illustrations, the general excellence of its poetic accompaniments, and the true womanly heart and pure spirit which pervade the whole, render the present volume as fascinating a companion as any of its predecessors. The author of *The Women of England* is admirably adapted for the editorial post assigned her. Her sensibility, her truthfulness, her powers of song, and skill in narrative, her freedom from the partial views of many religionists, and her supreme regard to the welfare of her sex, and deep reverence for sacred truth, all point her out as eminently qualified for the work which has fallen into her hands. The present volume is introduced with a portrait of the editor, engraved from an original painting, taken, we are informed by the publishers, expressly for the work. There is an air of sadness in the countenance with which we would gladly have dispensed, and which goes further than words to prove that sorrow has not always been a stranger to the heart. May the consolations and hopes of the Christian faith sustain and cheer her spirit in the discharge of her various labours.

Besides the frontispiece and vignette, the volume contains thirty-four illustrations; all of which, some for artistic skill, some for picturesque beauty, and others for richness of embel-

lishment, are no way inferior to those of former years. Selected from a variety of other works, they constitute a group than which it would be difficult to imagine a more elegant or appropriate volume for the *boudoir* or drawing-room. The following stanzas, commemorating the immortality of intellect, accompany a plate of

ATHENS FROM THE LISSUS.

They libel Nature's truth who say
That thou shouldst die.
Thou canst not die ! far, far away,
Thy noble ruins hoar and grey,
Majestic lie.
And scattering beauty o'er the plain,
Thy days of glory bring again.

2.

Thou canst not die, while art shall live
Her tenderest touch of truth to give
To forms of clay ;
Thy noblest models, best defined,
Majestic work of lofty mind,
Her triumph they,
Shall breath in marble pure and chaste,
Till beauty from the world of taste
Shall fade away.

3.

Thou canst not die ! What human mind
At once enlightened and refined,
But loves thee yet ?
But while thine own Ilissus flows,
Where walked the sage at evening's close
Can we forget,
How many a lofty thought we owe
To those who watched its waters flow?

4.

Thou canst not die ! Proud Salamis
Looks o'er thy bay ;
And points to such a scene as this
With ruins grey ;
To tell how glorious was the past,
Which ruined, thus can live and last.

5.

Nothing can die which e'er has known
A power like thine.

We muse upon the sculptured stone,
And deem thy days of glory gone,
No more to shine.

6.

But let the tempest crush thy pride,
And mouldering columns side by side
Neglected lie ;
Far o'er the distant world of mind
The spirit ranges, unconfined !
Thou canst not die !

Our other extract, which illustrates a beautiful sketch of the *Gardens of the Seraglio*, at Constantinople, is characterized by the matronly purity and high sense of woman's worth and claims which distinguish all Mrs. Ellis's writings.

THE GARDENS OF THE SERAGLIO PALACE.

There may be sunshine streaming
Within that garden fair ;
There may be beauty beaming,
Soft eyes and shining hair ;
There may be laughter sounding
Where echoes rise and sink ;
There may be light steps bounding,
Beside the fountain's brink :
There may be music thrilling
The youthful breast with glee,
While the nightingale is filling
The air with melody ;
There may be songs of gladness—
But ah ! there may be tears,
And sighs of deepest sadness,
Where all so bright appears.
For woman's love was never
A thing to buy and sell ;
No, happier far, for ever,
In solitude to dwell,
Than share with all—with any,
The fond approving smile ;
But one amongst the many,
To sport with for a while.
Oh ! nobler far, and better,
The humble matron's lot,
Though thousand cares beset her,
Within her lowly cot ;
Though from her cheek the roses
Of youth may all be gone,
If on her truth reposes,
A heart that loves but one.

'*The Juvenile Scrap Book*' contains its usual variety of prose and poetry, of essay, narrative, and fiction. It is a pleasing and instructive book of light reading, 'in which glimpses of thought and feeling' will occur to the young, which they will gladly recall in future life. The engravings, sixteen in number, are appropriate to the class for which the volume is designed, and the whole will constitute an agreeable and most welcome Christmas present.

The following stanzas form part of the poetic illustrations of a plate, descriptive of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth Castle :—

1.

I will not call thee happy,
Queen of the prosperous reign !
I will not wish those golden days
Were ours to live again.
For under waving banner,
And under plumed crest,
And under knighthood's glittering star,
Was many an aching breast.

2.

I will not call thee happy,
Though thousands called thee fair ;
And flattering tongues pronounce thee young,
When age had blanched thy hair.
I will not call thee happy,
When beauty woke thy hate ;
Nor all the power of regal dower,
Could make thee truly great.

3.

I will not call thee happy,
Though wonderful thy skill
To rule thy people wisely,
And bend them to thy will ;
For one thing still was wanting,
A faithful heart, and tried,
To love thee for thyself alone,
Without thy regal pride.

4.

'Tis thus I call her happy,
Who wields the sceptre now,
Who feels the bliss of childhood's kiss,
Upon a mother's brow.

And long may she be happy,
Who lives that woman's life,
Beneath the splendour of a crown,
A loved and honoured wife.

The last of the three volumes before us is a real addition to our Illustrated literature, and is deserving of much more permanent attention than falls to the lot of the class of *Annals*. It was just the kind of book that was needed to meet the existing wants of the public mind, and is executed in so superior a style, whether regard be had to its pictorial illustrations or to its literary matter, as to render it fully worthy of the patronage it seeks. It is no ephemeral production, no mere hot-house plant, but combines the beautiful with the informing, to an extent not frequently attained. Hitherto, the Chinese people have been unknown to Europe; but it is not too much to say, that Mr. Allom's drawings will do more to familiarize us with the scenery of the country, the peculiar style of its architecture, its various arts, and even its social habits, than many of the bulky volumes which have been written on these topics. The character of the Chinese people is altogether unique. It has assumed a stereotyped form, repulsive to every foreign influence, and fatal to every inward tendency to improvement. To be understood, therefore, they must be studied by themselves. It is in vain to look at them through the medium of any other people, or to judge of their past history and present state by those laws which are applicable to European tribes. Hence the value of such a work as the present, which presents the people to us in all the striking peculiarities of their aspect, and thus renders the eye subservient to the clear apprehension of their mental isolation. To illustrate the scenery, customs, arts, manufactures, religious ceremonies, and political institutions of a people so unlike the rest of mankind, so attached to established usages, that they exemplify the manners of thousands of years back—so jealous of intrusion, that a foreigner has always been held by them in execration—is the special aim of the work; and the manner in which this is accomplished gives to it a high and permanent value. The engravings, amounting in number to thirty-two, are greatly diversified in subject, are thoroughly Chinese, and are executed in a style which reflects the highest credit on the artist. The editorial department is equally respectable, combining vivacity with information, and tale with history; so that we have rarely had so much pleasure in commending a work of this class, as we have in the present instance.

Art. VII. 1. *Sir Robert Peel and his Era ; being a synoptical view of the chief events and measures of his Life and Time.* London : Cotes. 1843.

2. *The Opinions of Sir Robert Peel expressed in Parliament and in Public.* By W. T. Haly, Esq., of the Parliamentary Galleries. London : Whittaker. 1843.

THIS is emphatically the age of mediocrity. Time was when men could command pre-eminence by a superiority of knowledge or intellectual power, which distinguished them from the masses whom, as centres, they attracted around them. They gave their names to parties, and their laws to society, and the great movements which they conducted are perhaps more currently remembered by association with themselves, than even with the vast social results which they effected. All this seems to follow from a law of nature. The times make the men. Crises in national history occur, in which the ferment of the social ocean seems to throw up conspicuous objects to its surface, and to irradiate them with its phosphoric light ; while in calmer seasons the surface of affairs exhibits no striking object, and is only diversified by the ripple of ordinary occurrences. Neither of these states is barren of subjects of study to the philosophic student of man ; perhaps, indeed, the progress of sound philosophy, like that of commerce in a state of peace, is more sure and rapid in more quiet seasons, than amidst the turmoil of striking characters and unusual events. The present times, we say, are characterised by this quiescent mediocrity, and afford an excellent opportunity for the close observation and measurement of those leaders in public affairs who, in more exciting times, are only gazed at either with ignorant wonder, or with a sort of superstitious admiration.

Among those political leaders whom circumstances give us the opportunity of closely observing, Sir Robert Peel occupies an undoubted, though a gentle and almost imperceptible pre-eminence. Few men have ever been more powerful in some aspects, and more utterly weak in others. While, placed in a position to lead the popular mind of the country, he possesses but the slenderest hold on the deeper feelings of any class of the community ; and, while constituted by circumstances almost the autocrat of parliamentary parties, his precarious throne is constantly oscillating between the forces, extending through the entire legislature, of active opposition, uneasy toleration, and ill-concealed distrust.

Even amidst the peaceful mediocrity of the present times, the laws of aristocracy and caste still retain a powerful sway, yet, even in spite of these, Sir Robert Peel heads a powerful party,

and seldom fails of success in his political projects. We are informed in the witty columns of *The Examiner*, that this gentleman never had a grandfather; so that the late Sir Robert is the only instance we know, of a relative without an antecedent. Yet, in spite of this unfortunate abruptness in family history, this sudden *parvenu*, this *novus homo*, sways the deliberations of a feudal aristocracy, and exercises over the indigenous lords of the soil the force, without the formality, of law. For all this, it is worth while to attempt to account; and this we propose to do by a brief investigation of the personal and political history of Sir Robert Peel.

The fortunate circumstance to which we have already alluded spares us the trouble of going far back into historical research. The popular oracles of the Heralds' Office, and even of the baronetcy of England, preserve, with regard to Sir Robert Peel, a profound and respectful silence. We have the advantage of observing this curious and changeful phenomenon undisturbed by the cross-lights of their precarious and mystic information.

A father he unquestionably had:—a wealthy manufacturer who had the good fortune to bequeath to his children no ordinary opulence, and the good sense to possess them of a high and elaborate education. Sir Robert rubbed shoulders with Lord Byron at Harrow; and at Oxford he enjoyed the more enviable solitude of what is technically called the *double-first*. He entered, therefore, on parliamentary life with all the advantages which wealth, combined with the most elaborate education of his times, could confer.

From the first we observe one cardinal feature distinguishing the political character of our subject, which may be traced by a close examination through all the voluntary vicissitudes of his parliamentary career. This is the absence from his creed of all great commanding and sacred principles, to which the infinite diversity of particular opinions and measures might be at once referred, as to a decisive standard.

The want of this indispensable code of primary principles, these *magna moralia*, which are to the mind as the compass to the vessel, has been supplied, in the case of Sir Robert Peel, by a high degree of natural ingenuity, by the most bland and persuasive style of oratory, by a wonderful adaptation to public business; and perhaps, above all, by a boundless command of words, behind the thick mist of which, like the cuttle fish behind its inky excretion, he can generally reckon on a safe escape. No accumulation of qualities and resources can be imagined more dangerous than this to the public virtue of any individual. The temptations which it offers to integrity and ingenuousness are well nigh infinite. No one would compare,

for a moment, the flaccid, intellectual temperament of Peel with the robust and gladiatorial muscle and fibre of Pitt. The degree of their relative capacity for mischief (as, indeed, for good) is immeasurably disproportionate. Yet in one of the chief characteristics we have mentioned, they strongly resemble each other. It is said of Mr. Pitt, that every sentence of his more important parliamentary addresses contained a sort of loophole for his escape from every principle to which it apparently committed him; insomuch that the late Robert Hall declared that he had never listened to a speaker so dexterously dishonest. No one who has carefully acquainted himself with the oratory of Sir Robert can fail to be struck with his resemblance to his great predecessor in this particular respect. He affords, indeed, a rare illustration of the aphorism of the French diplomatist, 'that language was given to man to enable him to conceal his ideas.' The most practised students of his political dialect constantly fail to interpret him. His public dealings, even with his own party, seem to be determined by a principle, analogous to that which some misanthrope has laid down, touching our intercourse with our friends,—namely, that we should always act towards them with an eye to the possibility of our one day becoming enemies. Hence in reading his speeches, we look in vain for anything like honest and explicit statement, either of opinion or of purpose. We are perpetually lost in loose and indefinite generalities, until at length we give him up in despair, as a Proteus whom no chains can bind, and from whose enigmatical oracles no human ingenuity can extricate the truth.

In perfect harmony with this is another distinguishing feature of Sir Robert Peel's political and intellectual character. He is emphatically the apostle and high priest of expediency; and that an expediency not of a broad and comprehensive kind, the perception of which is the richest fruit of experience, and the aim of all true and practical philosophy, but a narrow and petty expediency, of which selfishness is not so truly the centre as the circumference,—based on no principle, limited to trivial circumstances, and fluctuating with the eddies and vicissitudes of party. His mind seems to shrink from the impression of all fundamental and essential considerations; from the slightest contact with those principles which, simple in themselves and intelligible to all, as appealing to their unsophisticated perceptions and their moral sense, constitute the legitimate, and, indeed, the only guides of human policy; and deserting their broad and wholesome light, he retires amidst the glimmerings of cunning foresight and petty probability. His treatment of every momentous question in the management of which he has

been concerned proves that he has neither the philosophic spirit, nor the moral courage, to view it upon ample and comprehensive grounds; but even, when legislating for the most vital interests of his country and the world, observes,—and that even in the greatest acts of his coerced and reluctant liberality,—a narrow, peddling style of behaviour, which would rob all concession of its grace, and beggar the dignity of the greatest occasion. To these causes, perhaps conjointly, may be traced the singular instability and fickleness which has marked the public course of Sir Robert Peel. Scarcely any man, Cobbett of course being always excepted, has ever more satisfactorily refuted himself, than the Right Honourable Baronet. Indeed, the extent of those changes which have passed upon the ostensible opinions of Sir Robert Peel can hardly be appreciated by any one who has not taken the trouble to review, as we have done, his speeches and writings, in a collective and consecutive form. This, however, as well as the two distinguishing traits of character which we have already noticed, we shall endeavour to verify by presenting a few passages, selected from his parliamentary speeches.

I. With respect, then, to the first characteristic which we have ascribed to Sir Robert Peel, namely, the absence of all fundamental principles from the structure of his political system, we will review,

1. His treatment of the ballot question. The argument in favor of this arrangement, admitted on all sides and universally notorious, is, that all persons in dependant circumstances are attacked in the exercise of a personal and indefeasible right, by intimidations of every kind on the part of those on whom they depend; owing to which they cannot exercise that right, or, as we might more properly term it, that duty, without either the violation of their conscience on the one part, or the most serious detriment to their outward circumstances on the other.

Now the possession by any party of a political right, and still more of a political privilege, involves the correlative duty of exercising it to the best of his judgment, and with perfect integrity. Unless these conditions can be fulfilled, the very position is a snare to his conscience and a curse to his fortunes. Hence the great, and almost the only argument for the protection of the vote by secrecy is, that if a man have the right to vote at all, that right involves another, namely, that of exercising it with freedom of conscience, and without necessary damage to his secular estate. These principles have ever been as fully understood by Sir Robert Peel as by any man living. Let us see how, with this perfect knowledge, he deals with the question. The first opinion that he ever pronounced upon the subject was stated

in March, 1828, in the debate on the Penryn disfranchisement bill.

'I should have been astonished if the honorable member (Mr. Warburton) had attempted to introduce into this bill a proposition that votes should be given in secret. I trust I shall never see the day when that principle is applied to the electors of this country—when those electors will be so lowered in character, that they durst not state their objections openly to the candidate, and make known their reasons for openly voting against him.'—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 28.

Here is a fair specimen of Sir Robert Peel's mode of dealing with the most important questions. Could the voter, with perfect safety to his own interests, publicly state the course he intended to adopt, and his reasons for adopting it, the sentiment of the speaker would have been perfectly just. But as the very reverse of this is the truth, the entire vital part of the question is passed over in silence, and the seemingly courageous sentiment which gains the cheers of a corrupt majority of the house is at best but a noisy and dexterous evasion. The same remarks apply to his observations upon a similar bill introduced in March, 1830.

'I am sure,' said he, 'that such a principle, if adopted, would be productive of far greater abuses and of more hypocrisy than at present prevails; and I doubt that it would have the least effect in preventing bribery and corruption at elections. I greatly doubt whether the influence of the aristocracy will be diminished by adopting the vote by ballot; as the loud clamourer for reform might be more easily bribed under such a system than under the present.'—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 28.

The last sentence of the above extract is peculiarly characteristic. Sir Robert Peel will not be suspected, at least at this stage of his parliamentary course, of a desire to diminish the powers of the aristocracy; yet one of his arguments against the ballot is, that he 'greatly doubts whether the influence of the aristocracy would be diminished by adopting the vote by ballot.' Now suppose this were granted; what of that? The tendency of the proposed measure was to secure men from pains and penalties in the exercise of a universally admitted right. Here again, then, the entire *vitality* of the question is left untouched. At length, however, in April, 1833, Sir Robert Peel found himself under the necessity of giving his opinion in a debate upon a direct motion in favor of the ballot made by Mr. Grote. In so far as it is important to study his character, his conduct on this occasion affords a most useful lesson. He said:

'One of the effects which the learned member (O'Connell) expects from the ballot is, that it will put an end to canvassing. Does the learned member consider that an improvement? Does he think it an improve-

ment, that after a man has been toiling for years in the service of his constituents, they should receive him with a dead langour and apathy, or that he should return among them with the same feeling? Does he consider it an improvement that a member should not have an opportunity of explaining his conduct to his constituents, or of asking them for a renewal of their confidence? For my own part, far from thinking that an improvement, I should consider it to be destructive of one of the strongest links between the represented and their representatives—one of the best securities for an honest discharge of their respective trusts. It is admitted that the ballot is nothing without secrecy. Now, I doubt whether it is possible to prevent the public functionaries employed in the elections from knowing how a man votes, and thus obtaining a great degree of influence over many men who will dread that the manner in which they vote shall become known. These functionaries will, in fact, become intolerable petty tyrants. In order that secrecy should be obtained, the machinery must be so complete that the functionaries shall remain as ignorant of the nature of a man's vote as any other person. All will allow that if vote by ballot is introduced, secrecy is indispensable to any chance of its successful operation. But do you think that the voters themselves will permanently conceal their votes? Can they, in the course of gossip with their neighbours, conceal them? Will it be possible that a man can conceal his vote from his wife? Where, then, is the secrecy? But suppose the secret inviolably kept—suppose that never, in any moment of conviviality and friendship, of confidential intercourse with a friend or relative, does a voter at a contested election divulge the vote he gives—what an abominable system must that be under which persons cannot discuss with their nearest relatives how they fulfilled, or meant to fulfil a *public trust*!—*Opinions of Sir Robert Peel*, pp. 28, 29.

It is difficult to perceive why so dexterous a political fencer as Sir Robert Peel should commit himself to the expression of so much disingenuousness as is indicated in these sentences amidst such abundant facilities for detection, and especially when he knew that his words would descend on parliamentary records to a time when his little feats of legerdemain would only be known through the garrulous traditions of the old. In the first paragraph he seeks to perpetuate all the corruptions of the canvass, on the ground that it is desirable that representatives should have an opportunity of explaining their public conduct to their constituents, as if there were not abundant occasions for such explanations in the intervals of elections; or as if, indeed, such opportunities might not be at any time obtained by a simple requisition. Our only alternative is, to suppose that he sets a supreme value on the transient cordiality of shaking hands with a chimney sweeper, and pathetically inquiring after the health of his family, and (of course for the purpose of a parliamentary return) respecting the number of 'innocent blacknesses' in his employ.

The grand argument in the second paragraph is still more delusive and absurd. He commences by doubting the perfect mechanical secrecy of the ballot; an exception which would seem to imply that if the mere machinery could be brought to perfection, the chief animus of his hostility would be destroyed. Let government only offer a premium of one hundred pounds, confining the competition to journeymen carpenters, for the perfecting of the mere mechanical arrangement, and we will engage that this particular folly of Sir Robert Peel will not be repeated in our parliamentary debates. But his doubts appear to extend beyond the mere machinery of the ballot. 'But suppose,' says he, 'the secret inviolably kept. What an abominable system must that be under which persons cannot discuss with their nearest relatives how they fulfilled, or meant to fulfil a public trust.' The sophism involved in this argument is almost too bald to need a formal detection. The 'abominable system' referred to is not one under which a man cannot disclose his past or his intended vote; but only one which will secure him from the absolute necessity of such a disclosure when it would be destructive of the dearest interests of his life.

But Sir Robert further treats of the franchise as a 'public trust.' This is one of those absurdities which need a more careful exposure. The House of Commons is theoretically supposed to be the representation of the entire nation; insomuch that those who do not possess the right of suffrage are supposed, by a sort of constitutional fiction, to be indirectly represented. Now the nature of a trust involves the necessity of two parties, the one committing, and the other executing it. Where, then, in this case, are we to look for the *entrustors*? To look for them in the Legislature would be absurd; inasmuch as that body is solely composed of the representatives of the alleged trustees; while the unrepresented classes have certainly never had the power to appoint, and have never indeed been consulted for one moment on the subject. The only conclusion must be that the representative body made themselves trustees *by vesting the trust in themselves*,—a conclusion involving some alight difficulties, which it would become Sir Robert Peel, and the statesmen who hold similar language, most gravely to consider. When they have shown that the popular right of appointing legislators is a trust, their next duty will be to prove that the universal functions of respiration and digestion are held in commission under the crown, and that the laws affecting the secretion of bile should be determined by the Privy Council.

But the entire crudeness and folly of Sir Robert Peel's arguments upon this subject remain to be more fully developed. In

continuance of the error we have already exposed, we find the following, published two years afterwards. In the debate on Mr. Grote's motion for the adoption of the ballot, in June, 1835, we find that Sir Robert's blunders have grown to the stature of the following absurdity:—'The advocates of the ballot propose to confine it to the constituency; but why I know not. What is the difference, in point of principle, between the functions of the constituent body and the functions which the representatives of that constituent body are called upon to exercise? I, for my own part, can see no reason why, if the ballot be considered good for the constituents, it should not also for the representatives, and why the ballot should not be introduced into the House of Commons.' It is difficult to determine whether Sir Robert Peel was really incompetent to perceive the difference between these two cases, or whether he was insolently trifling with the common sense of the House. The reply to his argument will probably at once occur to the mind of every reader, namely, that as the people at large, in voting, are *de facto* legislating for their own interests, each has a right to vote as he may think fit, and an equal right to keep his own counsel; whereas, the representative legislating for the interests of others, his constituents have a right to judge of his fitness for office by the tenor of his public conduct. Hence the propriety of secret voting, on the part of constituents, and the necessity of open voting, on the part of representatives.

Three years more appear to have made a surprising difference for the worse in Sir Robert Peel's mode of viewing this question. In 1838, he got to the anti-national character of ballot. We hope that he originated this argument. It would be a consolation to our patriotism to know that in this expanse of folly he stood alone, and

'Had not his fellow in the firmament.'

He said—

'It is a system totally at variance with all the institutions, usages, and feelings of the people of this country—with all the maxims which have taught them to believe that free discussion, that publicity, that the light of day, that public opinion, are the great checks upon abuse. The people have been *habitué* to canvassing at elections, to the solicitations of promises, to all the activity, and all the *artifices*, by which, at a contested election, one party seeks to gain a superiority over another. Every voter's inclination and intentions are known. There is no neutrality; scarcely an instance in which a vote is reserved until the day of election. *This may be right, or it may be wrong*; but it is the inveterate usage of the country: and all this you hope to counteract by a small piece of cunning machinery,—by Mr. Green's or Mr. Grote's ballot-box.'—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 30.

It is difficult fully to develope the childish silliness of this argument without incurring the charge of levity and caricature. As well might he say, 'The people of this country have been habituated to cock fighting on Shrove Tuesday, to periodical and fatal prize fights, to bull baiting on the Feast of the Epiphany, to punch and bank-notes at contested elections, and to Athanasian creeds and nocturnal debauches on Good Friday! All this may be right, or it may be wrong; but it is the inveterate usage of the country; and all this you hope to counteract by a small piece of cunning machinery!!'

Such is a fair specimen of the manner in which Sir Robert Peel treats the most important subjects, studiously avoiding all cardinal and vital considerations; fixing invariably upon some disputable, but unimportant point; and by a feigned earnestness of manner and diction creating a diversion towards them, just as some birds sitting on the ground, at a distance from their nests, make the most vociferous pretences of alarm, in order to withdraw the attention of the depredator from the spot at which alone any real danger is to be apprehended.

In proportion to the momentous character of the subject, this peculiarity of tactics becomes increasingly remarkable. Upon so vital a topic as the connexion between the interests of religion and the functions of the Legislature, one might naturally have expected from a statesman the utmost distinctness, decision, and earnestness. Let us listen to the vague and enigmatic oracle of Sir Robert Peel:—

'It has been asked of us, what has the State to do with religion?—and why does it interfere with the direction of men's consciences? The State, I am ready to grant, has no concern with religion, when religion has no concern with the State. But in making laws to govern this moral and religious country, am I to exclude from my notice all considerations of religion? Am I to be told that I am not to meddle with any measures that are not calculated to affect men's consciences? Am I to be informed that such interference is unnecessary, or that it has never been previously exercised? If so, how stands the fact in reference to the past? Is it from the pages of English history, that honourable gentlemen glean their information, or from those of Scotland, or those of Ireland?—or, last of all, from those of the three constituent parts of the empire collectively? Where is it that they find, that among the motives which influence men as political members of society, religion is not one?'

Such is Sir Robert Peel's mode of dealing with one of the most interesting and urgent questions upon which the mind of a Christian or a statesman can be engaged. For our own part, we candidly confess, that to us it is utterly unintelligible: and probably, in this confession, we are giving the right honourable

baronet the very triumph which he contemplated. The question is, What has the State, as such, to do with religion, and what right has it to interfere with the direction of men's consciences? Or, as it might more rationally be put, What right has it to *attempt* the coercion of conscience?—inasmuch as the connexion between legislative enactments and conscientious conviction, is very similar to that which subsists between Tenterden steeple and the Goodwin Sands. Indeed the problem, 'How far do the acts of a legislature affect the conscientious convictions of individuals?' seems to be dependant on the solution of a previous question,—How far is it from the first of May to the foot of London-bridge?

But let us notice his reply. 'In making laws,' says he, 'to govern this moral and religious country, am I to exclude from my notice all considerations of religion?' Now let the reader discover, if he can, the slightest shadow of a connexion between the question which this singular reasoner proposes to himself, and the answer with which he meets it. What imaginable connexion is there between a legislator's entertaining 'considerations of religion,' and his attempting to coerce by law the consciences of his fellow-men? If there is any relation between the two cases, it is one not of connection but of repulsion. We know indeed, to our cost, how important it is that our legislators should be possessed by considerations of religion, but unfortunately for Sir Robert's argument, we know also that those who have been most deeply affected by religious considerations have been the most devotedly opposed to that 'direction of men's consciences' which constitutes the very essence and virus of persecution. 'Am I to be informed,' he adds, 'that such interference is unnecessary, or that it has never been previously exercised?' If so, how stands the fact with reference to the past? It is really difficult to command either sufficient patience or sufficient simplicity of explanation to develope the utter absurdity of such reasoning as this. Let us apply it, in supposition, to a somewhat ulterior case. Are we to be informed that it is unnecessary to imprison and torture those who differ from us in theological opinions?—to confiscate their property, to burn them at the stake, to mangle them on the rack, or to roast them before slow fires. Are we to be informed that this discipline 'has never been previously exercised?' If so, how stands the fact in reference to the past? It may indeed be quite of a piece with the Peel ethics to inquire whether any course of conduct is necessary instead of whether it is just; but to appeal on such a question as this from the illumination of the present age to the barbarous precedents of the past is a folly for which we could scarcely give Sir Robert credit, but for the evidence of the authentic and evidently approving chronicle which lies before us.

In further illustration of the charge we are venturing to make, namely, the absence of all comprehensive and fundamental principles from the political system of Sir Robert Peel, we find the following passages on almost the next page of the work from which we are quoting :

‘What is the situation of the church with respect to this House? I beg the house to recollect that, by act of parliament, (with the policy of which I am far from finding fault,) the clergy are prevented from having a voice in this house; that the ancient assembly through which they were accustomed to deliver their opinions (the convocation) has fallen into disuse; and that it is therefore but just that peculiar caution should be used in attacking the rights of men who have no organs through which to defend themselves’*.

And again on the ‘sacred character’ of church property.

‘The honorable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) has objected to the use of the words ‘most sacred’ as descriptive of the property of the church. Perhaps there may be some difficulty in such an application of the words, but at any rate there are peculiarities in the property of the church which distinguish it above all property that ranks as secular. It is set apart for the support of the ministers of religion; and although I will not insist on this point, the house must be so far aware of the importance of religious instruction, as to respect the maintenance of those who impart it.’†

A brief analysis of these passages would be almost sufficient of itself to demonstrate the position we are seeking to establish. In the former passage the first objection appears to be, that especial protection is due to a certain body, on the ground that they are debarred from a seat in parliament, that body having, however, their direct representation as constituents. Thus far the argument would seem to be fair and just; but let us refer it back to the principle, which the speaker, as usual, refrains from stating. If any special regard should be had to the interests of those who are only precluded from a seat in the House of Commons, though represented there, and by their highest officers in the House of Peers, what are we to say of the case of those who are debarred by the smallness of their property not only from seats in parliament, but from the slightest voice or influence in the representation itself? and these, too, men whose *all* is at stake in every political measure that affects them—a fact which is any thing but true with the clergy. If the Right Honorable Baronet views with so much tenderness the interest of those whose sole disqualification is for the representation of their fellow-subjects,

* Church Establishments in Jamaica, Mr. Hume’s Motion, March 4, 1823.

† Tithe Law Amendment Bill, March 16, 1818.

with what absorbing concern must he contemplate the condition of those who have no part nor lot in the legislature, even as constituents! Surely his first concern must be *a fortiori* to endow with the most elementary political rights those who have not the slight interest, direct or indirect, in the enactment of those laws to which they are so rigorously coerced into obedience. Is this the political system of Sir Robert Peel. -If not, what becomes of his argument, and what are we to think of his principle?

But there is another most pregnant phrase in the same passage, which involves a still more serious inference. 'It is therefore but just, that peculiar caution should be used in attacking the rights of men, who have no organs through which to defend themselves.' What! caution in attacking *rights*. Has then the system of politics merely become a *latrocinium*, in which, caution alone is necessary, in the perpetration of wrong. If then the invasion of the most sacred rights, is but prudently and diplomatically managed, it will meet with Sir R. Peel's entire approbation! Can this be what he means? Yet, if this is not the *animus* of this sentence, we beg to ask what is.

And then, with regard to the second quotation we have made, the argument seems to be, that there is a peculiar character of sacredness attaching to church property, which distinguishes it from that which the secular possessor claims as his own. Now let us examine for a moment, the principle involved in these two cases. The tenure of secular property, indeed, ultimately resolves itself into that universally admitted law of prescription, which forms the main economical distinction between civilized and savage society. This, therefore, in such a country as ours, is essential and fundamental. Any interference with it, would obviously occasion universal anarchy; and, were such interference to occur, no man would be able to call anything his own. But, how stands the case with ecclesiastical property. This, for the most part, has been transferred through the medium of the legislature, that is, by a constitutional fiction, by the people of this country, from one denomination of professing christians to another. The right of tenure in this matter, disguise it as we may, depends upon the right to make this transfer. If it might be made once, it may be made a second time; and hence, ecclesiastical property, is clearly and *de facto*, national property;—in other words, it may be dealt with by parliament at its will. Here then lies the cardinal distinction, between ecclesiastical and secular property, that, in so far as parliament has the prescriptive and constitutional right to alienate the former, its possessors can only claim, at the utmost, a life interest; whereas, the latter cannot be interfered with without destroying

the very foundations of social security. The term sacred, as applied to church property, derives its force only from the purposes to which such property is supposed to be applied; and, that imposing term is obviously a mere bugbear, unless it can be shown that such purposes cannot possibly be accomplished by other and equally suitable means. We affirm that this can be done, and that it is done every day, that it ever has been done in the purest ages of the christian church, and that true religion extends and ever has extended its empire in the world, in proportion as its advocates have repudiated the principle, slyly assumed by Sir Robert Peel,—the sacredness of ecclesiastical property.

We might multiply, almost without limits, the proofs we are adducing of our first position, namely, the repudiation by Sir Robert Peel, of all comprehensive principles from his political theory. But we will now turn to the second distinguishing feature in it, which we have proposed to develope, and which, naturally, grows out of the first. We refer to the invariable tendency of his mind, to consult the suggestions of mere expediency, in preference to the dictates of right and justice. The first illustration of this, presented by the digest of his political opinions now before us, has reference to the subject of ecclesiastical property which we have just dismissed. Notwithstanding the stringency of his views, with respect to the sacredness of ecclesiastical property, we find him, in February 1839, adopting the following language in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenue Bill:—

‘I consider the *policy* of making a different distribution of church property, entirely depends on the *animus* with which it is introduced, and the objects for which the distribution is proposed. While, therefore, I shall give to any project for the diversion of one single shilling of church property, to other than strictly spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes, my most decided opposition, still, if a measure were proposed, which in my conscience I believed was intended to add to the efficiency of the church, and which appropriated every shilling of property re-distributed to purposes connected with the spiritual interests of the establishment, I can only say I am not prepared to reject such a measure, simply on the ground, that no corporate property of the church ought to be interfered with. I would not allow the objection of inviolability, to countervail the admitted *advantage*, that would arise from re-distribution.’—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, pp. 91, 92.

Here there appears indeed to be a refinement, even on the doctrine of expediency itself; for, it is not the policy of any proposed re-distribution of church property which he seems to consider, but, only the *intention* with which such a proposal is made. On this showing, it would seem, that the wildest proposition of

Mr. Percival, Sir Andrew Agnew, or even of Colonel Sibthorpe, would meet with this statesman's approbation, if it only contemplated the aggrandizement of the church. We have long been accustomed to consider, that the spirit of party grows out of the doctrine of expediency, but we have never yet met with quite so appropriate an illustration as is here afforded us, on the authority of Sir R. Peel.

After what has been said upon the tenure of ecclesiastical property, the following passage may supply another illustration:—

*'Of this I am sure, that, on any principles on which parliament can wisely act, they cannot interfere with the property of the church; for they cannot touch it without weakening the confidence in private property.'**

It appears then, that the method of supporting the christian religion designed by its infallible Founder, is by no means a matter for consideration; that the question of the obligation resting on the Irish people, to whom particular reference is made, to support a religious system which they regard as erroneous, is to pass altogether from the account; and, that the whole question is to turn upon some indefinite risk to private property, supposed to be concurrent with certain alterations in the distribution of ecclesiastical revenues. Again, on the same subject we find another dictum to the same effect, headed by the editor, 'Effects of Catholicism on Governments.'

'I do not desire to consider this point as I find it illustrated in ancient councils, or in times when bigotry and superstition were prevalent throughout the world; but, I would view the effect of the catholic religion, as it exists at the present day in various countries;—in some where it luxuriates in undisputed growth; in some where it is only struggling for a supremacy; and, in others, where it is subordinate to another and a purer system. Under these different aspects I have contemplated the catholic religion, and the result of my observation and investigation is, that it is expedient to maintain in this kingdom, the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance, of the protestant church.'—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel, p. 93.*

There is a coolness in this method of superseding all the claims of justice, shelving the whole question of principle, and seating oneself on the bench to judge in one's own case, which is perfectly matchless. A large community who differ from us in certain points of theological opinion, or, as perhaps we might more correctly say, from whom we differ, claim to be placed on the level of political equality as subjects, notwithstanding these diversities of creed; they plead that they are as loyal, as honest, as intelligent, as their protestant fellow-subjects; they contribute

* 'Church Establishments in Ireland.'—Mr. Hume's motion, March 4, 1823.

equally, both to the maintenance and defence of their country, and they protest against being degraded on account of any speculative opinions they may hold, into a condition of inequality and subordination. The reply of Sir Robert to this appeal is most extraordinary, he virtually says, 'I have observed many countries, and cast my eye over different periods of time, and the result of my observations is, that it really would be much better that you should be kept where you are.' It is well for the reputation of the man who uttered these sentences, that he was also the author of the New Police force, else it might have been suspected that he had been retained as a special pleader for the 'swell mob.' We can imagine one of that interesting class, while seizing a banker's parcel, with his pistol at the head of the travelling clerk, philosophising in a similar strain, 'I have observed banking business in a variety of phases, in private, branch, and joint-stock banks. I have seen it in circumstances of comparative difficulty, and in seasons of ample and complete success, and the result of my observation and investigation is, that it is expedient to maintain over this branch of business, the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance of the swell mob.' We will select a few more passages from Sir Robert Peel's parliamentary addresses, in further illustration of this unprincipled devotion to mere expediency.

'Votes of Catholics in Irish Vestries.—If Roman Catholics are permitted to vote at vestries, I foresee it must be productive of the most endless confusion in that country, and that it will lead to the destruction of the peace and goodwill now so happily prevailing.'*

'To admit a thousand Catholics to be on a level with twelve Protestants, in parishes where the population is so unequally divided, between the two religions, would be to make the church establishment of Ireland a mere mockery.'†

On the subject of Church Rates, Sir Robert's ethics are particularly profound. 'When,' says he, 'the honourable member for Leeds, (Mr. Baines,) says, that he hopes there will be an end to all imprisonment for the non-payment of church rates, I am afraid I cannot concur in that hope; for, if a demand be made in pursuance of the law of the land, and there is a refusal to pay that demand, it will be impossible to determine whether that refusal arises from conscientious feeling or from contumacy . . . whilst the law remains the same, authorising the imposition, I see no alternative but to obey the law; and, if parties refuse that obedience, they must take

* Mr. O'Connell's motion to amend the Irish Vestry Laws, April 27, 1830.

† Debate on same subject, June 10, 1830.

the consequence, otherwise there will be a dissolution of the bonds of society.'—*Case of John Thorogood*, July 24, 1840.*

Unquestionably, the best method of testing the accuracy of a general principle, is to apply it to an extreme case. We will suppose then, the law which Sir Robert is for enforcing, to be, that every man should be impaled and burnt, who does not recant the protestant faith, and profess his adherence, either to puseyism or popery, at his option. To such a case the principle of Sir Robert manifestly applies; and, we can imagine him saying, with his bland smile and urbane air, over his box on the table of the House of Commons, 'if this demand be made in pursuance of the law of the land, and there is a refusal to comply with that demand, it will be impossible to determine whether that refusal arises from conscientious feeling or from contumacy. Whilst the law remains, I see no alternative but to obey it, and, if parties refuse that obedience, they must *take the consequence*, otherwise there would be a dissolution of the bonds of society.'

Sir Robert Peel has devoted a large portion of his political life, to the reform of our system of criminal jurisprudence. We are far from wishing to detract from the acknowledged merit of his efforts in this direction; yet, we confess, that when we compare the benefits which he has thus conferred, with the principles, if principles they may be called, on which he has proceeded, we are strongly reminded of Pharaoh and Cyrus; and, are really smitten with wonder, at the unlikeliness of the instruments by which the best objects are effected. In noticing, for example, the atrocious proposal of punishing prisoners before their trial, he adopts the following language:—

'If the application of the treadmill before trial be not illegal, it is at all events decidedly impolitic. The chief benefit of its discipline is, that it inflicts a stigma, a disgrace, and a moral punishment which would be lost were it used before trial. Upon a principle of justice, therefore, as well as expediency, I think the punishment of the treadmill ought not to be inflicted before trial; I have not a moment's doubt upon the subject.'—*Debate on a Petition*, Feb. 12, 1824.

* The Editor of the 'Opinions of Sir Robert Peel' states, in a foot note upon this passage, that John Thorogood, of Bungay, Essex, was imprisoned for a very considerable period, for non-payment of church rates. We fear, that Sir Robert too much resembles his chronicler in his ignorance of all that relates to dissenters. Our editor here is singularly prolific of blunders. Mr. Thorogood never lived at Bungay. Bungay never was in Essex, and the prisoner never was confined for non-payment of church rates, but for contempt of court. These mistakes, however, are not confined to those who record the sayings of statesmen. It is a fact, that a late dissenting minister, when introducing to a late Premier a deputation to which he belonged, as Dissenters, was met with the following reply: 'Oh! let me understand—dissenters, I believe, are those who deny the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ!!'

This looks a little like what Lord Bacon calls, an '*experimentum crucis*.' Every man by the law of this country, no less than by that of reason and justice, is supposed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. An innocent man then is placed in custody to await his trial, and, the question is, whether in the interim he should be subjected to punishment and torture. Sir Robert thinks that such a course, if not *illegal*, is at all events *decidedly impolitic*. These are the terms in which he opposes one of the most tyrannical and enormous outrages which can be committed against the rights of men. Surely, it may well admit of a question, whether the most violent language which can be dictated by the wounded and disappointed love of freedom, is as reprehensible as this, 'not so, my sons, not so,' from the patriarch of Toryism, to a rebellious and wanton offspring.

But, perhaps, one of the most striking instances of the 'splendid mendacity' of Sir Robert, in his devotion to mere expediency, is to be found in his treatment of the claims of dissenters, with respect to the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. He argues on Lord J. Russell's motion for repeal, Feb. 26, 1828:—

'Should we enact them now,' is not in my opinion by any means a fair mode of viewing the question. Whether we should or should not enact such laws in modern times, is not the test by which to judge of the propriety of repealing laws in an ancient monarchy like this, where manners and customs may often have grown up and become interwoven with the laws. I think that the proper question is, Is there that great practical grievance, is there that insult resulting to the dissenters from these acts, that calls upon the House to repeal them?'

And, again, in the same address—

'It is not at all clear to me, that the dissenters would gain what they expect by the repeal of these acts. If they excite suspicion and dislike, will they not, as far as the alteration goes, do mischief? The fact is, that the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the protestant established church. A preponderance of some sort will be admitted on all hands to be necessary, and the present is as slight a one as can well be imagined.'

It will scarcely be necessary to do more, than simply develop the argument of our prime minister on this important topic. By casting his eye back to the quotation, the reader will see for himself, whether we are guilty of misrepresentation. The case is simply this, that the most respectable men are excluded from offices of public usefulness and emolument, because they differ from the established sect, on some points of religious belief. Sir Robert Peel's argument, in favour of the continuance of this exclusion, takes the following form: first, that under an ancient

monarchical system like ours, wrongs and grievances must be permitted, which under any other system, would be utterly intolerable; and this argument is connected, be it remembered, with an advocacy of that monarchical system. Secondly, that under such a system, practical grievances may obtain, but until they reach the pitch of flagrant insult, it does not become the House of Commons to take them into its consideration. Thirdly, that there is a sufficient reason for abstaining from all remedial legislation on such points, if it appears to Sir Robert Peel as improbable, that the aggrieved party will gain all that they expect from the repeal of obnoxious and oppressive acts; and, lastly, that the preponderance of the oppressive party is merely nominal, that some preponderance must be admitted as a matter of course; and, that that preponderance was, under the then existing circumstances, as slight as could well be imagined.

This last argument then appears to be, first, that unless an oppressed party demand their whole rights, they are entitled to no redress whatever; secondly, that that system which degrades a large body of conscientious and excellent men, as heretics and scismatics, is but a nominal affair; and, lastly, that the exclusion of such men from all posts of public service and emolument, is the mildest distinction that can well be imagined.

Such is the system of political ethics adopted by Sir Robert Peel. We might multiply to an almost indefinite extent, illustrations of a similar kind, but we have not chosen to interrupt the series of quotations, taken almost at random from the work before us, in proof of our position that 'expediency is the grinding law of his political system.' Instead, however, of multiplying examples, we will refer back 'by way of digression' to a single principle, the exposition of which has been cited above. We refer to the rule as laid down in the matter of church rates, with reference to the duty of subjects to obey the existing laws of their country. We should not deem it necessary to recur to this subject, but for the very erroneous opinions which, as we conceive, prevail most extensively amongst the professed advocates of religious freedom. It is very generally maintained, both in and out of parliament, that the established religion of this country should be maintained by the pecuniary support of all, whether belonging to or dissenting from its religious tenets, on the ground that the law of the land enforces such support; and that the authority of such law should be paramount amongst all christian communities. We think that it becomes the christian world at large to give their most serious attention to this principle. It has long been the fashion to regard abstract principles of right or wrong as altogether inadmissible to the courts, both of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The lofty, we

might almost say, unequalled genius of Mr. Burke, has stamped a current and nominal value on this fiction, which it by no means deserves. The vulgar have come to regard it as a sort of text of political scripture; or rather, perhaps, with that selfish awe with which those contemplate a piece of bank paper, who have been deluded by the declaration of an eminent statesman, that a one pound note and a shilling are to all intents and purposes equivalent to a guinea. Mr. Burke indeed tells us, that abstract principles of right applied to the concerns of civil society, are like rays of light penetrating into a dense medium, which become refracted from their own original direction; and, under the shadow of Mr. Burke's genius, many no doubt have taken up with the philosophy of existing laws, and deemed all national innovation as little less than profane. But in this matter it becomes the servants of Christ to recollect, that they are placed under two systems of law, to each of which they owe a suitable and proportionate obedience. A certain denomination of professing christians is established among us, supported by the patronage of government, and the authority of law. Under this system, doctrines are formally propounded which we regard as hostile to the dictates of the religion of Christ. The problem we have to solve is simply this: are we to obey the government, existing *pro tempore*, or that authority which existed under supreme sanction, before our little policy was even predicted; and which will exist in undiminished force when our very history shall have been transmuted into tradition. Are we, in a word, to obey the eternal truth of God, or to conform to the shifting expedients of men. In this dilemma, we have at least the precedent of the inspired apostles. If the dictum of Sir R. Peel is deserving of even a transient thought, the inspired apostles were wrong; they were guilty of a seditious violation of the law, and set the example of impious insubordination to all their successors in the christian faith. We may say, without irreverence, that the position of the inspired apostles was precisely similar to that of conscientious dissenters of the present day. The pagan forms of hostility to the christian religion stood in their way, backed by the power of imperial Rome; and before us stands a system of spurious christianity, with its baptismal regeneration, its apostolical succession, its confirmation and absolution, its creeds and formularies, scarcely less opposed to the revealed will of God. The question is now what it was then—Will you support by your contribution, your subscription, or any other form of adhesion, what you regard as directly opposed to the revealed will of God? Sir Robert Peel says, at all hazards obey the law of the land; we say, 'whether it is right to obey God or men, judge ye.'

The question respecting the duties of dissenters, in reference

to the pecuniary support of the established church, is of so very simple a kind, that any difference of opinion with regard to it, especially in the minds of christian men, becomes a matter of mere astonishment. Such men admit it to be their highest duty to propagate the pure truth of the gospel, and not only to refuse their support, but to offer their utmost resistance to all systems of opinion which are inconsistent with that truth. Such persons hold as the most sacred and fundamental doctrine of their faith, that mankind can only be saved by repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; whereas the Anglican church teaches, that unconscious infants are regenerated by baptism, that in that rite they are made 'members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.'

Such men believe, that the scriptures contain the whole and only rule of christian faith and practice; that every innovation upon the pure model which they exhibit, is a profanity and a sacrilege; and, that every man is bound to search them for himself, to submit his conscience to no earthly dominion whatever, but individually to 'prove all things' and to 'hold fast that which is good.' The Anglican church, on the contrary, teaches, that a certain existing body of men 'has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to decide in controversies of faith.'

Such persons believe again, that it is the duty of every one who [receives the invitation of the gospel, to repeat it; and if moved to such a course by solemn conviction, or summoned to it by the voice of a christian community, to devote himself to the functions of the ministry. The Anglican church, on the contrary, denounces all religious teachers, as unauthorized and presumptuous, who undertake these functions without the imposition of the hands of a bishop, who has descended in a direct line from the inspired apostles—probably, the grossest historical blunder and philosophical absurdity which was ever palmed upon the world.

Such persons further believe, that saving faith in Christ has respect solely to the general and comprehensive revelation of the gospel, touching his nature and his work, without penetrating that sacred veil of mystery, which shrouds from all created intelligence the ultimate secret of the divine existence. The Anglican church, on the contrary teaches, that every person 'without doubt shall perish everlastingly' who does not hold, that 'the Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding;' and, that 'our Lord Jesus Christ is one, not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person!' 'This,' says the Anglican church, 'is the catholic faith, which, except every one

do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly!!'

It is unnecessary to enumerate further what we consider to be the vital errors held by the established church of this country. We have cited some which appear to us to attack the very vitals of the Christian religion. Can it be a question with one who is well instructed in the truth of the gospel, jealous for its integrity, and solicitous for its extension, whether he should contribute to the propagation of such dangerous errors as have just been indicated? Would not this be to scatter poisons with one hand, and to proffer antidotes with the other? And if the claims of God are paramount to the authority of man, and the duty of allegiance to him far more binding than the conventional proprieties of human politics, we cannot imagine any man who holds those principles which we have here assumed, supporting by any means, direct or indirect, the pernicious doctrines to which they stand opposed. To plead in excuse that we are bound to obey existing laws, is at once and deliberately to postpone the authority of God to that of man, and would necessarily involve the co-operation of those who hold it in a *legal* effort to extirpate Christianity itself from the world. On the other hand, those who protest against these principles, but still contribute to their propagation, because that course is prescribed by law, and excuse themselves under the plea that while they feel bound to obey the law as it exists, they are doing their best to secure its repeal, incur a practical absurdity of a kind, if possible, still more flagrant. They allow the legislature to fix them in this dilemma: 'You cannot pretend that your conscience forbids you thus to support the hierarchy because, in defiance of such scruples, you do so every day; while, on the other hand, your objection, if only of a political or economical nature, we must treat as we should a peculiar antipathy to assessed taxes, or an irresistible passion for smuggling.' It appears to us most evident that the only ground on which dissenters can consistently oppose ecclesiastical imposts is the ground of conscience, and that the only way of making such an objection intelligible to others is religiously and unswervingly to act upon it.

From this digression we return to Sir Robert Peel, and will seek to develope, on concluding this article, those inconsistencies in his political theory and conduct which appear to us to spring out of the radical defects to which we have referred. In doing so, but few explanatory observations of our own will be necessary. We have only to place Sir Robert against Sir Robert, and to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. And first, to begin with a subject more nearly connected with protestant dissenters, the repeal of the corporation and test acts. It will be

observed that this was a question not of policy, but of principle; not one in which shifting circumstances could alter cases, and thus justify a change of legislative conduct. The claims of dissenters to the repeal of the corporation and test acts depended on principles which no time and no circumstances could alter, which existed long before the family of Sir Robert were distinguishable from the 'Timkins and Stumpses', and which will remain when he is forgotten.

We will first offer a few specimens of the grounds on which he opposed that bill; and secondly, of the grounds on which he passed it.

'I think that the proper question is, Is there that great practical grievance—is there that insult resulting to the dissenters from these acts, that calls upon the house to repeal them? Is there anything so absurd in these tests as to make the repeal of them necessary? Or are they of such a nature that, if repealed, the dissenters will be in a better situation? Nothing in the whole course of this debate has surprised me more than the *enlarged, and I think aggravated* account of the practical grievances which these acts impose on the dissenters. I can only say, that so great is my respect for that large and respectable body denominated protestant dissenters, that if I could be satisfied they really labour under such grievances as have been described, I should be *very strongly induced* to vote for the repeal of the acts complained of. But I do not think that the great body of the dissenters look at them, together with the indemnity act, as so great an evil as honorable gentlemen have described.'

Again:

'It is not at all clear to me that the dissenters would gain what they expect by the repeal of these acts. If they excite suspicion and dislike, will they not, as far as the alteration goes, do mischief? The fact is, that the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the protestant established church. A preponderance of some sort will be admitted, on all hands, to be necessary, and the present is as slight a one as can well be imagined. Therefore, sir, I confess I am sorry that I am called on to vote upon the question, and heartily wish it had been allowed to remain quiescent—practically offensive, as I am convinced it is, to no one.'

These sentiments were delivered to the legislature of the country on the 26th of February, 1828. We have already explained that the case of the dissenters was unalterable by the lapse of time, and the mutation of party events. Let us now listen to the words of Sir Robert Peel after an unimportant interval of thirty-six days.

'I did not think, nor did I state that such a test as the Act imposed was *necessary*, but I said that the Act was *the less severe*, by the operation of the Annual Indemnity Bill—a

measure, it will be recollected, which recognised the conduct of dissenters as illegal, and which yet pardoned it as right. Now let us examine Sir Robert Peel's apology.

'When, however, I saw that a large majority of the House was favourable to repeal, I had to DEAL WITH A NEW QUESTION,—whether it was better to continue the Act, or go on with Repeal; and in these new circumstances I was at liberty to act as they demanded, and I did, from that time, co-operate; and nothing that has been said has been sufficient to convince me that I took a wrong view of the case. Many persons intimated to me, that if any opposition was continued on the part of the government, it would tend to the increase of the majorities, and it was suggested that it would be BETTER NOT TO OPPOSE IT. I do not doubt that the majorities would have increased; but it was no fear of such increase that induced me to give the measure my support. I did so because, after the decided opinion of the House, I thought it would be unwise to agitate the question of a solemn sacramental test, or to impose that ON UNWILLING PARTIES which, if taken from unworthy motives, would involve guilt of the most enormous kind. After the decision of the House, I did think that the time had arrived for ABOGATING THE TEST ALTOGETHER.'

About three years and a half from the date of this speech we find Sir Robert Peel thus palliating his past and vindicating his present inconsistency: 'I did not undertake, as a minister, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. As a minister of the Crown I opposed it, and I was beaten. When the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) brought forward the question the ministers were left in a minority; and having been so left, I did not make any attempt to deprive the noble lord of the honour due to his success; but convinced after what occurred, that something must be done towards the settlement of the question, I privately and unostentatiously laboured all in my power to effect an amicable settlement'—that is, the repeal of the obnoxious laws altogether.*

We can only glance at the evidences of this inconsistency as indicated in Sir Robert Peel's treatment of the Catholic claims. Of this subject, as on that of the Test and Corporation Acts, we may affirm, that it rested on settled principles that no modern events had occurred which could possibly interfere with the right or wrong of the principle, while the oracle of past history had long been irrevocable. Let us examine, then, the opinions and the conduct of this statesman with respect to the political disabilities of the Catholics. On Mr. Grattan's motion for a committee on the Catholic claims in March, 1813, we find Sir Robert adopting the following argument:—

'The right honourable gentleman proposes to open the House of

* Reform Bill—second reading, December 17, 1831.

Commons and the House of Lords, and every office of every description to the catholics; but he has an exception for which I cannot account,—he will exclude them from the throne! I think that many of the arguments which have been used to prove the impolicy of their exclusion from the other two branches of the legislature, will equally serve to prove the policy of their admission to the throne. Will the right honourable gentleman conclude, that an irresponsible protestant king will secure us from the danger which we apprehend from responsible catholic advisers?

And again,—

‘I have little doubt, that the time will come when the same arguments you now use, will be again employed, and employed successfully, in favour of the admission of a catholic prince to the throne, if we admit the eligibility of the catholic to office and to parliament—nor, do I understand, on what grounds it can be argued, that it is more inconsistent with the principles of the constitution to admit the catholics to the throne, than to the other branches of the legislature.’

Two months after, we find him harping again on the same string, and with still more intense earnestness.

‘*I protest*,’ says he, ‘against the *principle* of this bill, because it confers upon those who admit an external jurisdiction, the right of legislating in all matters connected with the church of England. I protest against this bill, because it is not conformable to the resolution of the house, on which it professes to be founded; which resolution certainly adopts the principle of concession, but it is a concession connected with the strongest and most distinct securities for the established church. If the protestants exceeded the Roman catholics in number, I should have much less objection.’

Such were the vague opinions of Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1813. Let us next listen to him in June, 1828.

‘I refer the honourable baronet, (Sir F. Burdett,) and the house, to the declaration which I have repeatedly made respecting it, (the catholic question), to that declaration and to those opinions I still adhere; and I conceive that, in saying so, I have said enough to satisfy the house, that my sentiments on the question remain unaltered.’

Within twelve months of this period, Sir Robert Peel carried, by his own political influence, the Bill for Catholic Emancipation; and, in the year 1830, we find him thus reviewing his political conduct:—

‘In the course of last year we performed a great duty, by acting in contradiction to the opinions we had previously entertained, and the course which we had long thought it our duty to pursue. I then thought, and I do still believe, that that step was imposed upon us by a positive and overwhelming necessity, even though by carrying it into effect, we forfeited the confidence and attachment of many in this house. But, Sir, I cannot now, even to conciliate the good will of that party, or any member of it, say, that I repent the step that we have taken.’

We might continue to an indefinite extent, the proofs of Sir

Robert Peel's inconsistency; and we might, without much difficulty, trace all the indications of that inconsistency, to the principles we have already laid down. This, however, is rendered unnecessary by the evidence already adduced, as well as by those practical events which must be fresh on the recollection of every reader.

Sir Robert Peel is unquestionably a man of great powers of mind, of singular political knowledge, and of extraordinary adaptation to public business. He is also a man of accomplished education, and qualified by his oratorical talents to sway the deliberations of such a parliament as that, of which his fortune has made him the leader. Acute in the perception of details, he is incompetent, though perhaps, more morally than intellectually, to appreciate the force of great and comprehensive principles. Like his great predecessor, and, perhaps his model, Mr. Pitt, he has oscillated though with far less momentum, to almost every point of the political compass. He has betrayed his party, his principles, and his friends; and even his inimitable blandness fails altogether to cover his political crimes. If posterity are ever to be taught, that the highest talents, and the mildest pretensions may work the deepest woe of nations, Sir Robert Peel will be their unanswerable though involuntary teacher. His temper, indeed, as a statesman, is well nigh perfect; so that even his occasional deviations from a stoical propriety, only remind us of him, who

‘Carried anger as a flint bears fire,
Which, much enforced shows a hasty spark
And straight is cold again.’

Yet, amidst our complacency in the natural temperament of Sir Robert Peel, we are compelled to a graver estimate of the effects of his vast influence upon the welfare of this country, and of mankind. An inspired apostle has taught us, that ‘a double minded man is unstable in all his ways;’ and, if this is infallibly true in morals, the career of Sir Robert Peel has taught us, that in politics it is no less true, that no man has the power to work such extensive and permanent mischief to mankind, as one who combines morality of principle, amiableness in private life, and perfect aptitude to public business, with a recklessness of those principles of moral and political justice, on which the happiness and advancement of society are solely dependant. We believe that posterity will make this the moral of this statesman's career; and, that with all due admiration of his personal qualities, their highest eulogy will be, that he was the Polyphemus of mis-rule, and their heartfelt ejaculation

‘Di! talem terris avertite pestem!’

Brief Notices.

Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford; selected from the Originals in Woburn Abbey. With an Introduction by Lord John Russell.
Vol. II. London: Longman.

The first volume of this collection was noticed at some length, and its distinguishing characteristics pointed out in our journal for January last. Little more, therefore, need be said at present, than to notify the chronological limits of the volume before us, and to specify the more important topics which its contents illustrate. It relates to the period intervening between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the death of George the Second, which was far from constituting one of the brightest or most illustrious epochs of our history. Few of the public men of that day were distinguished either by talents or by integrity. A dull mediocrity, save in the extent and barefacedness of its corruption, pervaded political life. The Duke of Bedford was certainly better than many of his contemporaries, but he was proud, indolent, and not regardless of the gains of office. That he was open to the corrupt influences which swayed some of his contemporaries we do not believe, but that his judgment was sufficiently weak to allow him frequently to be misled by men whom he ought to have spurned, is too notorious to be denied. 'Even Junius,' remarks Lord John Russell, 'with all his malignity and disregard of truth, would scarcely have succeeded in blackening the fame of the Duke of Bedford had he rejected the assiduous flattery of pleasant companions, and sought the intimacy of high-minded friends.'

We cannot rate the value of this 'Collection' very highly. Neither the personages introduced, nor the transactions referred to, are of great or permanent interest; while the party intrigues which disturbed the official quiet of the Duke, and ultimately compelled his resignation, are deficient in all the higher elements of moral interest. Still the correspondence is not without its value, as the future historian of the reign of George II. will show.

We anticipate a considerable increase both in the value and in the interest of the materials which are to form the third volume, as they will illustrate the changes which characterized the domestic policy of George the Third. The Introduction to that volume will include a notice of the attacks of Junius on the character and services of the Duke.

Thoughts upon Thought for Young Men. In three Parts. London: Snow.

At a time when the young men of this metropolis are endeavouring to secure increased time for mental occupation and pleasure, this little volume appears opportunely, and we hope may find many readers amongst them. The writer we suppose to be one already familiar to the Christian public, but who, with a view to disarm prejudice, prefers to conceal his name. The intrinsic merits of his unpretending little volume can however scarcely fail to secure its extensive circulation. Fathers who are anxious for the religious and intellectual progress of their sons, with

great propriety may place it in their hands, and masters may give or lend it to their apprentices. It consists of three parts; on the responsibility of man in relation to his thoughts, on the government of the thoughts, and on the influence of the thoughts, in the formation of character. It is written throughout in the spirit of sound Christian philanthropy.

Lectures on Tractarian Theology. By John Stoughton. London : Jackson and Walford. 1843.

We have been delighted with Mr. Stoughton's Lectures. They contain strong arguments, substantial learning, and powerful appeals. The subjects of them are tradition, apostolical succession, the sacraments, and the holy catholic church. Books on these subjects rapidly increase, but there are few of equal size likely to exceed in comprehensiveness and adaptation for usefulness, these interesting lectures.

The Recreation. A Gift-book for Young Readers. The Fourth of the Series. Edinburgh: Menzies.

A small volume which will greatly delight our young readers, and not be unwelcome or distasteful to those of more advanced years. 'It is designed as a present for young persons, and much care has been bestowed upon the selection of the materials.'

The Complete Suffrage Almanack for 1844. Compiled and published under the sanction of the National Complete Suffrage Union. London : Davis and Hasler.

A happy design skilfully executed. In addition to the information ordinarily contained in such works, the *Complete Suffrage Almanack* supplies a large mass of important intelligence, partly statistical and partly historical. It is pervaded by an honest and earnest spirit, whose singleness of purpose is in happy keeping with extensive information, and an enlightened appreciation of those general principles which lie at the foundation of human virtue and happiness.

A Memorial of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, as exhibited in the Life and Death of Miss Mary M'Owan. By her Father. London : John Mason.

An affecting memorial, by a pious parent, of the life and early death of an intelligent and interesting daughter. She was a member of the Wesleyan Society, in connexion with which she had been brought up and lived and died. As a record of early and eminent piety, the book is very suitable for perusal and circulation amongst the young.

The Pastor's Legacy, or Devotional Fragments from the German of Lavater. By Henrietta F. Fry. London: Gilpin.

Lavater, we are told, in the preface to this neat little volume, 'occupied a portion of his latter days in preparing little legacies of love for his Christian friends.' The pieces now printed are very short, and the sentiments which they contain are rather profusely established by the appendage of numerous texts of Scripture. The German originals also are annexed to the volume. They are considerably briefer than the English translations. The latter may be obtained with or without the former. The lovers of Christian sentiment expressed in verse, who are unable to read German, will be gratified by the contribution to their stores which is presented by the translator.

Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales. By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. With fifty engravings, from drawings by Cattermole, Cox, and Creswick, and an accurate map. London: Tilt & Bogue; Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb.

2. *Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales, with the Scenery of the River Wye.* By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. With fifty engravings, from drawings by Harding, Fielding, Cox, Creswick, and Cattermole; and an accurate map. London: Tilt & Bogue; Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb.

We are gratified to see these beautiful works in a new and more convenient form. As first published they were truly splendid volumes; and perhaps the royal octavo size is necessary to do *full* justice to the numerous engravings with which they are illustrated; but the publishers have certainly consulted the convenience of the tourist by issuing them in demy octavo, and they have done so without materially detracting from their pictorial beauty, or typographical excellence. We congratulate the tourist, who has leisure to follow out the route of Mr. Roscoe, with these elegant volumes as his guides. Besides two large and very complete maps of North and South Wales which they respectively contain, the latter work has two smaller maps in which the course of the Wye from Ross to Chepstow is represented on a somewhat larger scale. Most tourists, we imagine, at least so we found it, would feel that the interest of the scenery described was not a little aided by that of the author's personal narrative. Though this is distinguished by no particularly moving adventures, either of flood or field, it gives a unity to the works, which they would otherwise want. Indeed, to speak in painter's parlance, it is *the* subject. It is that in these volumes, which the subject is in a beautiful landscape painting, the centre of unity, and the source of living interest. This interest is again aided by the historical sketches which are interspersed as the old memorials of former days successively appear in view. In his treatment of such matters, Mr. Roscoe shows himself a pattern tourist. Not only has he told us the road he travelled, but frequently *how* he travelled. The description of his tour is usually subjective. We see the country described, and how it affects the traveller.

When he comes in sight of any ancient castle, any mouldering ruin, whether of mansion or abbey, he waits to give us an account of what was done or suffered there, and how the once proud structure became a ruin. Then comes forth his portfolios, which Cattermole has enriched with such powerful historical drawings, depicting the history of the brave Lewellyn, or the weak and unfortunate Richard, and in which there is a pictorial representation of almost every object which the wanderer would desire to see, or having seen, to recollect. The views are very numerous, and quite worthy of the work, which is saying much. Some of the scenes—but we have not room to particularize—would be wonderful as compositions, if they were not real. They are uniformly well depicted and well engraved. As we have already hinted, the wanderer in Wales will wander in good company who has these volumes for his guides. We only add, that he who has visited Wales without this advantage may impart a surprising freshness to his recollections, and powerfully renew his former pleasures, by perusing them. We have spoken highly of the volumes, because they are a spirited and successful effort to afford the lover of Wales, and the lover of the picturesque, whether a 'wanderer' or not, both amusement and information in a most agreeable form, and at a very reasonable cost.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Christian Consolation ; or, The Unity of the Divine Procedure a Source of Comfort to Afflicted Christians. By E. Mannering.

- Researches, Physical and Ethnological, with the History of the Asiatic Nations ; being the fourth volume of Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. By J. C. Pritchard, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France. Volume V., to complete the work, is in a state of forwardness.

Just Published.

Religion in the United States of America ; or, An Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States ; with Notices of the Evangelical Denominations. By Rev. Robert Baird.

An Examination of the Principles and Tendencies of Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist ; in a Series of Letters to a Friend. By Rev. B. Godwin, D.D.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto. Assisted by various able Scholars and Divines. Parts VII. and VIII.

The Necessary Existence of God. By William Gillespie. New Edition.

The Philosophy of Christian Morals. By Samuel Spalding, M.A. of the London University.

Lectures on the Scriptural Doctrine of Atonement, or of Reconciliation through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the late Lant Carpenter, LL.D.

Selections from the Kur-An, commonly called in England the Koran ; with an Interwoven Commentary. Translated from the Arabic, methodically arranged, and illustrated by Notes chiefly from Sale's Edition. By Edward William Lane.

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